A GENERALL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

From the Year 767. to the DEATH of King JAMES:

Containing the principal

Revolutions and Trans-actions

OF

Church & State:

WITH

Politicall Obſervations and Reflections upon the ſame.

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The Authour to the Reader.

I Know (Reader) that he who undertakes to write, makes himself a mark of censure for men to level at. For to please all men, shall then only be possible, when all men shal be of one minde; til then, we look for as many dislikings, as there is diverfities of opinions, each man condemning what is not according to his own humour and palate. Some will storm or scorn (perhaps) our writing as an un-necessary scribling, and paper blurring: others will quarrell at the subject, that we should write a History; others that such, so composed, and formal of a private family, with such commendation. Again, some will accuse us of partiality; and some will even question the truth of it. Neither will there bee wanting such as will blame the forme and fashion of the work, as too short, or too long; and many (I doubt not) will carp at the Stile, the Phrase, the Periods, the Diction and Language. In all these particulars, to satisfie all men, is more then we can hope for: yet thus much shortly of each of them, to such as will give eare to reason: That I write, and of this subject, I am constrained to do it; not by any violence or compulsion, but by the force of duty, as I take it: for being desired to do it by those I would not refuse, I thought my self bound to honour that name, and in, and by it, our King & Countrey. And so I have done what I can, & should have been glad to have done more, if it had lyen in my power. As for the writing of a History I could never have dreamed that I should have needed to make Apologie for it: neither did I ever hear it accounted prophane, till I had done. Then by chance I lighted on a certain Authour who excuseth himself for so doing, and promiseth to doe so no more. It may be neither shall I. Yet dare I not promise so much: neither see I any reason why I should: for if by profane, they mean that History maketh men profane, and leadeth to profanitie and atheisme; then certainly we may justly say, that it is nothing lesse. For in it we see and behold, as in a Glasse, Gods Providence guiding and ruling the World, and mens actions, which arrive often to unexpected events, and sometimes even to such ends as are quite contrary to the Actors intentions. In History also we see men, and our selves in them, our vertues or vices, which is the second point of wisdom: this leads us also to God. But if (by profane) they mean whatsoever is not Scripture, and would have men to read and write nothing but what belongs unto it; then must we condemne all humane learning & knowledge, all Arts and Sciences, which are the blessings of God, and in which *Moses* and *Paul* were trained up, and well seen. It is true, there is no knowledge comparable to that of holy Scripture, and we cannot be too conversant about it; yet there is no kind of knowledge but is usefull, & may and ought to be esteemed and embraced Our last end should ever be to God and Christ: but to speak alwayes of him directly, is neither required nor possible. As he is the end, so the way to this end is by speaking of him, or of things which may lead us to him: yet is it not necessary at all times to speak of such things professedly as lead us that way. He is our end in himself, and for himself, and happy were we if in him we could terminate all our desires. Vertue leads to him, and is to be embraced as such: but to obtrude it at first for that consideration, and on that respect, it may be doubted whether or not that be alwayes the right Method and best way of proceeding. The other may happen to prove more available

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with ſome, which is, to learne firſt to be enamoured & to love honour; then vertue for honour; then vertue for it ſelf; then to account nothing vertue without God, who not being to be found but in Chriſt, muſt needs be ſought for above all things. Now Hiſtory is, as it were, the A B C. of this Method, and the beautifull Picture; by looking on which, our deſire of honour is kindled, and ſo of vertue, which onely brings true honour with it. Neither is it needfull to proclaim this intention to the world: yea, I know not whether to ſay thus much be not even too much. It is enough to ſet the object before them, and to furniſh them matter for their thoughts to work upon: as for the meaſure of praiſe wee give them, if after thou haſt read and weighed, thou ſhalt think it too much, all that I can ſay, is, that I think it but their due, and ſpeak as I think, & according to the ſcantling of my own judgment. Touching partiality, I deny it not, but am content to acknowledge my intereſt. Neither do I think that ever any man did ſet pen to paper without ſome particular relation of Kindred, Countrey, or ſuch like. The Romanes in writing the Romane, the Grecians in writing their Greek Hiſtories; friends writing to, of, or for friends, may be thought partiall as Countrey-men and friends. The vertuous may be deemed to be partiall toward the vertuous, and the godly toward the godly and religious: All Writers have ſome ſuch reſpect, which is a kinde of partiality. I do not refuſe to be thought to have ſome, or all of theſe reſpects, and I hope none wil think I do amiſſe in having them. Pleaſing of men, I am ſo farre from ſhunning of it, that it is my chief end and ſcope: But let it pleaſe them to be pleaſed with vertue, otherwiſe they ſhal find nothing here to pleaſe them. If thou findeſt any thing here beſides, blame me boldly. And why ſhould any be diſpleaſed that wil be pleaſed with it? would to God I could ſo pleaſe the world, I ſhould never diſpleaſe any. But if either of theſe (partiality or deſire to pleaſe) carry me beſides the truth; then ſhall I confeſſe my ſelf guilty, and eſteem theſe as great faults, as it is faultie and blame-worthy to forſake the truth. But otherwiſe ſo the truth be ſtuck unto, there is no hurt in partiality and labouring to pleaſe. And as for truth, clip not, nor champ not my words (as ſome have done elſewhere) and I beleeve the worſt affected will not charge mee with lying. I have ever ſought the truth in all things carefully, and even here alſo, and that painfully in every point: where I find it aſſured, I have ſet it down confidently; where I thought there was ſome reaſon to doubt, I tell my Authour: So that if I deceive, it is my ſelf I deceive, and not thee; for I hide nothing from thee, that I my ſelf know, and as I know it; leaving place to thee, if thou knoweſt more or better. Which if thou doeſt, impart and communicate it; for ſo thou ſhouldeſt do, and ſo is truth brought to light, which elſe would lye hid and buried. My paines and travel in it have been greater then every one would think, in correcting my errours; thine will not bee ſo much. And both of us may furniſh matter for a third man to finde out the truth more exactly, than either of us hath yet done. Help therefore, but carp not. Concerning the manner & form, this is partly the cauſe why I have uſed this, which I do here follow, that all things being laid open, & expoſed to thy view, thou mayeſt have to chooſe on, or to finde ſomewhat of thine own; & where I could not reſolve a doubt, thou mayeſt ſee it, and have ſome mean (perhaps) to ſolve it better. I have alſo in many places interpoſed my judgement of mens actions: I think it the life of Hiſtory, & without which it were little better, than an old wifes tale.

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To the Reader.

It is true, it were not so needfull, if all men were alike judicious: but seeing they are not so, it is absolutely necessary; that so those that read sleepingly, may be awakned; who mind onely pleasure, may have profit thrust upon them; that the dull may be quickned, and the judicious have his judgement sharpned, by this whetstone. All I beg of thee is thy kind acceptance, which if I may obtain, I shall rest

Yours and my Countries Servant,

DAVID HUME.

THE PREFACE.

Of the DOUGLASSES *in generall*: that is, *Of their* 1 *Antiquitie, (to which is joyned their Originall)* 2 *Nobility and deſcent,* 3 *Greatneſſe,* 4 *and Valour of the Familie and Name of* DOUGLAS.



Think it will not be amiſſe to place here before the doore (as it were) and entrie into this diſcourſe and Treatiſe (like a Signe or Ivie-buſh before an Iwne) an old verſe, which is common in mens mouths.

So many, ſo good, as of the Douglaſſes *have been,*
Of one ſirname were ne're in Scotland ſeen.

This ſaying being ancient, and generally received, will ſerve to invite the curious and candid Reader, and like a charme will fright away malignant ſpirits, and detractors, who labour to leſſen and extenuate what they cannot deny. Neither is this a publick fame only roavingly ſcattered, and ſoone vaniſhing, but ſuch as hath continued from age to age, and which is authorized and confirmed by all Writers, and which is moſt of all true in it ſelfe, (as ſhall appeare by this diſcourſe) and nothing immodeſt or immoderate. For if we conſider theſe two together joyntly (ſo many and ſo good) that is, their number and their worth, we ſhall finde none that can match them in both theſe put together. There may be found of other names ſome as good, but not ſo many. And again, though there be as many, yet are they not ſo good. This truth I have not heard impugned, but it hath hitherto been imbraced without all contradiction (even of calumnie it ſelfe) I know not if without envie. But let that monſter eat her own heart, and teare her owne bowels: and that ſhe may do ſo yet more, we will give her further occaſion to doe it, by enlarging this comparative thus; So many, ſo good, &c, of ſubjects race were never in Europe ſeen: *And yet farther,* In the world were never ſeen. *This is not any rhetoricall amplification, or poeticall hyperbole, but a poſitive and meaſured truth. If any, after he hath read and pondered their actions, and paralleld them with thoſe whoſe names any Hiſtorie hath tranſmitted to the knowledge of poſte-*

rity: If any man (I ſay) ſhall find after due ſearch and ſtraight judgement, either in this our countrey, or in this our Iſle of Brittain, or in this fourth part of the world, Europe; or throughout the whole Univerſe, ſuch valour to have continued in any one houſe or name (that were Subjects, and not Kings, or Princes) and to have been ſo hereditary to all of them; and as if it had been intailed, deſcending by ſucceſſion from father to ſon, and from brother to brother, (the ſucceſſour ſtill ſtriving to outgo his predeceſſour) in that height of excellency, and for ſo many generations: Then let this ſaying be ſuſpected as partiall, or branded with an untruth. Otherwayes be contented to bear witneſſe to the truth, or at leaſt give others leave to do it, and receive thou it as ſuch, without murmuring, or impatiencie. Now as they have ſurpaſſed all other names, ſo if we compare them amongſt themſelves, it will prove a hard and difficult judgement to determine who deſerves the prize and hath been moſt excellent. There hath been twenty perſons and moe, who have poſſeſt the chief houſes, and principall families of Douglas *and* Angus *from* William *(to go no higher) who died in Berwick a priſoner, beſides thoſe worthy branches (the Lord of Niddiſdaill, Liddiſdaill, Galloway, Ormond murray, Balvain, Dalkeith, &c. There is none almoſt, whoſe life and the times afforded occaſion of action, but hath made himſelf ſingularly conſpicuous by ſome notable exploit or other, as is to be ſeen in their ſeverall lives. For the preſent we will onely take a generall view of them in groſſe, according to theſe heads:* 1. *Antiquity (which includes their originall)* 2. *Nobilitie.* 3. *Greatneſſe.* 4. *Valour. And firſt, we will conſider them without any compariſon in themſelves ſimply, and abſolutely, then we will compare them with others both within, and without the Countrey; and ſo I hope the truth of our aſſertion ſhall appear clear and evident unto the eyes of all thoſe, that will not obſtinately ſhut their eyes againſt ſo bright ſhining a light.*

Their Antiquitie and Originall.

To begin then with their Antiquity and Originall, ſo far as we can learn and find either in Hiſtory, or Monument, by evident or tradition, which we will ſet down here in order of time, as we have gathered and collected them. 1. *And firſt, we have that tradition which is moſt ancient of all others in the dayes of* Solvathius *King of Scotland in the year* 767. *when* Donald Bane *uſurped the title of King, and had in a battell almoſt defeated the Kings army, a certain Nobleman (called afterward* Sholto Douglas*) came in to their ſuccour, and overthrew the ſaid* Donald, *whom he ſlew in the field and ſcattered his army, as is ſet down at length in his life.* 2. *The ſecond witneſſe of their Antiquity and Originall is brought from beyond ſea, out of Italy, in the family of the* Scoti *of Plaiſance which is proved to have ſprung from the* Douglaſes *at large in the life of* William *the fourth man of that name. The time is in the dayes of* Charlemaign *in the year* 779. *or (as our Writers)* 800. *or* 801. *In the reign of* Achaius *King of Scotland.* 3. *Our third witneſſe is a publike Monument out of a Monaſtery (which were the Regiſters of thoſe times) the Monaſtery of Icolmekill, which tell that* Malcolme Kenmore *at the Parliament of Forfair in the yeare* 1057. *or* 1061. *(did not advance to that dignity, for they had the equivalent of it before) but adorned with the new ſtile of Lord, is ſome of the name of* Douglas, *which ſtile was then firſt brought into this Countrey by imitation of other Nations.* 4. *Our fourth witneſſe is in the year* 1133. *The foundation of the Abbey of Leſmie Hagoe confirmed by King* David, *wherein it is expreſly bounded by the Barronie of Douglaſdaile. Now ſeeing this is but a confirmation, the dotation*

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must have gone before in some other Kings dayes. 5. *The fifth witnesse is in the dayes of King* William *(Nephew to this* David*) who began his reigne in the yeare* 1163. *He erected the towne of Aire into a free brough Royall, and amongst the witnesses of their Charter are* Alexander *and* William Douglasses. 6. *The sixth is a mortmain, and dotation granted to the Bishop of Murray, where the same names are inserted (*William *and* Alexander Douglasses*) for witnesses. It is not certain whether these be the same that were witnesses in the former Charter of Aire, but it is likeliest they were the same. In what yeare of King* Williams *reigne this was we have not yet learned, but he reigned till the yeare* 1214. 7. *The seaventh is, the Indenture made between* William *Lord* Douglas, *and* Hugh *Lord* Abernethie *in the dayes of King* Alexander *the third,* 1259. *Some fourty five years after this last King* William, *the particulars of this Indenture are set down in the life of the said* William, *who is the ninth man of the name of* Douglas. 8. *Eightly, we have also (though much later) in the dayes of King* Robert Bruce, *and good Sir* James Douglas, *mention made of two* Douglasses, *(besides Sir* James*) one* James Douglas *of Lowden, and* Andrew Douglas *in the publike rolls (three rolls marked,* 1. 16.*) King* Robert *gives to* James *of Lowdon a confirmation of the lands of Calder-clecre, and Kinnaule, and Carnewath: To* Andrew Douglas *he gives Corsewell, which was fallen into his hands by the forfeiture of the Earle of* Winton, *or* Wigton. *Now what these two were, and whether or not they were in kinne to the Lords of* Douglas *we know not. Onely I have heard it reported that the lands of Lowden were gotten from the Lords of* Douglas; *and Calder-cleere is known to have been given off from their estate. Now howbeit these two be not very ancient, yet it may be gathered that the name of* Douglas *was ancient, even then being propagated into so many branches, which could not have been done of a sudden, but in processe of time: These things do confute those Authours who reckon the Originall of the* Douglasses *from good Sir* James, *or at the most from his father* William *: Because our Writers,* Major, Boetius, *and* Buchanan, *name none before them. But they intending, and minding more the generall History of the Countrey, then the descent, or beginning of particular houses, may perhaps be excused herein; yet it doth not follow, that there were none before, because they have past them in silence. And so much shall suffice to have spoken of their Antiquity, and Originall as far as we know. I say expresly as far as we know; for certainly we do not yet know them fully; We do not know them in the fountain, but in the stream; not in the root, but in the stock and stemme; for we know not who was the first mean man, that did by his vertue raise himselfe above the vulgar to such eminent place and state, as our* Sholto *behoved to have been of, before he wan the battell, and got the name of* Douglas, *which hath drowned his former name: for none but some great man of great friendship and dependance could have been able to have overcome this* Donald Bane, *(Being already victor) and changed the fortune of the day: And* William *indeed was created a Lord at Forfair, but we hear not that he was raised from a mean estate, or inriched by the Kings liberality; wherefore we may justly think he had the same place in effect before, but under some other name, as of Thane, Abthane, or some such title.*

The next point we propound to speak of is their Nobility. There is great contest among men, who should be most Noble; but where will true Nobility be found 2 Of their Nobility.

ſo entire? In what ſubjects race is it ſo full and perfect, according to all the acceptions, and ſignifications thereof? They define it to be a lifting or raiſing up above the vulgar: and what name, I pray, hath been ſo elevated, and hath ſo tranſcended all other, as this of the Douglaſſes*? They adde this condition, that it be for true worth; and hath there been any ſo worthy? Thoſe that will diſtinguiſh it into ſeverall kinds, make five ſorts of it; 1 Nobility of vertue; 2 of degrees; 3 of Offices and Employment; 4 of Birth and diſcent; 5 Laſtly of Fame and renown.*

Of Vertue. 1. *Of all theſe the firſt is the ground, without which the reſt are never well built, and are but ſhadowes without the ſubſtance:* virtus nobilitat, *vertue doth ennoble, is a ſaying, which is no leſſe true then ancient; for it makes him in whom it doth reſide, truely noble by its own power beyond all exception. It hath not the dependance on Kings or Princes to give or take it away: It is ever the ſelf, whether exalted, or not exalted; regarded, or neglected; reſpected, or diſreſpected. Nay, it doth ever carry along with it ſuch reſpect and regard, as no baſeneſſe of place, of birth, of means or imployment, can ſtain or leſſen; making lowneſſe it ſelf to overtop whatſoever is higheſt in the eyes of the world. It addes honour to whatſoever place, majeſtie to whatſoever eſtate, ſufficiencie to whatſoever means, ſplendour to whatſoever obſcurity: which no contempt of tongues, no detracting ſpeeches, no diſ-eſteem of preſuming pride, is able to impair or darken. Where honour and vertue do meet, there honour is an externall addition and confirmation of the inward teſtimony in the mind of the vertuous: but where vertue is wanting, outward honours are but falſe enſignes, lying inſcriptions of empty boxes. That this name was vertuouſly noble, and noblie vertuous, the deduction of their lives will ſufficiently ſhow.*

Of Degrees. 2. *As for the ſecond, Nobility of Degrees, of Dignities and Titles given by Kings and Princes; ſuch as are theſe of Knights, Barons, Lords, Earles, Dukes, &c. all theſe they had conferred upon them both at home and in forraign Countries. This kind of Nobility is in account amongſt men, becauſe although oftentimes it proceeds meerely from the Princes favour upon ſmall or no deſert, yet it is ſuppoſed to be grounded upon vertue, or that it ſhould alwayes be grounded thereon: Now in the* Douglaſſes *it was ever ſo, for they were never greater then they deſerved: and whatever titles of honour they had, were rather thruſt upon them, then ambitiouſly ſought and hunted after: Nay, we reade of grimme* Archibald, *that he rejected and refuſed the title of Duke.*

3. Of Offices and imployment. 3. *The third ſort is very like and near unto this, if it be not a part of it conſiſting in publike offices and imployment either in peace or war, ſuch as to be Wardens of the Marches, Lievetenants, Governours, Leaders, and Conductors of armies: This was almoſt proper, and (in a manner) hereditary to the houſe, in which places alſo they ſo behaved themſelves, that for their good ſervices done to the King, and Countrey, their Family and Poſterity do enjoy (at this houre) many priviledges and immunities granted to them in their Charters, ſuch as 1. Regalities, (and exemptions thereby.) 2. The firſt place and vote in Parliament, Counſell, or meeting, and convention of the States. 3. The leading of the vantguard in the day of battell: 4. And the bearing of the Crown at riding in Parliament.*

4. Of bloud. 4. *The fourth is Nobilitie of bloud, and Deſcent. This ſome doe place only in the deſcent of the right line maſculine without interruption, and eſteem him moſt Noble, whoſe extraction proceedeth from moſt of this kinde. Others againe will*

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have it to be on both ſides; and certainly it ſeemes to ſtand with reaſon that both ſhould be regarded, ſeeing every ground is not fit for Noble ſeed, and every ſtock will not ſerve to ingraffe a generous imp. However, we ſhall finde the Douglaſſes *Noble alſo in this way, in their deſcent on both ſides, in their affinitie and alliance, being come of Kings, and Kings of them: and firſt of all King* Robert Bruce *and* William *the Hardie (or Long legge) were of kin by the houſe of Carrick. For* Martha *Counteſſe of Carrick and this* William *were Couſin Germans, his mother having beene ſiſter to her father the Earle of Carrick that died in Syria. Now* Martha *was mother to King* Robert, *and hereby King* Robert *and Good Sir* James *were Couſin Germans once removed. But this was ere* Bruce *was King, while he was yet but a private man.* 2. *Secondly therefore,* Robert Stuart *(the firſt of the* Stuarts *that was King, and who was grandchilde to* Robert Bruce) *gave his eldeſt daughter in marriage to Earle* James, *ſlain at Otterburne.* 3. *The ſame King* Robert *gave another of his daughters to* William *Lord of Nithiſdale.* 4. *The Duke of Rothſay, Prince of Scotland (ſon to King* Robert *the third) married* Marjorie *daughter to Archbald the Grim.* 5. *Archbald (the third of that name, and firſt Duke of Turaine) had to wife* Margaret Stuart *daughter to the ſame King* Robert *(the third) as the black booke of Scoone expreſly witneſſeth, which calls him,* Gener Regis, *the Kings ſon-in-law.* Ballandine *(the Tranſlatour of* Boetius) *calls him the Kings Meugh, or Allie, and king* James *the ſecond claimeth Stuarton from* James *the laſt Earle of Douglas in the conditions of peace ſent to him. Now Stuarton is knowne to have been the proper inheritance of* Iohn Stuart, *and after him of* Walter, *then of* Robert *(the firſt king of the* Stuarts) *and ſo of* Robert *the third, which (in all likelihood) he hath given with his daughter (as her dowrie) to this* Archbald. 6. *Alſo* Iohn *Earle of Buchan (the kings brothers ſon) married a daughter of this* Archbald, *whom he hath had apparently by ſome other wife.* 7. *Then* Alexander, *ſon to the Earle of Buchan, married* Iſabel Douglas *Counteſſe of Marre, daughter to* William *the firſt Earle of Douglas.* 8. William *the firſt Earle married* Margaret Stuart *daughter to* Thomas *Earle of Angus, who was uncle to king* Robert *the ſecond, and firſt king of the* Stuarts. 9. George Douglas, *ſon to the ſame* William *who was the firſt Earle of Angus of the name of* Douglas, *married* Mary Stuart, *daughter to king* Robert *the third, and ſiſter to king* Iames *the firſt.* 10. Iames Douglas *Lord of Dalkeith married a daughter of king* Iames *the ſecond.* 11. Archbald *brother to* William *the eighth Earle of Douglas married the inheritrix of Murray, who was Niece to king* Robert *the ſecond, and ſo became Earle of Murray.* 12. Archbald *Earle of Angus, the ſecond of that name, married* Margaret *Queen of Scotland, relict of king* Iames *the fourth, and eldeſt daughter to king* Henry *the ſeventh, ſiſter to king* Henry *the eighth of England, and mother to king* Iames *the fifth of Scotland: by her he had Ladie* Margaret Douglas. 13. *Ladie* Margaret Douglas, *his daughter, was married to* Matthew Stuart *Earle of Lennox, who was alſo of the bloud Royall.* 14. Henry Stuart *Lord Darnely (ſon to Lennox and Lady* Margaret) *married* Mary *Queene of Scotland, oncly daughter and heire to king* Iames *the fifth: She bare to him* Iames *the ſixth of Scotland, and now happily the firſt king of Great Brittaine, France, and Ireland. And ſo much for Nobility in bloud and alliance.*

5. *The fift and laſt kinde of Nobilitie is that of fame and renowne. Thoſe* 5. Of Fame.

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that take upon them to derive and deduce the Pedegree and Etymologie of words, doe thinke that this ſignification is moſt proper, as being chiefly implyed in the word Nobilis, quaſi Notabilis; *ſo that thoſe are ſaid to be moſt Noble, who are leaſt obſcure, who are moſt eminent and conſpicuous in the eyes of the world, and moſt praiſed and blazed by Fame in their own and forraign Countries. This kinde of Nobilitie hath ever accompanied their vertue, as a ſhadow followes the bodie, and that both at home and abroad. And ſo we have done with their Nobility, which is the ſecond point we propounded to be treated of.*

3. Greatneſſe. *The third maine head to be conſidered, is their Greatneſſe, concerning which in generall our Chronicles doe witneſſe, that thoſe of the name of* Douglas, *together with their Friends, Vaſſals, and Dependers, were able to make an Armie of thirty thouſand, or fourty thouſand men.*

This alſo doth argue their greatneſſe, that it was thought an honour and credit to have dependance on them. Hiſtories doe teſtifie that the Hamiltouns *and* Flemmings *thought it no diſparagement to follow them.* Humes *were their Penſioners and Vaſſals, even the chiefe houſes of them. This is verified by a bond of a thouſand nobles (a great ſumme in thoſe dayes) made by* Archbald *Earle of Wigtoun, and Long* Willie (*who was after his fathers death Earle of Douglas*) *to* Alexander Hume *of Hume, dated at Bothwell* 1423. *The ſame Earle alſo (for his father was Duke of Turaine) gave the lands of Wedderburne to* David Hume *brother to the ſaid* Alexander (propter multiplicia ſua ſervitia) *for his many good ſervices. This Charter of Wedderburne is anterior to the gift of* Alexanders *penſion ſome eight or nine yeares, being dated in the yeare* 1414. *The* Lawders *of Baſſe, and* Loganes *of Raſtarigge, were their Meſſengers into France, and other parts.* Gray, Salton, Seaton, Oliphant, *were their followers alſo. Neither could any man of ordinary pitch of power, have brought ſuch aid to a forraign Prince, as this ſame Earle of Wigtoun tranſported over into France, (five thouſand, or as ſome ſay ten thouſand) which he levied and carried over at his owne proper coſt, all brave and choice gentlemen. If for this he were rewarded with the Dutchie of Turaine, it was but the juſt recompence of his ſervice, and no more then he deſerved, and would but countervaile his charges. Wherefore I wonder with what indifferent judgement* Du Serres (*Author of the French Inventarie*) *doth grudge at it, and can call it mercenarie. Certainly the kings of France have thought it their due, or elſe they would not have continued it ſo long for five or ſix generations, that is, untill the Earles of Douglas were forfeited. Few ſubjects of forraigne Princes have beene ſo much reſpected, and ſo rewarded. It is alſo an evidence of their power and greatneſſe, that* Henry *the ſixth of England did contract and covenant with* George *the ſecond* (*Earle of Angus*) *for his aid and aſſiſtance againſt* Edward *the fourth, and made an Indenture, wherein he promiſes to give him lands erected into a Dutchie, lying betwixt Humber and Trent.* Edward *the fourth made* James *the laſt Earle of Douglas Knight of the Garter, even when he was baniſhed, ſo much did he honour and reſpect his name and vertue. So* Henry *the ſecond of France made* Archbald *the ſecond* (*Earle of Angus*) *one of the Order of Saint Michael, or the Cockle. Their magnificence and ſtately entertainment, and courage at home and abroad, doth likewiſe ſhow their greatneſſe.* William *the fourth of that name, and ſixth Earle, being but a very young man, not above fourteen or fifteen yeares of age, had for his ordinary train a thouſand horſe; he dubbed Knights, had his*

Counſellours,

Counſellours and Officers of State, like a Prince: and William *the fifth was admired for his train and magnificence, as he paſſed through Flanders, France, and Italy, in his journey to Rome. Our Writers indeed blame him for it, and call it pride, ambition and oſtentation in him: but however that be, It was an evident proofe of Greatneſſe.*

The laſt and main point that we are to treat of is, their valour. Let their deeds and actions ſpeak for this property. But to take a generall view of it: The common Epethite in the mouths of the common people hath appropriate unto them this vertue: who never ſpeak of them, but with the addition of doughty, the doughty Douglas. *And from hence indeed chiefly their greatneſſe and honours did ſpring; and we ſhall find none of them but were both skilfull commanders, and ſtout ſouldiers, being no leſſe endowed with perſonall valour, then diſcretion and judgement to direct, and conduct. That brave matchleſſe Romane* (Scipio Africanus) *when he was taxed for not hazarding his perſon, and fighting with his own hand, thought it enough to anſwer* (Imperatorem mater me peperit, non bellatorem) *My mother bare me a Commander, not a fighter: but our* Douglaſes *were both* maximi Imperatores, nec minus ſtrenui bellatores, *wiſe Commandars, and hardy fighters and warriers; they had both good heads, and good hearts and hands. In the beginning ere Rome came to its greatneſſe, it is ſaid of the firſt Captains* (Decorum erat tum ipſis ducibus capeſcere pugnam) *That it was no diſparagement, but honourable for the Leaders themſelves to fight with their own hand; None were more ready and forward to fight then the* Douglaſſes, *onely* Wallace *is thought to have gone beyond any of them. But he is but one, and that ſingular and extraordinary, without any ſecond, at leaſt of his own name; and our compariſon ſtands between name and name, where the number is as well to be remembred as the worth. So many ſo valorous of one ſurname, is that which we have undertaken to prove. Beſides, none of the* Douglaſſes *did ever encounter with* Wallace *to try who was the better man, and if we parrallell their actions done apart, what act of* Wallace *can be produced more admirable, then that of* Archbald Tineman *at the battell of Shrewſburie, where with his own hand he ſlew* Blunt *the King of Englands Standard-bearer, and three more, who were apparelled like Kings, and at laſt unhorſt the King himſelf, whom he had alſo ſlain, if he had not been reſcued by his ſonne* Henry *the fifth. In an Engliſh manuſcript I have ſeen it thus expreſſed,*

4. Their valour.

And there with fiery courage he aſſails
Three all as Kings adornd in royall wayes,
And each ſucceſſive after other quails,
Still wondering whence ſo many Kings did riſe:
Till doubting, leſt his hands or eye ſight fails,
With theſe confounded, on the fourth he flies,
And him unhorſes too, whom had he ſped,
He then all Kings in him had vanquiſhed.
For *Henry* had divided as it were
The perſon of himſelf into foure parts,
To be leſſe known, and yet known every where. *&c.*

It is written alſo of William *Lord of Niddiſdail, that he was exceeding both ſtout*

ſtout and ſtrong, beyond any that lived in his dayes, ſo that whomſoever he ſtrook but once with mace, ſword, or ſpeare, he needed never to double his ſtroke, eve-blow carried death with it. Alſo James (ſlaine at Otterburne) his perſonall valour and ſtrength is very highly extolled by the writers of theſe times, who beſides that he had the better of Percie in their duell at Newcaſtle, he himſelfe was the chiefe cauſe of the victorie that got the honour of the day at Otterburn (where he loſt himſelfe, but wan the field) by his own perſonall valour. They tell how he fought with a huge iron mace, that was heavier then any ordinary man of thoſe dayes could weild, and more then two or three of ſuch as now live. Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus. We might adde unto theſe Archbald Bell the Cat (Earle of Angus) who in a duell with Spence cut off his thigh (through bone and all) at a blow, and divers others, as Archbald of Kilſpindie, whom King James the fifth called alwayes his gray ſteel, for his valour and ability of body; but theſe ſhall ſuffice here for a taſte of their valour.

But we will not content our ſelves with a generall and abſolute commendation, we will alſo deſcend to the comparative, which we deſire may be as farre from envie, as we hope it ſhall be found neere to truth. To begin then firſt at home, there is no ſubjects race in this Countrey that can match them in theſe of which we have ſpoken, Antiquity, Nobility, Greatneſſe, and Valour or worth: in theſe (I ſay) joyntly: that is, there is none ſo Ancient, and withall ſo Noble, Great, and Valorous. No name is or ever was in this Countrey of which there can be reckoned ſo many and ſo worthy, for ſo ſtands our compariſon. The Grahames are very Ancient, (in the dayes of Ferguſe the ſecond, anno 424.) and very Noble, but have never attained to that degree of Greatneſſe as the Douglaſſes have done. The Hayes alſo are a very old and honourable name (in the reigne of Kenneth the third, anno 976.) but not ſo ancient as our Douglaſſes by two hundred yeares, for they began in the reigne of Solvathius anno 767. Theſe two (Hayes and Douglaſſes) doe agree in this, that they are (as the Grahames alſo are) naturall Scots borne; but there is great odds betweene them other wayes: For the Hayes have not reached to that pitch of greatneſſe either in degree or eſtimation, and account of men by many ſtages, as the Douglaſſes have attained. Other names which now are great, are nothing ſo ancient, and beſides are come from other Countreyes, ſuch as Hammiltouns, Gordons, Campbels: The Campbels from France, and the other two out of England. The Hammiltouns came in King Robert Bruces time, the Gordons in Mackolme Kenmores. The Murrayes are more ancient, and before all theſe, yet they are ſtrangers, and not of the firſt bloud of the Scots, and there was but one of them great and remarkable, who was Governour of Scotland; few or none Nobilitated till of late: but none of all thoſe names comes neere that number of Nobles and Worthies (by lineall or laterall deſcent) and as it were of hereditarie vertuous ſucceſſion and race of men, which we finde of the Douglaſſes. There have beene ſome great and worthy of other names, but if they enter into compariſon, they will be found (rari nantes in gurgite vaſto) but few, one or two eminent of a name, or of the chiefe houſe: it will alſo appeare that their honours (moſt of them) have flowed more from their Princes favour, then their owne great deſerving, or great ſervice againſt the enemie. The Cummins were the moſt numbrous and powerfull of any that ever were in Scotland before or ſince (as ſome of our Writers ſay) yet their greatneſſe hath rather beene in lands and poſſeſſions, or friends, then in deeds of

armes,

armes, and proweſſe of Chivalrie, having done little or nothing of note, and worthy of renowne. John Cummin *indeed fought three battels at Roſeline in one day againſt the Engliſh, in which we finde nothing reported of his perſonall valour: whereas the* Douglaſſes *did ever ſhew themſelves in perſon to be ſingularly valorous. Beſides, he was but one man, the reſt are buried in ſilence, and there is nothing to be found of them all (though all their actions were put together) that deſerves to be compared with the deeds of any one man amongſt many of the* Douglaſſes. *Moreover, as there was no great action in them, they were ſcarce good Patriots, uſing their power to the diſadvantage of their Countrey, and the oppoſing of the Liberties thereof, in King* Robert Bruces *dayes, rather then for the good and ſtanding of the Kingdome, which the* Douglaſſes *did ever. We finde alſo that they were not very carefull to keepe their promiſes, and thought the breach of their words and faith (ſo it were for their advantage) a point of good wiſedome and policy, a foule and baſe quality, and, which is ever incident to meane and baſe ſpirits, being directly oppoſite to true generoſitie and magnanimity, which is the fountaine and well-ſpring of upright dealing and truth in word and action, which were ever found in our noble* Douglaſſes.

For other Countreys, to begin with our neareſt neighbours of England, the moſt renowned name for deeds of armes amongſt them, is that of the Percies *of Northumberland, betweene whom and the* Douglaſſes *there hath ever beene a noble and generous emulation with various ſucceſſe, but for the moſt part to the* Douglaſſes *advantage; ſo that we may ſay (* Contendiſſe Decorum*) of the* Percies. *But they come farre ſhort of that number of worthies, that we have in ours. Beſides the* Percies *have not been ſo loyall Subjects, having often taken armes againſt their lawfull Princes, and being guilty of divers rebellions, plots, conſpiracies; according to which Sir* Joſſeline Percie *ſaid merrily of the powder treaſon, that it had not been a right treaſon, unleſſe a* Percie *had had a hand in it.*

But to go higher, even to the Miſtreſſe and Empreſſe of the world, Rome it ſelf: the Fabii *and* Cornelii *were the moſt numerous families, and out of theſe two houſes proceeded more Commanders, and brave Captains, then out of any that I have read, or can remember of amongſt them. Now the firſt mention that we have of them is where they are both named, in the yeare 267. from the building of Rome, twenty years after the baniſhing of their King* Tarquinius; *at which time* Quintus Fabius, *and* Servius Cornelius, *were Conſuls together: from that time till* Quintus Fabius *Conſul in the yeare 740. for the ſpace of 437. years, we finde of the* Fabii *about ſome 24. perſons that were Conſuls, Tribunes,* Decemviri, *Dictatours, Generalls, and Leaders of Armies; but for their valour or proweſſe, perſonall courage, or proper worth, the three firſt are onely famous,* Q. Fabius, M. Fabius *and* Cæſo Fabius. *Theſe three being brothers, and* Marcus Fabius *being Conſul, fought againſt the* Hetruſci *(in the yeare 269.) and* Q. Fabius *being ſlaine,* Marcus *and* Cæſo *having incouraged the armie (that was diſcouraged by the death of their brother* Quintus*) leaping over the dead corps of their brother, aſſaulted the enemy in their own perſons, and by their valour and example ſtaied their men from flying, reſtored the battle, and at laſt obtained the victorie: we reade alſo of one* Ambuſtus Fabius, *whoſe 3. ſons were ſent in an ambaſſage to the Gauls to requeſt thē not to trouble the* Cluſinii *(in the yeare, 364. 63.) Theſe three when they could not prevail, nor perſwade them*

to deſiſt from invading the Cluſinii did joyn with the Cluſinii againſt the Gauls, in which conflict Quintus Fabius (*one of* Ambuſtus *three ſons*) *ſlew with his own hands in ſight of both armies the Captain of the Gauls, and carried away his ſpoil: But he quickly ſtained that honour, he and his two brothers, by their miſgovernment at the battell of Allia againſt the ſame Gauls, where they fled ſhamefully without ſtriking a ſtroke, and by their miſguiding gave occaſion to the ſacking of Rome. The laſt is* Fabius *the Dictatour, who fought againſt* Hannibal, *famous for his conduct, but not ſo for any perſonall valour. So the* Cornelii *from the ſame* 267. *untill* 734. *when* P. Scipio *was Conſul,* 736. *when* Lentulus *was reckoning both theſe Cornelians, with the houſe of* Africane *the younger (a Cornelian by adoption, but an Emiliane borne) they are about three and thirty perſons in theſe* 167. *years, who were in great place Conſuls, Dictatours and the like, as the* Fabii: *ſome of them were alſo famous for their conduct in warre, having been brave Leaders, and Generalls of armies (as the two Africanes, their brother* Lucius, *their father and their uncle* Publius, *and* Cneus) *but for perſonall valour there are not many eminent, Onely* Aulus Cornelius Coſſus, *who ſlew* Tolumnius *King of the Veiens, and* Africane *the firſt (if it were he) who reſcued his father at the battell of are remarked for their perſonall vallour. Now neither of theſe two families doth equall the* Douglaſſes; *who in fewer years, viz. from the* 1309. *untill* 1588. *about* 300. *yeares, brought forth* 27. *perſons, all ſingular for their valour, and ſome of them far beyond any of theſe, as may be ſeen. This advantage theſe Romanes had, that living in the continent of Italy, and in a Common wealth which did ſo flouriſh, and was ſo great, their actions and deeds were more conſpicuous, being acted in a more large and ample theatre, then thoſe of our men, who were pent up in a narrow and obſcure corner of an Iſland; and had neither the Carthaginians nor* Hannibal *to fight againſt, whoſe overthrow would have given a greater ſplendour to their actions. And moreover they have had good Heraulds to ſound their prayſes aloud, and trumpet them abroad in the world, when as ours* Omnes occiderunt illacrimabiles, caruere quia vate ſacro. *And yet even by this which we have been able to collect of them, our propoſition will appear to be ſufficiently proved; with which as we began, ſo will we conclude:* So many ſo good, &c. in the world, were never ſeen of one name and family.

Touching which aſſertion, I will earneſtly intreat this favour of the courteous Reader, that he would be pleaſed to conſider what hath been ſaid in an even ballance and indifferent judgement, ſetting aſide all prejudice and pre-conceived opinion of any worth in any Nation; and if he do not approve of our concluſion, and aſſent to it, let him calmely and modeſtly impart his reaſons, and he ſhall finde me one that ſhall be moſt willing and ready to retract what hath been ſaid, and to give place to the truth, if I be not able to ſatisfie him in reaſon. For my own part, I proteſt I ſpeake as I think, and no more then I think; according to my reading and knowledge of men, and according to the meaſure of my judgement and underſtanding, without prejudice of any, who upon more knowledge and out of better judgement, ſhall find things to be otherwiſe then I have thought. In the mean time we will ſet down here, what we have ſaid of them elſe where, ſpeaking to King James *at his return into Scotland out of England, in the yeare,* 1617.

Atque

Of the *Douglasses* in generall.

Atque hæc inter tot diadcmata celsa, corollam
Annumerare tuis titulis fas ducis, & unum
Privatam (verum magnis à regibus ortam,
Regibus affinem magnis regumq; gerentem,
Sepe vicem, bellique domiq; & quod satis unum est,
Gignentem Celsum generoso semine regem,
Regem, quo tellus majorem non videt, unus
Qui terna imperii tractas sceptra alma Britanni)
Duglasiam, Angusiamq; *domum virtute secundam*
Haud ulli quas prisca aut Roma, aut Græcia jactat
Seu numero heroum, seu robore mentis & armis,
Sive fide in patriam; sceptrorum ut millia sceptris
Accumulesque tuis, numeresque in stemmate reges
Latus quotcunque orbis habet: non ultima laus hæc
Duglasius *etiam duxisse heroibus ortum.*

And thou hast thought it not unfit to set
Amongst thy many Crowns this Coronet;
A private family, and yet they be
Deriv'd from Kings, and often did supp'ly
The place of absent Kings in warre and peace,
And what may be esteem'd a greater grace,
That from their loyns thy Royall self did spring
Thy self, then whom earth sees no greater King.
You Brittains threefold Scepter justly weeld,
Douglas nor *Angus* will to no house yeeld,
Not the most fam'd of Greece, or ancient Rome,
For numbers of brave men, nor are o'recome
In strength of mind, or armes, or faithfull love
To their dear Countrey: should your state improve,
And you injoy a thousand Scepters more,
And draw your stock from all the numerous store
Of Kings the whole world holds, it would not be
Thy least praise, that a *Douglas* lives in thee.

THE HISTORY OF THE *HOVSE and RACE of* DOUGLAS and ANGUS.

Of SHOLTO DOUGLAS *the first that bare the name of* DOUGLAS, *and of whom all that beare that name are descended.*

TOuching the original of this illustrious Family and Name of *Douglas*, we must not looke for an exact and infallible demonstration; things of this nature are not capible of it. Great Antiquity is commonly accompanied with much incertainty, and the originalls even of Cities, Countries and Nations, are grounded (for the most part) upon no sure foundation, then conjecturall proofs, whose beginnings are more easily known, and better remembred then those of private families. In such cases we use to take that for truth which comes neerest to it amongst diverse narrations; and must rest on that which is most probable and apparent. *Quis rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?* sayes the Historian in a matter not unlike. And we will say with the same Authour, *Cura non decesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret: nunc fama standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem.* The beginning of our Nation, yea of both Nations (Scots and English) such as they now are, or of those that were before (Picts and Brittans) is not yet sufficiently cleared: neither is it as yet fully known from what people they are sprung, or how they got their name of Scots, English, Picts & Britans; although the learned have bestowed their pains, and imploied their pens on this subject, to the wearying, but not satisfying of the Reader. As for Scotland, Mr *Cambden* grants so much, and mocks those that have laboured in it: yet hath he himself bestowed his time and pains to as small purpose in behalf of his countrey-men the Brittans: Neither hath he done any thing, save that by his fruitles attempt (notwithstanding all his bragging) he hath made it appear, that to go about it is but to labour in vain; he himself (after all his travell) remaining no lesse Sceptick, (and to use his own words) Scotizing, then others.

Liv. lib. 7. de lacu Curtio.

And

And even Rome it ſelf (the miſtreſſe of the world) though the noon-tide of her Empire be clear and bright, like the Sunne in her ſtrength, yet how miſty is the morning and dawning thereof. Darkneſſe triumphs over the reigns and triumphs of her firſt kings; which are covered over with ſuch uncertain obſcuritie, or rather drowned in ſo profound and deep night of darkneſſe, that all her children (though they have beaten their brains, and ſpent much lamp-oyl in ſearching of it) could never clear their mothers nativity, or vindicate their father *Romulus* birth from the fable of the inceſtuous veſtall, nor his nurſing from being beholding to a ſhe Wolf.

Livius. *Detur hæc venia Antiquitati, ut miſcendo humana divinis primordia urbium auguſtiora faciat.* If he had ſaid, that Writers muſt have leave to be obſcure or uncertain in ſetting down the originall of Cities, it could not well have been denied him; but for men to invent, and to thruſt their intentions upon others to be beleeved, becauſe they know not what elſe to ſay *Detur hæc venia nobis*, to beleeve no more then is probable. Neither will that ſerve his turn, *Jam hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo, ut imperum patiuntur.* They may command our bodies, who cannot commard our ſoules, or our belief; and now we have ſhaken off the yoake of the one, and ſo we do reject the other. There is no leſſe uncertainty in *Plutarches* Theſeus and Numa. Wherefore we muſt be contented in the originall of a private family with what others are forced to content themſelves in the beginnings of Cities, Nations, Kingdomes, and Empires; which are like to ſome rivers, whoſe ſtreams and outlets are known, but their ſprings cannot be found out, as they report of Nilus. Yet this our Narration doth better deſerve credit, then thoſe of *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Theſeus*, &c. ſeeing it contains nothing that is impoſſible, nothing that is fabulous or incredible: for here are neither gods for their fathers, nor ravening beaſts their nurſes. And albeit that the Chronicle of our Countrie now extant makes no mention of their beginning, yet what we find there doth rather confirm then confute our deduction thereof. And indeed it is no wonder that they are ſilent in this point; If we conſider how *Edward* the firſt of England (ſurnamed *Longſhanks*) whom his countrey men terme (*Scotorum malleus*) the hammer of the Scots, becauſe that he deceiving the truſt, and abuſing the power of Arbitratour which was given him to decide the right to the Crown of Scotland between *Bruce* & *Balioll*, did ſo handle the matter, that ſetting the together by the ears, after they had well beaten and battered each other, he himſelf fell upon them both, and ſo hammered and bruiſed them, that he did thereby over-run all the low and plain champion Countrey. If we then conſider, I ſay, how he had to make the Scots malleable and pliable to his unlimited ambition, after he had thus cut off the flowre of the Scottiſh Nobility, deſtroyed alſo all the lawes of the realm, both civil and eccleſiaſticall, burnt the publike Regiſters, together with private Monuments, Evidents, Charters, and Rights of lands; we ſhall have greater cauſe to wonder: that any thing eſcaped ſo powerfull a King, intending the full conqueſt of the Countrey; and who had ſo jealous an eye over any thing that might encourage his new vaſſals to rebells, then that we have no more left us. Nay although he had not done this of ſet purpoſe,

and

and with intention to root out all memorialls of Nobility out of the minds of the Scots, and to embase their spirits, by concealing from them their descent and qualities; yet even the common chance and accidents of war were enough to excuse this defect: for the Lord *Douglas* lands lying in the south parts of Scotland, hard upon the borders of England, this calamity did chiefly afflict him, so that his houses were burnt, his castles razed, himself taken prisoner, and so all monuments of his originall lost or destroyed. Let us remember also, besides all this, the quality and condition of those times, in which there was great scarsity of Writers, and learned men able to preserve the memory of things by their pens, all being set on war, unless it were some few cloystred Moaks and Friers, who were both careless and illiterate droans. Notwithstanding all this, as no destruction is so generall, and so far spread, but something doth escape the fury of it; and though all monuments had been defaced, yet some men being preserved, what was written in their minds and memories remaining unblotted out, they remembred what they had heard from their predecessours, and delivered it to posterity from age to age. By which means we have (as it were) some boords or planks preserved out of this shipwrack, which may perhaps keep us from being lost in this deepth of Antiquity, if it do not bring us safe to land.

According then to the constant and generall tradition of men, thus was their originall. During the reigne of *Solvathius* King of Scotland, one *Donald Bane* (that is, *Donald* the white, or fair) having possest himself of all the western Ilands (called Ebudes, or Hebrides) and intitling himself King thereof, aspired to set the crown of Scotland also upon his head. For effectuating whereof, he gathered a great army; wherein he confided so much, that he set foot on the neareſt continent of Scotland, to wit, the province of Kintyre and Lorne. The Kings Lievetenants *Duchal* and *Culen*, governours of Athole and Argyle make head against him with such forces as they could assemble on the sudden. *Donald* trusting to the number of his men did bid them battell, and so prevailed at first, that he made the Kings army to give ground, and had now almost gained the day, and withall the Kingdome, that lay at stake both in his own conceit, and the estimation of his enemies. In the mean time a certain Noble man, disdaining to see so bad a cause have so good successe, out of his love to his Prince, and desire of honour, accompanied with his sons and followers, made an onset upon these prevailing rebels with such courage and resolution, that he brought them to a stand; and then heartning the discouraged fliers both by word and example, he turnes the chace, and in stead of victory they got a defeat; for *Donalds* men being overthrown and fled, he himself was slain. This fact was so much the more noted, as the danger had been great, and the victory unexpected. Therefore the King being desirous to know of his Lievetenants the particulars of the fight, and inquiring for the Author of so valiant an act, the Nobleman being there in person, answer was made unto the King in the Irish tongue (which was then onely in use) *Sholto Du glasse*, that is to say, Behold yonder black, gray man, pointing at him with the finger, and designing him by his colour and complexion, without more ceremony or

addition

addition of titles of honour. The King conſidering his ſervice and merits in preſerving his Crowne, and delighted with that homely deſignation, rewarded him royally with many great Lands, and impoſed upon himſelfe the name of *Douglas*, which hath continued with his poſterity untill this day. And from him the Shire and County vvhich he got, is called ſtil Douglaſdale, the River that vvatereth it, Douglas River, the Caſtle which he built therein, Douglaſſe caſtle. This narration, beſides that it is generally received, and continued as a truth delivered from han d to hand, is alſo confirmed by a certain manuſcript of great antiquity, extant in our dayes in the hands of one *Alexander Mackduffe* of Tillyſaul, who dwelt at Moore alehouſe near Straboguie. There (at his dwelling houſe) *William* Earle of Angus (who died at Paris 1616) being confined to the North (in the year 1595) did ſee and peruſe it. Neither doth this relation croſſe or diſagree with any thing ſet down in our Hiſtories: for although they do not mention this man, nor his fact, yet they all ſpeak of this uſurper, and of his attempt and overthrow in the dayes of *Solvathius* (about the year 767.) *Hollinſhed* and *Ioetius* affirm, that this *Donald* was Captain or Governour of the Iſle of Tyre. Some do call him *Bane mack Donalde*, but *Buchanan* calleth him expreſſely *Donaldus Banus*, an eaſie errour in ſo great affinity of name. There is another of the ſame name called likewiſe *Donald Bane*, who did alſo uſurp the title of the Kingdome, and was in like manner defeated in the reigne of King *Edgar* (in the year 1000) but that being 333. years after this, and not much leſſe after the Emperour *Charles Le maigne*, in whoſe time they had now propagated and ſpread themſelves in Italy (as ſhall be ſhewed anone) It cannot agree either with this Hiſtory of our *Sholto*, or with that *Donald* whom he defeated; this laſt ſeeming to be rightlier named *Mack Donald*, as deſcended, and come of the former, who was *Donalde*: wherefore there is nothing here either fabulous, or monſtrous; nothing incredible or contrary to it ſelf or to reaſon; but all things very harmoniouſly anſwering one unto another; our tradition with the manuſcript, and both of theſe agreeing with our owne and forreign Hiſtories. And thus concerning *Sholto Douglas* the root, and originall of the name and family.

Of Hugh Douglas, *ſonne to* Sholto: *And firſt of the name of* Hugh.

TO *Sholto* ſucceeded his ſon *Hugh*, of whom we have nothing to write, but that he aſſiſted his father at the overthrow of *Donald Bane* the uſurper, there being nothing elſe recorded of him.

Of his ſon Hugh *the ſecond.*

UNto the former *Hugh* did ſucceed his eldeſt ſon named alſo *Hugh*: for he had two ſons, *Hugh* and *William*. *Hugh* the elder lived at home in his native countrey as a Noble man, borne to a great inheritance,

heritance, whoſe actions by the iniquitie of time are buried in ſilence, and therefore we will inſiſt no longer thereon. His younger brother *William* (as is the cuſtome of younger brothers) went abroad into forraine Countreys to ſeek adventures of armes, if ſo he might make himſelfe a fortune that way. Of him therefore we will ſpeake next.

Of William Douglas *father of the honourable familie of the* SCOTI *in Italy.*

THis *William* was ſon to the firſt *Hugh*, and grandchilde to *Sholto*, younger brother to the ſecond *Hugh*: he it is that was father to the noble familie of the Scoti in Placenza in Italy, which fell out thus, as it is related by the Italian Hiſtorians agreeing with ours.

Achaius king of Scotland having ſucceeded to *Solvathius*, did enter into league with *Charlemaigne*, which league hath continued betwixt the Scots and French without breach on either ſide ever ſince untill theſe our dayes; whereupon when the Emperour *Charles* went into Italy to repreſſe the inſolencies of *Deſiderius* King of the Lombards committed againſt the Sea of Rome, *Achaius* as his confederate did ſend him foure thouſand choice men under the conduct of his brother *William*, a pious and valarous young Prince.

Amongſt other of his Captains that went with him, this *William Douglas* was one of the chief, and had the leading of the men of armes. The Emperour having reſtored Pope *Leo* the third to the dignity of his Seat, as he returned through Tuſcanie, amongſt other his notable acts, he reſtored alſo the Commonwealth of Florence to their former libertie; in which exploit the valour and actions of the Scotiſh Prince *William* were much remarked: the Florentines to ſhew their thankfulneſſe to the Emperour took to their Armes the Red Lillie, a part of the French Armes, the colour only being changed: And in memorie of the valour of Prince *William* they did inſtitute publike playes yearely, in which they crowned a Lion with great ceremonie and pomp, ordaining alſo that certain Lions ſhould be kept upon the charges of the common Theſaurarie, becauſe *William* had a Lion for his Armes, which is alſo the Armes of the Kings of Scotland. They have alſo a propheſie in Florence, which ſaith,

While crowned Lions live in Florence field,
To forraine Armes their State ſhall never yeeld.

Boet lib. 10. pag. 195. Holl. p. 164. Scot. Chro. Anno 787.

This Prince *William*, brother to *Achaius* King of Scotland, paſſed into Germanie, and gave himſelfe wholly to the warres, where for his ſervice by his ſword, having obtained large Territories, he led a ſingle life all his dayes, and thinking to make Chriſt his heire, he founded and doted fifteen Abbacies for thoſe of the Scottiſh Nation. It is he (ſaith *Major*) who is named in ſongs made of him, *Scottiſh Gilmore*. Now while as the Emperour and Prince *William* were in their returne from Italy towards France, *William Douglas* in his voyage through Plaiſance did fall into a heavie diſ-

eaſe, and not being able to go along with the Emperour, ſtayed at Plaiſance till he recovered his health. And then conſidering the toile and danger of ſo long a journey, as it would be into his own Countrey, he reſolved rather to remain there, then to hazzard his perſon any more, which ſuch travell would have greatly endangered: wherefore to gain the good will of the Citizens of Plaiſance, and to ſtrengthen himſelfe (being a ſtranger) by a good alliance, he took to wife a daughter of *Antonio Spettino*, one of the moſt eminent and honourable houſes in that Citie: by her he had many children, of whom are deſcended thoſe of the moſt noble Familie of the *Scoti*, who are ſo called by reaſon of this *William*, their Anceſtour, who was a Scottiſhman, the name of his Country being better knowne, and more remarkable, then either his own proper name, or the name of his Familie. Ths originall of the *Scoti* in Plaiſance is collected and confirmed, 1. by the teſtimonie of the Italian Writers; 2. by the tree and genealogie of that ſimilie; 3. and by their Coat of Arms which they give, being the ſame with the ancient Coat of the Douglaſſes, with ſome difference.

1 Touching our Authors, they are ſuch as have written the Hiſtorie of Plaiſance, which is followed forth by *Umbertus Locatus*, and *Franciſcus Sanſovinus*. This laſt (*Sanſovinus*) in the firſt book of his Hiſtorie, *De primo origine delle caſe illuſtri d' Italia*, writeth thus: *Quando Carolo Magno fece l' Impreſa in Italia contra Deſiderio Re de Longobardi (l' anno 779) hebbe per ſuo Conduttiere di huomini di armi un Gulielmo Scozzeſe della Familia di Conti di Duglaſi*, &c. aswe have ſet down before. Onely he calls it the 779 year, which our Writers call 800, or 801. There he ſhowes how this Houſe was illuſtrious from the very firſt beginning thereof: And for their rank they held in that Citie, he declares that it was one of the foure Families which did diſtribute the Offices of the City, which were theſe; *Scotta, Landra, Anguiſcila, Fontona*. And they grew at laſt ſo numerous, and ſo famous both for Letters and Armes, that having purchaſed many Rents, and great Lands and Territories, together with many Friends and Alliance, they acquired the Soveraignty of that Citie, and became abſolute Lords and Princes thereof. So that from them when they were Princes of Plaiſance did ſpring the Counts or Earles of 1 *Vegelino*, 2 *Agazano*, 3 and *Sarmetti*. They have beene allied with the chiefe Families in thoſe Provinces, the 1 *Rangoni*, 2 *Fieſhi*, 3 *Reſſi*, 4 *Pallavicini*, 5 *Lodroni*, 6 *Strozzi*, 7 *Conti d' Arco*: and the like. Then he reckons divers particular perſons, and namely (which doth ſerve to confirme this deduction) *Donatus Scotio* Biſhop of Bobio, (who lived in the yeare 846, or 48. who built a Monaſterie without the walls of Plaiſance, which he dedicated to the memory and honour of Saint *Bride* (Patroneſſe of Douglas) in remembrance that hee was a *Douglas*, as is probable. He built alſo a Church within the walls, which he gave to the Friers of the Monaſterie of Bobio, who were of Saint *Colme* (or *Columbanus*) Order, who was Abbot of Icolmekill an Iſland amongſt the Scottiſh Hebrides. And this he did (ſaith *Sanſovino*) *Non ſolamente per l' amor de Dio, ma anchora perche San Columbano fu di Hibernia Iſola de Scotia*: Not onely for the love of God, but becauſe Saint *Colme* (or *Columbanus*) was of Ireland, an Iſland of Scotland,

ſo

ſo he thought being a forreigner, being the Scots and Iriſh are mutually deſcended each of other. Then comming to ſpeak of their worth and valour, he reckons up above ſix and twenty perſons who were ever valorous in whatſoever fortune, good or bad, and had been in great employments continually for the ſpace of two hundred eighty five yeares together, under the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, *Charles* the fourth, and *Sigiſmond*: Alſo under *John* King of Bohemia, and Duke *John Maria*, in divers places, at Pavie, Candie, in Cyprus, in Albania, Famaguſta, at the Iſle of Thin againſt the Turks: in all which ſervices they behaved themſelves valorouſly, and diſcharged their places with credit and honour. There were ſome alſo famous for learning, as *Chriſtophero* Doctor of the Lawes, and Biſhop of Cavaillon (in Provence of France) and *Fiderico* an excellent Juriſconſult, and who hath written learnedly. At laſt he relates how they were overthrown by the Duke of Millain, who beſieged *Alberto Vechio*, the elder, and forced him to render upon compoſition, by which he gave divers Caſtles, Lands, and Territories, and divers Juriſdictions, with a competent eſtate and means. And here he reckons up above ten or twelve Caſtles which they ſtill poſſeſſe, all famous and honourable, with the greateſt priviledges that can be.

2. As for the Tree and Genealogie of theſe Scoti, in it we have firſt this our 1 *William Douglas*, 2 then *David*, 3 *Lanfrancus*, who had foure ſonnes, 1 *Johannes*, 2 *Raynaldus*, 3 *Ruffinus*, 4 *Rollandus*. *Johannes* had *Albertus*, who begat foure ſons; 1 *Petrus*, of whom we finde no ſucceſſion; 2 *Nicholaus*, of whom are deſcended the houſes of Fombii, Guardamilii, and Caſſaligii; 3 *Franciſcus*, or *Francus*, of whom are the Countes of Volgolino, Angazano, and Sarmetto, and thoſe of Gragnani; 4 *Jacobus*, father of the Familie of the *Caſtri ſti Johannis*. *Lanfrancus* ſecond ſon *Raynaldus* was Progenitor to the Gravahi and Varſii. 3 *Ruffinus* his third ſon was Author of the Momaghi, Magnani, *& domorum del Boſcho*. 4 Of *Rollandus* his fourth ſon are deſcended the Paſſano, and Aygveriæ. Theſe, with their off-ſpring, have multiplied and ſpread themſelves into divers parts of Italie. Alſo they are found in the Marquiſate of Salluce, in France, in Guienne, and about Bourdeaux, where they are knowne by the names of *Houglas*, having corrupted the originall name, as ſtrangers are wont to doe. There are alſo of theſe Scoti in the towne of Antwerp in Brabant, amongſt which *Petrus* and *Cornelius Scoti*, inhabitants and merchants there of the beſt ſort, who being lately challenged and interrupted by the Magiſtrates thereof, for preſuming to ſet up the *Douglas* Armes upon the tombs of their fathers, did ſend over into Scotland, in the yeare 1619. a meſſenger of purpoſe (*Alexander Seaton* by name) with their ſeverall letters ſigned with the names of *Scoti*, alias *Douglaſſi*, directed unto the Right Honourable *William* Earle of Angus, Lord Douglas, &c. acknowledging their deſcent from his Houſe, and intreating his Honours teſtimoniall thereupon. Upon which requeſt, the ſaid Earle having examined the matter by his Evidents, and other Records, found their claime to be juſt and right, was moved to ſend them by the ſame meſſenger an authentick Patent of their Pedegree under the broad Seale of Scotland, as likewiſe under the hands and ſeveral ſeales of *William* Earle of Angus, *William*

Earl of Morton, dated the 16. day of March 1621. In which patent the ſaid *Petrus* and *Cornelius* extraction from this *William* father of the Scoti, and grandchild to *Sholto*, is deduced particularly, as may be ſeen in the publike Regiſter of Scotland. 3. As for the ancient armes of the houſe of *Douglas*, they were three mullets (or ſtarres) onely in a field azure, untill good Sir *James* did adde the crowned Hart, becauſe King *Robert Bruce* did concredit to him the carrying of his heart, and burying of it at Jeruſalem. The Italian *Douglaſſes* (or Scoti) having come off before him, kept the field coat unaltered, as may be ſeen in their Tombes and other Monuments: for in Plaiſance, in Saint *Lawrence* Church, where there are above twelve ſeverall Monuments and Tombes of that Family (it being their buriall place) whereof ſome are of marble, ſurrounded with iron grates, there is an ancient Monument of a noble Lady near unto the high altar, bearing theſe three mullets, with this inſcription, *Margareta Scota Conteſſa de Burla*: but now the Italian *Douglaſſes*, or Scoti, give but two mullets, and between two they have drawn a beam argent, which begins at the right hand, and ends at the left. The reaſon of this difference is given in this letter ſent by the *Conte de Agazano* to this preſent Earle of Angus, which we wil ſet down in his own words and language, as he ſent it written, and ſigned with his owne hand, and ſealed with his ſeal.

Ill^mo Sig^r mio Ess^mo,

Quando Io hebbi l' honore de vedere in Orleans vueſtra illuſtriſsima ſignoria gli promessi fargli havere l' Arbore de la famiglia Scota de Piacenza diſceſa d' illuſtriſsima caſa di Douglas. *Ma perche non ho fin hora havuto comodita ſicura di mandarlo, non ho pagato primo queſto debito. Hora dunque con l' occaſione di un gentil. huomo, mio amico, qui paſſa in Inghilterra non ho voluto tardare piu a mandarle come faccio detto arbore o Genealogia; pregando vs ill^ma honorarmi, come mi promiſſe dell' arbore de la caſa.* Douglas *in Scotia, almeno quella parte che la rigidezza di tempi paſſati di guerri in quel regno havera permeſſo di poter conſervare la memoria, et io gli ne reſtero obligatiſsimo. L' arma antiqua di Scoti en Piaienza era conforme a L' antiche de* Douglaſſo, *come ſe vedo in ditta citta ne la chieſa de ſanto Lawrenzo. Ma al tempo che Ghelfi, & Ghibellini guerregiavano in Italia: Li Scoti. come partiali di Franceſi furon elletti capi di Gelphi in Piabenza. Et perche tutte le coſe d' numero non paro ſi intendevano Ghibellini, furono donque neceſsitati di rendere il numero delle tre ſtelle o vero a quattro o vero a due. Ma giudacando che accreſcerne non conveniva: Si reſolvettero Levarne una, a la piazza della quale per memoria miſſero. La sbarra bianca che commiciando de le parte deſtra va a finire a la ſiniſtra, che ſi la sbarra commincia ſſe a la ſiniſtra, & finiſſe a la deſtra, ſaria Ghibellini. Il champo che ſolea eſſere rizo fu d' Arrigo. 4. Imperatore dato inſieme col Cimere d' un Pellicano, il Cimere a quci Scoti ſoli che le Portano di preſente, & il campo a tutta la familia generallmente. Ho giudicato bene fare queſta poca digreſsione, accio vs Ill^am hebbi qualche notitia perche ſu ſeguita la mutatione. Mi ſara caro ch' ella ſi compiaccia ſcrevermi la ricevuta di detta Arbore, all arma del quale manca la corona ſopra, che ci deve eſſere in loco del cimere. Et volendo mi honorare di ſue lettere, in viandore all*

Illu-

Illuſtriſsimo & Eſſ^mo S^r Duca *di Nevers mio capitano ſicure, & io ne tenero obligo particulare a vs ill^ma; a la quale per fine, inſieme con Li Signori ſuoi fratelli, & figlioli bacio le mani, conpiegarle da* N. S. *ogni proſperita.*

Di Paris le 8. Maggio. 1622.

Di vs ill^ma Devotiſsimo Servit^re & parente Il Conte Marc *Antonio Scoto* d' Agazano

My honourable Lord, William Douglas.

WHen I had the honour to ſee you at Orleans, I promiſed to ſend you the Tree of the Family of the Scoti of Plaiſance; which is deſcended of the illuſtrious houſe of *Douglas*: But becauſe I have not hitherto had a convenient opportunity of ſending it ſafely, I have not yet paid this debt: Now therefore having found the occaſion of this Gentleman my friend, who was to go into England I would delay no longer to ſend, the Tree or Genealogie: which I have done, beſeeching your Lordſhip as you promiſed me to honour me with the Tree of the houſe of *Douglas* in Scotland; at leaſt, ſo much of it as the iniquitie of times paſt, and the wars in that kingdome have ſuffered to remain undefaced, and undeſtroyed, and I ſhall reſt your Lordſhips obliged for this favour.

The old armes of the Scoti in Plaiſance, were conformed to the old armes of the *Douglas*, as may be ſeen in the foreſaid Citie, in the Church of Saint *Lawrance*. But when the Ghelfs, and Ghibellins did warre one againſt another in Italy, the Scoti as partners of the French, were choſen to be heads of the Ghelfs in Plaiſance. And becauſe all things of an odde or unequall number were taken for Ghibelline, they were conſtrained to change the number of three ſtarres, into either foure or two. But eſteeming that it was not fit to increaſe the number, they reſolved to take one from them: in the place of which (in memory of it) they put a white or argent bar, which beginning at the right hand is drawn along, and ends at the left: for if it had begun at the left, and ended at the right hand, it had been Ghibelline. The field which was given by the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, together with a Pelican for the creſt, which is the Creſt of the Scoti onely, who carry it at this houre, and the field of the whole Family generally.

I have thought good to make this ſhort digreſſion, that your Lordſhip might have ſome knowledge wherfore this change was made in our coat: your

your Lordſhip ſhould do me a ſingular favour if you would be pleaſed to write unto me of the receit of this Tree, in the armes of which the Coronet is wanting, becauſe the Creſt is the place where it ſhould be, and to honour me with your letters, which you may ſend to my noble Captain the Duke of Nivers, and ſo they ſhall come ſafe to me; for which favour I ſhall be particularly obliged to your Lordſhip. So kiſſing your Lordſhips hands, together with theſe of your brethren and children, I pray the Lord to bleſſe you with all happineſſe and proſperity.

Paris 8. *May* 1622.

Your Lordſhips humble ſervant
and Couſen,
Mark Antonio Scoto *Counte*
d' Agazano.

This Tree was received by the Earle of *Angus*, who did alſo ſend to him the Tree of the houſe of *Douglas*.

Now beſides all this which we have ſaid, the Evidents and Monuments, Charters and Writs of priviledge of their houſe, do witneſſe the ſame: for in the priviledges granted to them by the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, and *Sigiſmond*, as alſo by *Giovanni Maria* Duke of Millain, the ſurname of *Douglas* is expreſly inſerted with the titles of Earles given to three ſeverall perſons of that houſe, firſt *Franciſco* created *Conte de vigolino*; *Giovanni* (his brother) *Conte d' Agazano*, by the ſaid Duke, and to *Alberto* expreſſely intituled, *Conte de Douglas & Vigolino*, by *Sigiſmond* the Emperour.

Now after all this, I hope we may juſtly ſay with *John Leſlie* Biſhop of Roſſe; *Unde certiſsimâ conjecturâ aſſequimur illam perantiquam familiam quibus (Scoti cognomen) confirmabit jam uſus loquendi, Placentiæ florentem ex nobiliſsimâ noſtrorum Duglaſiorum comitum proſapiâ oriundam fuiſſe:* that the *Scoti* in Plaiſance are come of the *Douglaſſes* in Scotland. And thus much for *William* the ſecond, ſonne to *Hugh* the firſt, and grandchilde to *Sholto*.

Of William *the firſt Lord, created Lord of* Douglas *at the Parliament of Forſaire.*

NOw to return home again to the Scotiſh *Douglaſſes*, we finde that King *Malcolme Kenmore* in a Parliament held at Forfair in Angus, in the yeare 1057. as the manuſcript, *Major* and *Buchanan* have it, but according to *Boetius*, 1061. did create many Earles, Barons (or Lords) and Knights, amongſt whom there is *Gulielmus* a *Douglas*,

glas, who was made a Barron: the words are theſe: *Malcolmus Scotorum Rex 86tus Sconæ corenatus anno* 1061. *Inde Forfarum generale indixit Concilium, volens ut Primones quod antea non fuerat, aliarum more gentium à prædis ſuis cognomina caperent: quoſdam vero etiam comites (vulgo Earles) quoſdam Barones (vulg Lords) alios Milites, aut Equites Auratos (vulgo martiall Knights) creavit Makduffum Fifæ Thanum, Fifæ Comitem, Patritium Dumbarum, Marchiarum comitem: alios quoque viros præſtantes, Montethiæ, Atholiæ, Marriæ, Cathaneſiæ, Roſsiæ, Anguſiæ, dixit comites. Johannem Soules, Davidem Dardier ab Abernethie, Simonem a Tweddell, Gulielmum a Douglas, Gilleſpium Cameron, Davidem Briechen, Hugonem a Caldella, Barones, cum diverſis aliis, Equites Auratos, perplures pauci vero Thani relicti.*—In Engliſh thus, *Malcolme* the 86th King of Scots, being crowned at Sconè in the year 1061, conveened a Parliament at Forfaire, where, according to the cuſtome of other Nations, he ordained that Noblemen ſhould have their titles to be diſtinguiſhed by their poſſeſſions, and lands, which had not been the cuſtome of this Countrey in former times. And ſo he created ſome Countes or Earles, others Barons or Lords, and others Cavalliers or Martiall Knights: he made *Mackduffe* Earle of Fife, who had been Thane of Fife; *Patrick Dumbarre*, Earle of Marche: he made alſo others of the Nobility Earles of Monteeth, Athole, Marre, Murray Cathnes, Roſſe, Anguſe. *John Souls*, *David Dardier* of Abernethie, *Simon* of Tweddale, *William* of *Douglas*, *Gileſpie Cameron*, *David Briechen*, *Hugh* of Calder, were made Barons or Lords: others more he knighted likewiſe a great many, ſo that few Thanes were left. This note of theſe very words were extracted out of the Regiſter and Monuments of Icolmekill, and ſent to *George Buchanan*, when he was in writing his hiſtory of Scotland; whereof *John Read*, (*Buchanans* ſervitour, and *amanuenſis*) having reſerved a copy, did communicate it to diverſe afterward. Now here this *William* being ranked amongſt the Nobility, who were choſen out to receive theſe new honours, could be no mean man: but in all likelyhood, the chief and principall of that name; and ſo the eldeſt deſcended of *Sholto*, and his ſonne *Hugh* the firſt, and his grandchilde *Hugh* the ſecond, by lineall ſucceſſion. This is al we have of him, ſave that it is a received generall report and tradition, that his two ſons, *John* and *William*, were Knights at the ſame Parliament, which is an argument that he hath been a man of good eſteem, and eminent place.

Of John, *the ſecond Lord of* Douglas.

William did leave behind him two ſonnes, *John* and *William*, both Knights: The eldeſt was Sir *John* of *Douglasburn*, which is a parcell of ground and mannour lying betwixt Ettrick forreſt, and Peebles. The other was *William* of Glendinning, which is about the upmoſt parts of Weſt-Teviotdale neere to Eweſdale. Now whether this *John* did ſucceed to his father in the Lordſhip, as being his eldeſt ſon and heire, who was deſigned (during his fathers life time onely) by the title of *Douglasburn*, or whether he had an elder brother, and ſo both he and Sir

Wil-

William were but cadets of the houſe of *Douglas*, we cannot affirm: But thus much they ſay, that theſe two brothers were men of great power and authority, and very worthy and valiant gentlemen. They affirm alſo that Sir *William* of Glendinning had two ſonnes, *Alexander* and *William*, of whom are deſcended thoſe of Creſſewall, Strabrock, Pompherſton, Pittendrigh, and Calder-Cleer.

Of William *the ſecond of that name, and third Lord of* Douglas.

WE have but little mention of this man, onely in a Charter granted to the town of Aire by King *David*, firſt ſonne to King *Malcolme Kenmore*, he is inſerted a witneſſe without any other title or deſignation: Then *Gulielmus de Douglas*, *William* of *Douglas*. This Charter was given the 25. or 27. yeare of his Reigne, the yeare of God 1151. two yeares before his death, which was 1153.

Of Archbald *the fourth Lord of* Douglas, *and firſt of that name*.

THere is as little mention made of this *Archbald*, as of the former *William*: we find him onely inſerted witneſſe in a ſecond Charter granted to the town of Aire, by *Alexander* the ſecond ſonne to King *William*, in the 22. of his reigne, and of our redemption, 1236.

Of the third William, *and fifth Lord of* Douglas, *maker of the Indenture with the Lord* Abernethie.

THis *VVilliam* is found in an Indenture made betwixt him, and the Lord Abernethie, which the Earles of Angus have yet extant, amongſt their other evidents and rights of their lands. The date of this Indenture is on Palmeſunday, in the yeare 1259.. in the reigne of *Alexander* the third: the place, the Caſtle of Edinburgh: It is a contract of marriage, in which the father called there *VVilliam* Lord *Douglas*, doth contract his ſonne *Hugh Douglas* to *Marjory Abernethie*, ſiſter to *Hugh* Lord *Abernethie*, The ſumme and contents thereof, are that the marriage ſhall be ſolemnized on Paſche day, that all things may be perfected before Aſcenſion day. The conditions are theſe, for the Lord *Abernethies* part, that he ſhall give with his ſiſter to *Hugh Douglas*, *viginti carictas terræ* (perhaps it ſhould be *Carrucatas terræ*) twenty plough gate of land in the towne of Glencors. And for the Lord *Douglas* part, that he ſhall give to his ſon *Hugh Douglas* and *Marjory* his wife 20. *Carrucatas in feudo de Douglas*, twenty plough gate of land in the few of *Douglas*. The witneſſes are *Alexander Cumine*, Earle of Buchan, *Raynold Cumin*, *John* of Dundie-Moore, and one *Douglas*, whoſe Chriſtian name was worn away, and

and could not be read. This ſhould ſeem to be that Indenture which Sir *Richard Metellane* of Lithington, father to *Iohn* Lord of Thirleſtane, ſometime Chancellour of Scotland, of worthy memory, doth mention in his manuſcript, where he hath carefully collected ſome memories of the houſe of *Douglas*. He ſayes that Sir *Iohn Ballandine* of Achnoute Knight, did ſhow to *Iohn Leſly* Biſhop of Roſſe, one Indenture that makes mention of *Douglaſſas* 80. yeares before that Lord *William* (the *Hardie*) who was contemporary with *William Wallace*, and this Indenture is very neare ſo long before his time. But he ſaith that the Lord *Abernethie*, who doth there indenture with the Lord *Douglas*, was father to *Marjory*, and our Indenture makes him brother to her. It may be there have been two Indentures; one before this made by her father, which not being accompliſhed during his life, hath been renewed by his ſonne or brother, or that they have miſtaken it, for there is no other ſave this onely (which doth clearly call him her brother) amongſt their writs and evidents. Upon this there was drawn up a Charter without date of either time or place; onely it appears by the tenour thereof, that it was made after the Indenture. The giver is the ſame Lord *William* to *Hugh* his ſon and heire: the lands diſpoſed to him are, Glaſpen, Hartwood, Kennox and Carmackhope, and Leholme; together with the lands ſayes he, (*quæ ſunt in calumnia inter me & hæredes Iohannis Crawford*) that are in ſuit of law betwixt me and the heirs of *Iohn Crawforde*, without any detriment. Then the cauſe of his giving is ſet down, that they may be a dowry to *Marjorie Abernethie* his ſonnes wife, and ſiſter to *Hugh* Lord *Abernethie*. Ever after this he intitles his ſonne, *Dominus Hugo de Douglas*, Sir *Hugh* of *Douglas*. It hath an expreſſe caveat, that if after the marriage be ſolemnized, the ſaid Sir *Hugh* of Douglaſdale ſhall happen to die, or if he ſhall (*aliquo malo ſuo genio*) through ſome devilliſh or wicked diſpoſition abſtain from copulation with her, ſhe ſhall brook and injoy theſe lands, although the ſaid Lord *VVilliam* ſhould be alive: And if the ſaid *Marjory* ſhall outlive the ſaid Lord *VVilliam*, thought her husband *Hugh* ſhould die before him, yet he ſhall have the third part of his lands in Douglaſdale, excepting the third of ſo much as the ſaid Lord *VVilliam* ſhall leave to his wife. There is in it another very ſtrange point, and as it were a proviſion in caſe of divorcement, or not conſummating the marriage: *viz.* that if the ſaid Sir *Hugh*, or Lord *Hugh* (*Dominus Hugo*) be then (after his fathers death) living lord and heir, or have an heire by any other wife, the ſaid *Marjory* ſhall poſſeſſe the lands notwithſtanding, all the dayes of the ſaid *Hughs* life. Now he could not have an heire by another wife, unleſſe he were firſt divorced from her. There is alſo one clauſe more touching her ſecurity, That if the Lord *Abernethie*, or his counſell ſhall deſire any other ſecurity reaſonable by Charter or handwrite, that they ſhall cauſe make the conveyance as they think good, and Lord *VVilliam* ſhall ſigne it, and ſet his ſeal to it. The ſeal at this is longer then broad, faſhioned like a heart, the letters thereon are worn away, and not diſcernable ſave onely (*Wll*) and the armes ſeeme to be three Starres or Mullets at the upper end thereof: but I cannot be bold to ſay abſolutely they were ſo. This I have ſet down the more particularly

and punctually, that by theſe circumſtances the truth may be more cleat and free from all ſuſpition of forgery and invention. I have done it alſo, that though every one be not curious or taken with theſe things, ſuch as are (of which number I preteſſe my ſelf to be one) may find ſomething to pleaſe their harmeleſſe deſire of the not unpleaſant, and ſome way profitable knowledge of Antiquity.

By this Indenture it is cleare that this *William* is not the ſame with *VVilliam Hardie*, who died in priſon, and was father to good Sir *James*, becauſe his name was *VVilliam*, and had a ſonne *Hugh*, as the other alſo had: for if we do but ſuppoſe that *Hugh* contracted to *Marjory Abernethie* were 25. yeares of age at the making of the Indenture (1259.) and that his father Lord *VVilliam* were twenty five yeares elder then his ſon *Hugh*, fiftie in all: then muſt he have been when he married the young Engliſh Lady (by whom he had divers children) and when he aſſiſted *VVilliam VVallace*, when he ſurpriſed the Caſtles of Sanquhaire and Diſdeir, and performed other warlike exploits, being ſtill in action till the 1300. about 90. or 100. years of age, which carries no likelihood with it that one ſo old, ſhould be ſo able of his body. Beſides this Lord *VVilliam* the Authour of this Indenture had for his eldeſt ſonne and heire this *Hugh* contracted to *Marjory Abernathie*, but the eldeſt ſonne and heire to that Lord *VVilliam* wanted good Sir *James*, who died in Spain: for all our Hiſtories do tell how that the Biſhop of Saint Andrews did ſute King *Edward* for good Sir *James* to reſtore him to his fathers lands and inheritance, but King *Edward* refuſed to do it: and in a Charter given by King *Robert Bruce* in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, *Bervici ſuper Twedam*, at Berwick upon Tweed, of the Lordſhip of Douglas, theſe expreſſe words are contained, *Jacobo Domino de Douglas, Filio & Heredi Gulielmi de Douglas*. This good Sir *James* dying without heire male lawfully gotten of his own body, his brother *Hugh* ſucceeded to him in the yeare 1342. in which year the ſame *Hugh* doth give a Charter of the ſaid lands and Lordſhip, to wit, Douglaſdale, together with the lands of Carmichel, Selkrick, &c. To his Nephew *William* ſon to *Archbald* his brother, which *VVilliam* did ſucceed to *Hugh*, he having no heires male, he was afterward Earle of Douglas. Now it is againſt all reaſon to think that he that was contracted to *Marjory Abernethy* (1259.) ſhould be the ſame with this *Hugh* who gives this Charter (1342.) ſeeing he muſt be now 106. or 107. years of age, which is not probable.

This *VVilliam* had to wife *Martha* ſiſter of *Alexander* Earle of Carrict, who bare to him two ſonnes, *Hugh* his eldeſt, and *VVilliam* the *Hardie*: by their alliance with the houſe of Carrick, beſides that he was not a little ſtrengthned, they being great men and powerfull, it fell out that his poſterity became of kindred to King *Robert Bruce*: for *Fergus* Lord of Galloway had two ſonnes; the elder *Gilbert*, and *Ethred* the younger. At his death he ordained that the Lordſhip of Galloway ſhould be divided betwixt them, which was done accordingly; and the diviſion was ratified and confirmed by King *William*, who did then reigne: but the King being afterward taken priſoner at Anwick be the Engliſh, *Gilbert* nothing contented with the diviſion, having got *Ethred* his brother into his hands,

hands, cauſed put out his eyes, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Lordſhip, and kept it till he died, which was before the Kings return out of England, before which *Ethred* alſo was dead. Theſe two brothers left each of them a ſonne behind him; *Gilbert* left *Alexander*, and *Ethred Rowland*. This *Rowland* finding his faction the ſtronger, thruſt out his couſen *Alexander*, and ſeized upon the whole eſtate himſelf alone, and at the Kings return took a new gift thereof of the King, who gave alſo to *Alexander*, *Gilberts* ſonne, in recompenſe and lieu thereof, the Earledome of Carrick: This *Alexander* had but one ſiſter named *Martha*, who was married to this Lord *William Douglas*, he went into Syria with *Edward* Prince of Wales, who was brother in law to King *Alexander*, the third, ſent by the King and State at the Popes requeſt, to fight againſt the Saraſins. There went with him the Earle of Athole, and many brave Knights and Gentlemen: in which expedition he died; leaving onely one daughter his heire, *Martha* Counteſſe of Carrick. She was married to *Robert Bruce*, ſonne to *Robert Bruce* (who is known by the name of *Robert* the Noble) and to *Iſabel* ſecond daughter to *David* Earle of Huntington. To this *Robert*, the Counteſſe of Carrick bare *Robert Bruce*, who was afterwards King of Scotland. So then we ſee how *Martha* Counteſſe of Carrick, and *William* the Hardie were Couſin germans; and her ſonne King *Robert Bruce*, and good Sir *James* Couſins once removed: ſo that not onely the thralled liberties of Scotland, and his private loſſes, did oblige Sir *James* to ſide with King *Robert*, and to ſtick ſo conſtantly to him, but this tie of bloud and conſanguinity alſo, being ſo near a kinſman. We are alſo to obſerve here, that *Martha* Counteſſe of Carrick, was alſo the neareſt, juſt and rightfull heire to the Lordſhip of Galloway, being deſcended of the elder brother *Gilbert*, and therefore to be preferred before *Allane*, who was deſcended of the younger brother *Ethred* by *Rowland* his father: and after her and her heires, her fathers ſiſter married to this Lord *William* was next heire to both the Earledome of Carrict, and Lordſhip of Galloway. Whether this title did move the *Douglaſſes* to ſeek the Lordſhip of Galloway, as they did afterward, and helped them to obtain it the more eaſily of the King, or of others deſcended of *Allane*, and of his heires, I leave it to be conſidered. How ever that be, we may ſee by the matching with this honourable houſe of Carrick, Galloway and Abernethy, the chief Peers in this Realme as then, that the houſe of *Douglas* was of no ſmall eſteem and account long before good Sir *James*, and that they miſtake things farre, and are but ill verſed in Antiquity that thinke he was the firſt that did raiſe that name to Nobility or greatneſſe, this *Williams* marriage having preceded his time 80. yeares at leaſt.

Of Sir Hugh *(the third of that name) and ſixth Lord of* Douglas.

William had to his eldeſt ſonne and lawfull ſucceſſour, Sir *Hugh Douglas*, who as we have ſaid was married to *Marjorie Abernethie*, daughter to *Alexander*, and ſiſter to *Hugh* Lord of Abernethie.

nethie. This houſe of Abernethie were friends and followers of the *Cummins*, and did aſſiſt and party them in all their enterpriſes, as we may ſee by their joyning with them at Kinroſſe when they took King *Alexander* the third. Their credit and favour with their Princes appears by this; That Lord *William Abernethie* got of King *William* the Abacie of Aberbrothock, or (as it may be thought rather, for the writing was dimme and hard to diſcern) the Collegiate Church lands of Abernethie, paying thence yearely twenty pound. This *Hugh Abernethie* obtained alſo of King *Alexander* the third, a Charter of the lands of Lenrie, and a penſion of fiftie pound ſterling by yeare: likewiſe he got from the ſame King a confirmation of the lands of Hulkſtone and Lileſtone. In theſe gifts the *Cummins* ſtill are witneſſes, and with them ſtiled *Patrick* Earle of Dumbarre. We finde alſo a gift of twenty pound land granted by *Iſabell* Counteſſe of Stratherne Relict of *Walter Cummin*, and her husband *John Ruſſell*. In the dayes of *Balioll* this houſe was ſo powerfull, that thy were able to make their party good againſt the Earle of Fife, whom they ſlew, and were winked at by *Balioll*: with this houſe did Sir *Hugh* match, as his father had done with Carrict and Galloway, which as it was an honourable alliance for him, ſo doth it alſo argue that the houſe of *Douglas* even then was noble and honourable, and in the rank amongſt the greateſt, as we have ſaid.

How long this Sir *Hugh* Lord *Douglas* did live after his contract and marriage, we cannot finde: but it is clear that he had no children that ſurvived and outlived their father, becauſe his brother *William* was his heire and ſucceſſour. Neither can we relate any his particular actions, onely fame and tradition have given him a received teſtimony of activitie, watchfulneſſe and diligence, by terming him good Sir *Hugh Douglas*, whom his foes found never ſleeping. He with his wife are buried in Saint Brides Church in *Douglas*.

Of William *the Hardie (or Long legge) the fourth* William *and ſeventh Lord of* Douglas.

TO *Hugh* did ſucceed his brother *VVilliam*, who for his valour and courage is diſtinguiſhed by the addition of *VVilliam the hardie*; he is named alſo *William long legge*, by reaſon of his tall and goodly ſtature, having beene a very perſonable man. Hee was twice married: firſt to the Lord Keeths ſiſter, by whom he had two ſonnes, *James* and *Hugh*, as is evident by a Charter of reſignation made by his ſon *Hugh* to his nephew *VVilliam* the firſt Earle of Douglas: his next wife was an Engliſh Lady called *Ferrar*, or *Ferrais*, of which name we finde the Earls of Darbie to have beene in the dayes of King *Henry* the third: She bare alſo two ſons, *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, and *John*, of whom are deſcended the Lords of Dalkeith, Maines, and Loghleven.

Concerning himſelfe, we finde in the Engliſh Chronicle, that when King *Edward* the firſt took in the town of Berwick (in the yeare 1295.) he was Captain of the Caſtle there, and not being able to reſiſt and hold

out,

out, the Towne being in the enemies hands, he rendred the place, with himſelfe alſo a priſoner, where he remained untill the warres were ended, by the yeelding of *Iohn Balioll* to King *Edward*. During the time of his captivitie he was to marry this Engliſh Lady, that ſo he might be drawn to favour the Kings pretenſions in conquering of Scotland. But his matching did not alter his affection towards his native Countrey, nor brake his conſtancie in performing his dutie to it.

Wherefore when he heard that *VVilliam VVallace* was riſen up, and had taken open banner againſt the Engliſh, he joyned with him, by which acceſſion of forces, *Wallace* Army was much increaſed and ſtrengthened; yet they were not alwayes together, but according to the occaſion, and as opportunity did offer, they did divide their companies, and went to ſeverall places, where they hoped to get beſt advantage of the enemie, and where there needed no great Armie, but ſome few companies at once. In theſe adventures Lord *William* recovered from the Engliſh the Caſtles of Diſdiere and Sanwheire. The manner of his taking the Caſtle of Sanwheire is ſaid to have beene thus: There was one *Anderſon* that ſerved the Caſtle, and furniſhed them with wood and fewell, who had dayly acceſſe to it upon that occaſion. The Lord Douglas directs one of his truſtieſt and ſtouteſt ſervants to him to deale with him, to finde ſome meane to betray the Caſtle to him, and to bring him within the gates onely. *Anderſon* either perſwaded by entrearie, or corrupted for money, gave my Lords ſervant (called *Thomas Dickſon*) his apparell and carriages, who comming to the Caſtle, was let in by the Porter for *Anderſon*. *Dickſon* preſently ſtabbed the Porter, and giving the ſignall to his Lord who lay neere by with his Companies, ſet open the gates, and received them into the court. They being entred, killed the Captaine, and the whole Engliſh Garriſon, and ſo remained maſters of the place. The Captains name was *Beuford*, a kinſman to his own Ladie *Ferrais*, who had oppreſſed the Countrey that lay near to him very inſolently. One of the Engliſh that had been in the Caſtle eſcaping, went to the other garriſons that were in other Caſtles and Townes adjacent, and told them what had befallen his fellowes, and withall informed them how the Caſtle might be recovered: whereupon joyning their forces together, they came and beſieged it. The Lord *Douglas* finding himſelf ſtraightned, and unprovided of neceſſaries for his defence, did ſecretly convey his man *Dickſon* out at a poſtern or ſome hidden paſſage, and ſent him to *William Willace* for aid: *Wallace* was then in the Lennox, and hearing of the danger *Douglas* was in, made all the haſte he could to come to his relief. The Engliſh having notice of *Wallace* approach, left the ſiege, and retired toward England; yet not ſo quickly but that *Wallace* accompanied with Sir *Iohn Grahame*, did overtake them, and killed 500. of their number, ere they could paſſe Dalſwynton. By theſe and ſuch like means *Wallace* with his aſſiſtance having beaten out the Engliſh from moſt part of their ſtrengths in Scotland, did commit the care and cuſtody of the whole Countrey, from Drumlenrigge to Aire, to the charge of the Lord *Douglas*. Now howbeit there be no mention of theſe things in our Chronicle, yet ſeeing the book of *Wallace* (which is more particular in many things) ſpeakes of them,

them, and the Charter of the houſe of Siminton deſcended lineally of the ſaid *Thomas Dickſon*, who for this and his other like ſervices done to this Lord, and afterward to his ſonne good ſir *Iames*, got the 20. mark land of Hiſleſide, which his poſterity doth enjoy ſtill, holding of the Lords of *Douglas* and *Angus*, and there is no doubt to be made, but he hath done much more in his aſſiſtance he gave *Wallace*, then is recorded or extant any where, there being no likelihood that in thoſe ſo buſie times, theſe ſo valiant and brave warriers did lie idle, though the particulars lie buried in deep ſilence. And certainly it was not for nought that his lands were burnt by *Robert Bruce* himſelf, his wife and children taken priſoners, and brought to the King of England: his wife and children were taken by *Bruce* himſelf, by the Lord *Clifford*. King *Edward* required him to take his oath of fidelity to the Crown of England, and become his ſubject, which he utterly refuſing to do, his lands were given to the Lord *Clifford*, and himſelf committed priſoner, and ſo he continued to the houre of his death. During which time he never abated any thing of his magnanimous courage and conſtancie, but ſhewed himſelf worthy of his noble progenitours, and no wayes ſhort of whatever worth either they had, or fame hath beſtowed on them: So did he alſo well deſerve to be predeceſſour to ſuch ſucceſſours, and father to ſuch poſterity; who (as we ſhall heare hereafter) did follow this vertuous example and pattern. How praiſeworthy is it in him, that neither the danger of his own perſon (being in the hands and power of his enemy) nor the example of ſo many as did yeeld to the victorious Conquerour, there being few or none beſide *William Wallace* that ſtood out againſt him, no not the deſperate caſe and eſtate of his Countrey brought to ſo low an ebbe, could break his reſolution to remain firme to his native ſoyl: Notwithſtanding, that by all appearance all was irrecoverably loſt, ſo that his ſtanding out againſt the King could bring no help to it, and certain enmity (for ought could be ſeen) to himſelf and his poſterity for ever.

Setting aſide all theſe regards (which are ſo common, and ſo highly accounted of in this our laſt age) not meaſuring dutie by profit, or commoditie, nor following the common rules of that wiſedome which now reignes in the world, which is to reſpect and preferre our particular before all other things; but weighing matters in another ballance, and ſquaring his actions by what was generous and right, rather then that which was gainfull and advantagious for himſelf: he hath left an example of true wiſedome, vertue and honeſty, and of true magnanimitie unto others: he dieth a free man in deſpite of his enemies, though a priſoner, and beareth witneſſe of the liberty of his Countrey, that it did not ſerve, but was oppreſſed, convincing the Tyrant of that time of violence, and the Advocates and Proctors, which either he then had, or ſince have pleaded for him in that debate, of moſt impudent and manifeſt lying. And there are ſome even in our dayes ſcarce yet aſhamed of ſo ſhamefull an aſſertion, as to affirm that Scotland, and ſome of their Kings have yeelded obedience, and homage, to a forrain Prince, acknowledging him for their Soveraigne. But the truth hereof is, that it hath been oppreſſed, but never ſerved; it hath been overcome, and overrunne, but it never yeelded:

And

And in the owne time through conſtancy and courage, did at laſt overcome the overcomer, and ſhake off the yoake of forrainers in ſpight of all their force and fraud; whereof as the Lord *Douglas* in this cataſtrophe of his life is a pregnant witneſſe, ſo hath he left behind him an honourable memory of an invincible mind, and a leſſon for tyrants to teach, and let them ſee how weake a thing tyranny is, and how ſmall power and force it hath when it meets with true courage, though it were but of one man, who overcomes their force and falſhood, with truth and conſtancy: And certainly this Lords vertue and merits are ſuch, as, how ever thoſe that come after him did fall into more happy times, and had better occaſions to ſhow themſelves, and to make their actions more conſpicuous towards their Countrey: yet, there is no reaſon why he ſhould be thought inferiour to any one of them, becauſe his fortune was harder then theirs: Nay, he ought rather to be preferred ſo much the more, as he was more aſſailed, and compaſſed about with difficulties, and did wraſtle with the neceſſities of the times without ſhrinking, or ſuccumbing under the burden: Beſides it was he that planted and laid the foundation, upon which they builded ſo honorable interpriſes, & did perfect what they had begun.

Some write that he being cited by King *Edward*, with others of this Countrie, appeared upon the citation, and that he was not apprehended by fraud or force, but came of his own accord to Berwick: which if he did, it hath not been to confeſſe, or acknowledge any ſervitude, or homage, as due to *Edward*, or the Engliſh, but to plead for the liberty of his Countrey, and to proteſt and teſtifie againſt his uſurpation. Others ſay, that he and the Biſhop of Glaſgow being challenged to partake in a conſpiracy againſt King *Edward*, under a pretext of a treatie with *Percie*, (to avoid the imputation of diſloyaltie and treaſon, of which he would not be partaker) he came and yeelded himſelf to the King, which if it be true, was a very honourable and generous fact, remarkable and rare to be found, that no love of his Countrey, nor hatred of tyranny (ſo ſtrong and powerfull motives) could draw him to be partaker of any diſhoneſt action, though againſt his enemy. Methinks ſuch noble carriage might have procured more noble dealing at King *Edwards* hands, and have wrung more favour from him, which ſince it did not, it may be taken as an argument, as want of goodneſſe in himſelf, who had neither judgement to diſcern in vertue, nor a heart to honour it in others: But for my owne part I thinke it moſt likely that hee was taken by one means or other, and brought in againſt his will, but whether hee were brought in with his will, or came in againſt his will, that word of yeelding (which they aſcribe to him) is either very impertinent, or elſe very warily to be underſtood; to wit, for the yielding of his perſon onely, not of the liberty of his Countrie, which he never yeelded: neither for the acknowledging of any Engliſh authority over it or himſelf which he never would do, but chooſe rather to die in priſon in *Hogs* towre in Berwick. There are that ſay he was ſent from Barwick to Newcaſtle, and from thence carried to Yorke, in the Caſtle whereof he died, and was buried in a little Chappell at the ſouth end of the bridge which is now altogether decayed. His death (which is reckned of ſome to have fallen out in

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the yeare 1307.) muſt have been ſooner in the year 1302. for his ſonne Sir *Iames* returned into Scotland in the yeare 1303. when *Edward* was at Stirling, where the Biſhop of Saint Andrewes did recommend him to the King: Now Sir *Iames* came not home till he heard newes of his fathers death. It is alſo ſaid of this Lord, that he had the Iſle of Man, whether as heritable poſſeſſour, or as Governour onely it is not known; but it is well known that this Iſland belonged to the Crown of Scotland, and that the *Douglaſſes* have had more then an ordinary intereſt therein; *Douglas* Caſtle, and *Douglas* Haven, which carry their names to this day, do beare ſufficient witneſſe. But whether from this man or ſome other, is not ſo eaſie to determine peremptorily.

Of good Sir James, *the firſt* James, *and eighth Lord of* Douglas.

THe next is *Iames*, commonly called good Sir *Iames*, whom men account as the firſt, of whom the houſe of *Douglas* received the beginning of their greatneſſe, which came at laſt to exceed others ſo farre, that it did almoſt paſſe the bounds of private ſubjects. He was as we have ſaid already, ſonne to the ſame *William* by his firſt wife the Lord *Keeths* ſiſter: his education in his youth is ſaid to have been in vertue and letters; firſt at Glaſgowe, aftetwards at Paris: for his father being encombred with warres, and laſt impriſoned, his uncle *Robert Keeth* conveyed him away to Paris in the time of *Philip le bell*, where he remained exerciſing himſelf in all vertuous exerciſe, and profited ſo well, that he became the moſt complete, and beſt accompliſhed young noble man in the Countrey, or elſewhere. Being certified of his fathers death, the love of his native ſoile made him to return into Scotland, to order the courſe of his life, by the counſell and advice of his friends. But when he came home, finding his patrimony diſpoſed by King *Edward* to the Lord *Clifford*, and his friends ſcattered and diſperſed, having by his mother ſome relation of kindred to *William Lambert* Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, he addreſſed himſelf to him, who did receive him kindly, and entertain him nobly. And when King *Edward* the firſt was come to Stirling in his laſt journey (at what time he in a manner overanne all Scotland, and deſtroyed the monuments thereof) the Archbiſhop going thither to ſalute him, carried this young man along with him: and taking his opportunity, preſented him to King *Edward*, humbly intreating him to take him into his protection, and to reſtore him into his fathers inheritance, and imploy him in his ſervice, as a youth of great hope and expectation, and ſuch as might be uſefull and ſtedable if he ſhould be pleaſed to uſe him. The King demanded what he was, and having underſtood what his name and lineage was, and that he was ſonne to Lord *William*, did abſolutely refuſe to do him any courteſie, or favour, nay he could not abſtain from reproachfull and contumelious words againſt the obſtinacy and treaſon (ſo was he pleaſed to nickname vertue) of his father, ſaying, that he had no ſervice for him, nor for any ſuch traitours ſon as his father was; that he had given his lands to better men then himſelfe, and thoſe

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that had done him better ſervice then he was able to doe; and though they had not been given, yet would he never have given them to him. So implacable he was, and ſuch pride had he conceived, with contempt of the depreſt eſtate of this ſupplicant, little remembring the variableneſſe of the eſtate of man; and little knowing or conſidering, what weight and moment may be in one man alone, in whatſoever condition, to braule ſometimes, and to help even to diſappoint and overthrow the enterpriſes of the mightieſt Monarchs. It came even ſo to paſſe in this man, who did this Kings ſonne and ſucceſſour ſuch a piece of ſhrewd ſervice, as he had never the like in all his life: which had been more ſhrewd, if the ſpeed of his horſes, and the undutifulneſſe of ſome Scots, that received him into their Caſtle of Dumbarre, when he fled from Bannockburne, had not ſtood him in better ſteed, then all his huge Hoaſt and rich Kingdome, wherewith he was ſo puffed up. Whereby Princes and great men may learne, not to deſpiſe the meanneſſe and moſt afflicted ſtate of any, nor to looſe the reins neither to unjuſt actions, or reproachfull words.

Sir *James* being thus rebuked, what could he do againſt a King, a Monarch, a victorious and triumphant King: to whom all had yeelded, with whom all went right well, in his ruffe, in his higheſt pitch, in his grandor, compaſſed about with his guards, with his armies: to controll him, he was not able; to plead for juſtice, it would avail him nothing; to reply, could profit him leſſe: a Prince, his victors word is a law, nay more then a law for the time. There was no conteſting, no contradicting, were his ſpeeches never ſo unjuſt: he behoved to ſwallow this pill (how bitter ſoever) there was no remedy but patience. Nay, the Archbiſhop muſt be ſilent alſo, and dares not mutter one word, wherefore home he goes with this ſcorn, to expect a better time of replying: not in words, but deeds, and of ſhowing what ſervice he was able to have done to him. The occaſion of which though it were over long in coming in reſpect of his deſire, yet did fall out, not very long after: for within two or three years (1305.) *Robert Bruce* came into Scotland, not yet a King (ſave in courage) but having right to be King of the Countrey, whom *Edward* had ſerved in the ſame kind, and who had received the like anſwer and ſcorn in a Petition not unlike, for both did crave their fathers inheritance, Sir *James* onely a Lordſhip, and the *Bruce* a whole Kingdome, which was but his due, and he had done him better ſervice then Sir *James*. He had fought againſt his own Countrey for him, ſpent the bloud of his friends, and his owne, in hope of it; with great loſſe to himſelf, and example to others not to do the like. But neither duety, nor deſert, nor promiſe could overſway his ambition, and maſter it ſo farre, as to ſuffer him to perform what he had promiſed: and not content to have fed this Prince with the food of fools, faire hopes, and after ſo much imployment and many notable ſervices, to fruſtrate him, he muſt needs alſo embitter all, with a flouting anſwer to his demand. To ſuch a height of pride had proſperity raiſed him, that no modeſty could keep him from looſing the reins to an unbridled tongue, which doth never beſeem a man, much leſſe a Prince: wherefore as hatred and deſpight did animate him againſt Sir *James*, for his fathers refuſing to ſerve him: ſo ambition did work the ſame affecti-

on in him againſt *Robert*, though he had ſerved him; both were refuſed of their ſuits, both their petitions were rejected; the one with ſpight, the other with deriſion. What (ſaith King *Edward*, being urged with his promiſe of giving the Kingdome of Scotland to *Bruce*) *N'avons nous antre choſe a faire, que de conquerir des royaumes pour vous?* ſpeaking in French, Have we nothing elſe to do, but to conquer Kingdomes for you? Kings, Potentates, Victors, ſhould not be preſſed with their promiſes: So they think, and ſo men ſay; lawes are not made for them, which they leap over at their pleaſure. And it might be thought ſo perhaps, if their power were perfect, and if there were not a more abſolute and over ruling power, that is able to range them under reaſon. We ſhall finde it ſo even in this particular in the owne time, although this were no time for him to reply: no more then it had been for Sir *Iames* at Stirling. But the time being now come in the yeare 1305. as ſaid is.

But the time being now come, though not ſo fit as he could have wiſhed, yet as it was he behoved to uſe it, and make vertue of neceſſitie. And ſo withdrawing himſelf ſecretly out of England, he came to Dumfreis, and there ſlew *John Cummin* his greateſt enemy, determining from thenceforth to behave and carry himſelf as King of this Realme. And here by the way, we may obſerve Gods providence towards this Kingdome, in preſerving the liberties thereof, who had before ſtirred up *William Wallace* like another *Sampſon* to vindicate it out of the hand of the Engliſh. Now that he is gone, he ſends home our lawfull Prince, and righteous ſucceſſour to the Crown, to fight our battles for us, and to perfect the work which the other had begun; onely for ſo much as about this time, *John Monteeth* under colour of friendſhip, had betrayed *William Wallace* into the hands of the Engliſh for money; and he being taken and carried to London, was by King *Edwards* command, tortured and put to death with great cruelty; and his armes, and legs, and head, hung up in the moſt eminent places and Cities both of England and Scotland. Of which fact of *Edwards* we will ſay no more, but onely ſet down the ſaid *Wallaces* Epitaph, which is perfixed to that book that is written of his exploits in Scots rime. The Epitaph is in latine verſe, but the Authour is incertain, and the more is the pity, for he deſerves to have been better known. Thus it is,

Invida mors triſti Gulielmum *funere vallam,*
Quæ cuncta collit, Suſtulit
Et tanto pro cive, cinis; pro finibus urna eſt,
Friguſque prò loricâ, obit.
Ille licet terras loca ſe inferiora, reliquit:
At fata factis ſupprimens,
Parte ſui meliore ſolum, Cœlumque perrerat
Hoc ſpiritu, illud gloria.
At tibi ſi inſcriptum generoſo pectus honeſto
Fuiſſet, hoſtis proditi
Artibus, Angle, tuis in pœnas parcior eſſes,
Nec oppidatim ſpargeres

Membra

Membra viri ſacranda adytis, ſed ſcin quid iniſta
Immanitate viceris
Ut vallæ in cunctas oras ſpargantur & horæ
Laudes, tuumque dedecus.

A verſe, whereof *Buchanan* needed not to have been aſhamed.

Envious Death, who ruines all,
Hath wrought the ſad lamented fall
Of *Wallace*, and no more remains
Of him, then what an Urn contains.
Aſhes for our *Heroe* we have,
He for his armour a cold grave.
He left the earth too low a ſtate,
And by his worth o're came his fate.
His ſoul death had no power to kill,
His noble deeds the world doth fill
With laſting Trophies of his name.
O ! hadſt thou vertue loved, or fame ;
Thou couldſt not have inſulted ſo
Over a brave betraid dead foe,
Edward, nor ſeen thoſe limbs expos'd
To publick ſhame, fit to be clos'd
As Reliques, in a holy ſhrine;
But now the infamy is thine.
His end crownes him with glorious bayes,
And ſtains the brighteſt of thy praiſe.

But to return to our Sir *James*: he is no ſooner advertiſed of the *Bruces* arrivall into Scotland, and of the *Cummins* ſlaughter, when without either ſummons or intreaty (ſave of his own mind in that common caſe ſimpathiſing with the other) he reſolves to try his fortune in that courſe with him. But what could he do (poore Gentleman) being in ſuch neceſſity, and deſtitute of all help: he had neither horſe, nor armour; nor followers for ſuch a buſineſſe: all was gone, and violently taken from him by the iniquity of the times, and the prevailing of the enemie. There was neither friend nor mean left for his proviſion. Shall he burden Archbiſhop *Lambert*? what could a Prelate do? what could he, eſpecially being under the beaſts feet, as we ſay, and ſubject to King *Edward*? It is better ſometimes to force a friend, then to indanger him. Compulſion may be uſed where there is perill in the conſenting: chiefly if the party be not unwilling, the ground right, and the cauſe good: otherwiſe, violence is never to be attempted, neither is iniquity, fraud or falſehood, (evill and hurtfull courſes) either againſt private men, or the publick ſtate to be warranted by this example. To it he goes, and robs *Lambert* of what he durſt not give him: he inticeth his ſervants; whoſe hearts did ſerve them to ſerve him in that hazard, whom their Lord durſt not command to go with him: he takes alſo ſome gold from him, and provides himſelf a

horſe and armour, and that all might ſeem to bee done by the ſtrong hand; and violence might plead for the Biſhop at King *Edwards* hands, he beats the reſt of the ſervants that were left behind, and ſo goes away with the prey: An honourable robber, and juſt ſpoiler! He meets *Robert Bruce* at Arickſtone in the head of Anandale. If he were welcome or not, I leave it to the conſideration of the Reader: he was received as his Couſin, and uſed as a companion, and continued a faithfull Friend and loyall Subject, ſo long as their dayes continued, without variance, emulation or jealouſie, or grudge on either ſide. A happy King by ſuch a ſervant! A happy ſervant by ſuch a Prince! A happy Countrey by ſuch a ſociety and pair of worthy friends! (So it is where vertues encounter, begetting mutuall affection, and produce notable effects.) The Biſhop of Roſſe *John Leſlie* ſayes, that he carried this money to *Bruce* from the Archbiſhop, and makes no mention of any force, whoſe commendation of this *James* is not amiſſe to be here inſerted. *Hoc tempore quidam* Jacobus Duglaſius, *altiſsimi animi, & ad quævis pericula ſubeunda paratiſsimi adoleſcens, dum cum animo ſuo reputat* Robertum (*omnibus virtutum ornamentis excultum*) *injuſtis Anglorum armis vexari, & iniquis belli telis configi, ab Epiſcopo Sancto Andreapolitano, in cujus fuit comitatu, pecuniam grandem ad* Roberti *cauſam labantem ſuſtentandam impetravit, illamq; illi quam celerrime tulit. Cui in bello ſtrenuam, in pace liberam, in adverſis fidelem, in proſperis jucundam operam per reliquum vitæ curriculum ſemper poſt ea navavit. Ab hoc* Jacobo *clariſsima* Duglaſiorum *familia primum ſuæ Nobilitatis nomen accepiſſe perhibetur.* In Engliſh thus: At this time one *James Douglas*, a youth of high ſpirit, and ready to undergo whatſoever perill, conſidering with himſelf how *Robert Bruce* (a man adorned with all vertues) was vexed with the unjuſt armes of the Engliſh, and purſued with warre againſt all equity: obtained of the Biſhop of Saint Andrews (in whoſe company he was) a great ſumme of money, to uphold the now declining cauſe of *Robert*; which money he carried to him with all diligence, and ever after aided him in his warres valiantly: in peace he was free and upright, pleaſant in proſperity, and faithfull in adverſity, during all the dayes of his life. From this *James* the noble family of the *Douglaſſes* is counted to have taken the beginning of greatneſſe: ſo farre *John Leſley*.

To return: their efforts at firſt were of exceeding hard ſucceſſe. *Robert Bruce* was crowned at Scone in the yeare 1306. in April, at which Sir *James* aſſiſted, caſting into a heape, as others did, a quantity of earth of his lands of Douglas, which making a little hill, it is called yet *Omnis terra*. This was the cuſtome of thoſe times, by which homage they that held the King of Scotland Supreme under God, were diſtinguiſhed from others. Some moneths after the coronation, about the 19. of June, they were defeated in a conflict at Methven by *Odamarre de Valence* Earle of Pembroke, but without any great loſſe of men: for they being few in number, and perceiving their inequalitie, fled betimes, while their men were yet in breath and unwearied, having adventured ſo far rather to trie their fortune, what it was like to prove in their maine intentions, then in hope of victorie, where there was ſo great odds every way. There were taken at this battell Sir *Thomas Randulph* a young ſtripling, Sir *Alexander Fraſer*,

Fraſer, Sir *David Barclay*, *Inſh Martin*, *Hugh de la Hay*, or *Hugh Hay*, *Sommervale*, and ſome others, whom Sir *Aimer Valence* cauſed to promiſe fealty to the King of England, and on that condition ſaved their lives: eſpecially *Randulph*, who is remarked after this to have beene very forward for the King of England, till he was taken againe by Sir *James Douglas*, as we ſhall heare hereafter. After this battell they retired to the Caſtle of Kildrummie, where the Queene and divers other Ladies remained in great ſcarcitie of vivers, being ſuſtained moſt part by what Sir *James Douglas* tooke by hunting and fiſhing. Not long after, as they went by Athole into Argyle, *Athole* having intelligence of them, invaded them, together with *Lorne* his ſiſters, and conſtrained them to fight at a place called Dalree (which is to ſay, The Kings field) about the twelfth of Auguſt; their fortune was no better then it had beene before, the day was loſt, ſome but not many of their men ſlaine, they themſelves put to flight, and by flight faine to ſave their lives by lurking amongſt the hils for a ſeaſon in a moſt deſert place, living upon roots and herbs, and lying in the open fields on the bare ground, or among the heath, ſometimes but with one, other times with none to attend them, being uncertaine whom to truſt, in that frowning of fortune, when commonly there are but few that remain friends, and many become enemies, baſe minds ſeeking thereby either to avoid harm, or to gain favour of the ſtronger. At laſt finding that they were hotly hunted after, and hardly followed, they thought it their ſafeſt way to go to the Weſtern Iſles. Lochlowmond lay in their way, whether being come, and having found an old boat, Sir *James* (however expert in that Art before) having learned ſo much by that great Schoolmaſter Neceſſity, rowed his King over this Lake in a night and half a day. Thus ſaith the manuſcript, but it ſeemeth rather to have been ſome other Lake then Lochlowmond, or rather ſome inlet of the Sea (which are called ſometimes Lakes) between the main Land and the Iſle in which they lurked: becauſe Lochlowmond is of no ſuch breadth, as that it ſhould be eſteemed a great matter to row over it in that ſpace: and beſides they did row to an Iſle where they did reſt amongſt our Æbudes, to none of which Lochlowmond is adjacent. The *Bruces* book ſaith not that they rowed through the Lake to the Iſle, but through the Lake to the next land, and then paſſed to the Sea ſide where they provided boats in which they ſailed to the Iſles. It attributes alſo this rowing to others, then Sir *James*, though hee were the firſt finder of the old boate.

Thus it went with them, and to ſuch an exigent was the hope of our Countrey brought. Thus we ſee theſe great minds, and (afterwards) great men in a baſe, poore, and perillous, but never miſerable eſtate (which vertue is not capable of) deſolate in it ſelf, deſtitute of friends, and their firſt attempts daſht by the mean under Captains of their great enemy King *Edward*. But ere they have done, they ſhall make his ſucceſſour to flie in the like ſort in a ſmall fiſher boat, poorely accompanied to ſave his owne perſon, after the loſſe of his army. On ſuch moments do the hopes and fears of mortall men depend, and ſuch viciſſitude is the eſtate of thoſe glorious crowns ſubject unto, which men do ſo much affect, with ſuch

travell

travell and turmoil; as for them, it was not the Crowne onely, but their libertty alſo, that they ſuffered for: and not their owne liberty alone, but the freedome of their Countrie and Patriots, which they ſought to maintain againſt injuſtice, fraud and violence. Wherefore we never heare that they fainted at any time, or diſpaired any time in the midſt of diſpair: ſuch force hath a good cauſe in a good heart, the Authour of goodneſſe, no doubt ſitting at the rudder of that boat, and preſerving the old ſheards of it, ſo that they gave no place to the violence of the waves, and their hearts from yeelding to that deſpair that every way did aſſault them, untill he had finiſhed that work he had to do with them; for recovering the liberty of their Countrey, and beating down the pride of tyranny, that hee might in all this ſhow his own might and prerogative, in caſting down and ſetting up at his pleaſure. Such hard beginnings have oftentimes the greateſt works, and ſo little ought either hope or diſpaire bee grounded on the firſt ſucceſſe.

Being landed in this little Iſle, which the *Bruces* book calls Rachrine, (other Authours name it not) they remained a while hidden there with a ſpeciall friend of King *Roberts*; both the Iſle and the man being worthy of more expreſſe honour, and a perpetuall memory of their names: he for his faithfull friendſhip, the Iſle for its ſafe receit, and harbouring ſo good gueſts, and their good luck after this receit, their efforts from hence forward having been almoſt ever proſperous. Their ſafety was (moſt part) in this, that men believed they were not ſafe; ceaſing to ſeek thoſe whom (they thought) had ceaſed to be, taking them to have periſhed, becauſe they appeared no where to the view of the world. Like example is long ſince recorded of *Maſiniſſa* King of Numidia: and their lurking doth bring forth the like fruit and effects.

But it was not fit for them to lurk too long: their friends might ſo have been diſcouraged, and loſing hope, have forſaken the cauſe, whereby the work would have been the more difficult, if not impoſſible. Therefore to begin again afreſh, the King obtains from his good friend ſome ſmall company of men, and Sir *James* with fourty of theſe (which hee got of the King) went and tooke in the Caſtle of Arane by a ſtratagem. A ſmall, but happy flouriſhing of a better ſpring time, after that their tempeſtuous winter, which ſhall yeeld a full harveſt, and bring forth the ripe fruit of liberty to their Countrey, and the ſettling of the Kingdome to his maſter, and his poſterity, untill theſe our dayes, and we hope for ever. Thither came the King alſo within two dayes (and hearing of them) *Malcolme* Earle of Lennox. Theſe ſailed from thence into Carrict, where they tooke a Caſtle of the Kings proper inheritance, but the Writers do not name it.

And here indeed the courſe of the Kings misfortunes begins to make ſome halt and ſtay, by thus much proſperous ſucceſſe in his own perſon; but more in the perſon of Sir *James*, by the re-conqueſts of his owne Caſtles, and Countries: from hence he went into *Douglaſdale*, where by the means of his fathers old ſervant *Thomas Dickſon* he tooke in the Caſtle of Douglas, and not being able to keep it, he cauſed burn it, contenting himſelf with this, that his enemies had one ſtrength fewer in that Countrey

then

than before. The manner of his taking of it is ſaid to have beene thus: Sir *James* taking onely with him two of his ſervants, went to *Thomas Dickſon*, of whom he was received with tears, after he had revealed himſelfe to him, for the good old man knew him not at firſt, being in meane and homely apparell. There he kept him ſecretly in a quiet chamber, and brought unto him ſuch as had beene truſty ſervants to his father, not all at once, but apart and by one and one, for feare of diſcoverie. Their advice was, that on Palmſunday, when the Engliſh would come forth to the Church, being a ſolemne Holiday; he with his two ſervants ſhould come thither apparelled like countrey taskers, with mantles to cover their armour, and when he ſhould perceive that the Engliſh were in the Church, and his partners were conveened, that then he ſhould give the word, and cry the *Douglas ſlogan*, and preſently ſet upon them that ſhould happen to be there, who being diſpatched, the Caſtle might be taken eaſily. This being concluded, and they come, ſo ſoone as the Engliſh were entred into the Church with Palmes in their hands (according to the cuſtome of that day) little ſuſpecting or fearing any ſuch thing; Sir *James*, according to their appointment, cryed too ſoone (a *Douglas*, a *Douglas*) which being heard in the Church (this was Saint Brides Church of Douglas) *Thomas Dickſon*, ſuppoſing he had beene hard at hand, drew out his ſword, and ran upon them, having none to ſecond him, but an other man, ſo that oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, he was beaten downe, and ſlaine. In the meane time Sir *James* being come, the Engliſh that were in the Chancel kept off the Scots, and having the advantage of the ſtrait and narrow entrie, defended themſelves manfully. But Sir *James* encouraging his men, not ſo much by words, as by deeds and good example, and having ſlain the boldeſt reſiſters, prevailed at laſt, and entring the place, ſlew ſome 26 of their number, and tooke the reſt, about 10. or 12. perſons, intending by them to get the Caſtle upon compoſition, or to enter with them when the gates ſhould be opened to let them in: but it needed not, for they of the Caſtle were ſo ſecure, that there was none left to keepe it ſave the porter and the cooke, who knowing nothing of what had hapned at the Church, which ſtood a large quarter of a mile from thence, had left the gate wide open, the porter ſtanding without, and the Cooke dreſſing the dinner within. They entred without reſiſtance, and meat being ready, and the cloth laid, they ſhut the gates, and tooke their refection at good leaſure.

Now that he had gotten the Caſtle into his hands, conſidering with himſelfe (as he was a man no leſſe adviſed then valiant) that it was hard for him to keep it, the Engliſh being as yet the ſtronger in that Countrey, who if they ſhould beſiege him, he knew of no reliefe; he thought better to carry away ſuch things as be moſt eaſily tranſported, gold, ſilver, and apparell, with ammunition and armour, whereof he had greateſt uſe and need, and to deſtroy the reſt of the proviſion, together with the Caſtle it ſelfe, then to diminiſh the number of his followers, for a garriſon there where they could do no good. And ſo he cauſed carrie the meale and malt, and other cornes and graine, into the Cellar, and layd all together in one heape: then he took the priſoners and ſlew them, to revenge the death

death of his truſtie and valiant ſervant *Thomas Dickſon*, mingling the victuals with their bloud, and burying their carcaſſes in the heap of corne: after that he ſtruck out the heads of the barrells and puncheons, and let the drink runne through all, and then he caſt the carkaſſes of dead horſes and other carrion amongſt it, throwing the ſalt above all, ſo to make altogether unuſefull to the enemie; and this Cellar is called yet the *Douglas* Lairder. Laſt of all, he ſet the houſe on fire, and burnt all the timber, and what elſe the fire could overcome, leaving nothing but the ſcorched walls behind him. And this ſeemes to be the firſt taking of the Caſtle of Douglas, for it is ſuppoſed that he took it twice. For this ſervice, and others done to Lord *William* his father, Sir *Iames* gave unto *Thomas Dickſon* the lands of Hiſleſide, which hath beene given him before the Caſtle was taken, as an encouragement to whet him on, and not after, for he was ſlaine in the Church: which was both liberally and wiſely done of him, thus to hearten and draw men to his ſervice by ſuch a noble beginning. The Caſtle being burnt, Sir *Iames* retired, and parting his men into divers companies, ſo as they might be moſt ſecret, he cauſed cure ſuch as were wounded in the fight, and he himſelfe kept as cloſe as he could, waiting ever for an occaſion to enterpriſe ſomething againſt the enemie. So ſoone as he was gone, the Lord *Clifford* being advertiſed of what had happened, came himſelfe in perſon to Douglas, and cauſed re-edifie and repair the Caſtle in a very ſhort time, unto which he alſo added a Tower, which is yet called *Harries* Tower, from him, and ſo returned into England, leaving one *Thruſwall* to be Captain thereof.

Sir *Iames* his men being cured of their wounds, and refreſhed with reſt, he returned again to the King, at what time he was ready to fight with Sir *Aymore Valence*, the Lord of Lorne, and Sir *Thomas Randulph*, at Cumnock. The King had not above 400. men, ſo that being almoſt encompaſſed by the enemie ere he was aware, he was forced to forſake the field, having loſt his Banner, which was taken by Sir *Thomas Randulph*, by which he got great credit with King *Edward*. King *Robert* in his flight, or retreat, divided his men into three companies, that went ſeverall wayes, that ſo the enemie being uncertaine in what company he himſelf were, and not knowing which to purſue ratheſt, he might the better eſcape. When they were all come againe to the place of their rendezvous, which the King had appointed when he divided them, Sir *Iames Douglas* perſwaded the King to ſet upon a company of the enemies, who were very ſecurely lying by themſelves farre from the body of the Army, without feare of any danger: which the King did, and having ſlaine 200. of them, he ſcattered the reſt.

After this, Sir *Aymore Valence* (being then Warden for King *Edward* in Scotland, and reſiding himſelfe at Bothwell) ſent Sir *Philip Mowbray* with a company of men, about 100. into Coile and Cunninghame, to keepe the Inhabitants in their obedience to England; whereof when Sir *Iames Douglas* had notice, and knowing the way by which they muſt go (called Machanacks way) he lay in a ſtraight foord betweene two mariſhes, called Ederſoord, accompanied with ſome 40. choice men, and there riſing up of a ſudden, ere Sir *Philip* was aware, they routed his men,

and

and chaſed himſelfe, who did eſcape very narrowly, for he left his ſword with them, and fled alone to Kilmarnock and Kilwinnin, the reſt back to Bothwell. This was before the battell of Lowdoun hill, where both the King and Sir *Iames* were preſent, at which they defeated Sir *Aymore Valence* and 3000. men, they having onely 500. which Sir *Aymore* tooke ſo to heart, that he retired himſelfe into England, where he gave over his charge of Warden, and never returned into Scotland againe with any command, except it were when the King came in perſon. The Engliſh Chronicle ſayes that the King diſcharged Sir *Aymore* who was Earle of Penbrooke, and placed *Iohn de Britton* in his office, and made him Earle of Richmond. Theſe particulars I cannot gheſſe why they ſhould have beene omitted by our Writers, being ſo remarkable defeats; where diligence, dexteritie, and valour, have beene uſed with wiſedome and judgement. However, upon this withdrawing and departure of Sir *Aymore Valence*, King *Robert* being rid of the greateſt danger, makes toward Innerneſſe, leaving Sir *Iames* behinde him, to recover ſuch places as were ſtill in the enemies hands. He therefore getting him into Douglaſdale, did uſe this ſtratagem againſt *Thruſwall* Captaine of the Caſtle of Douglas, under the Lord *Clifford*: hee cauſed ſome of his folkes drive away the cattell that fed neare unto the Caſtle, and when the Captaine of the garriſon followed to reſcue, gave order to his men to leave them, and to flee away. This he did often, to make the Captaine to ſlight ſuch frayes, and to make him ſecure, that he might not ſuſpect any further end to be in it: which when he had wrought ſufficiently (as he thought) he laid ſome men in ambuſcado, and ſent others away to drive away ſuch beaſts as they ſhould finde in the view of the Caſtle, as if they had been theeves and robbers, as they had done often before. The Captaine hearing of it, and ſuppoſing there was no greater danger now then had beene before, iſſued forth of the Caſtle, and followed after them with ſuch haſte, that his men (running who ſhould be firſt) were diſordered and out of their ranks. The drivers alſo fled as faſt as they could, till they had drawne the Captaine a little beyond the place of the ambuſcado; which when they perceived, riſing quickly out of their covert, ſet fiercely upon him, and his companie, and ſo ſlew himſelfe, and chaſed his men back to the Caſtle; ſome of which were overtaken and ſlaine, others got into the Caſtle, and ſo were ſaved; Sir *Iames* not being able to force the houſe, took what bootie he could get without in the fields, and ſo departed. By this means, and ſuch other exploits, he ſo affrighted the enemie, that it was counted a matter of great jeopardie to keepe this Caſtle, which began to be called the adventurous (or hazzardous) Caſtle of Douglas: whereupon Sir *Iohn Walton* being in ſuit of an Engliſh Lady, ſhe wrote to him, that when he had kept the adventurous Caſtle of Douglas ſeven yeares, then he might thinke himſelfe worthy to be a ſutor to her. Upon this occaſion *Walton* tooke upon him the keeping of it, and ſucceeded to *Thruſwall*, but he ran the ſame fortune with the reſt that were before him.

For ſir *Iames*, having firſt dreſſed an ambuſcado neare unto the place, he made fourteen of his men take ſo many ſacks, and fil them with graſſe, as though it had been corn, which they carried in the way toward La-

nerik, the chief market town in that County: ſo hoping to draw forth the Captain by that bait, and either to take him, or the Caſtle, or both.

Neither was this expectation fruſtrate, for the Captain did bite, and came forth to have taken this victuall (as he ſuppoſed.) But ere he could reach theſe carriers, Sir *Iames* with his company had gotten between the Caſtle and him: and theſe diſguiſed carriers, ſeeing the Captain following after them, did quickly caſt off their upper garments, wherein they had masked themſelves, and throwing off their ſacks, mounted themſelves on horſeback, and met the Captain with a ſharp encounter, being ſo much the more amazed, as it was unlooked for: wherefore when he ſaw theſe carriers metamorphoſed into warriours, & ready to aſſault him, fearing that which was, that there was ſome train laid for them, he turned about to have retired to the Caſtle, but there alſo hee met with his enemies; between which two companies, he and his whole followers were ſlain, ſo that none eſcaped; the Captain afterwards being ſearched, they found (as it is reported) his miſtreſſe letter about him. Then hee went and tooke in the Caſtle, but it is uncertain (ſay our writers) whether by force, or compoſition; but it ſeems that the Conſtable, and thoſe that were within have yeelded it up without force; in regard that hee uſed them ſo gently, which he would not have done if he had taken it at utterance. For he ſent them all ſafe home to the Lord *Clifford*, and gave them alſo proviſion and mony for their entertainment by the way. The Caſtle which he had burnt onely before, now he razeth, and caſts down the walls thereof to the ground. By theſe and the like proceedings, within a ſhort while he freed Douglaſdale, Atrick forreſt, and Jedward forreſt, of the Engliſh garriſons and ſubjection.

But *Thomas Randulph*, *Alexander Stuart* Lord of Bonckle, and *Adam Gordone*, being Englized Scots, concluded to gather together their forces, and to expulſe him out of thoſe parts. Now it fell ſo out, that Sir *Iames*, intending to lodge at a certain houſe upon the water of Line, and being come hither for that purpoſe, by chance all theſe three were lodged in the ſame houſe before he came, which drew on a skirmiſh betwixt them, in which *Alexander Stuart* Lord of Bonckle, and *Thomas Randulph*, were taken priſoners, and *Adam Gordone* ſaved himſelf by flight. This peece of ſervice was of no ſmall importance, in regard of the good ſervice done to the king by *Thomas Randulph*, both while the King lived, and after his death when he was regent, which all may be aſcribed to Sir *Iames*, who conquered *Randulph* to the Kings ſide. With theſe his priſoners he went into the North, as farre as the Mernes, where he met the King returning from Innerneſſe, of whom he was heartily welcomed, both for his owne ſake, and becauſe he had brought him his Nephew *Randulph*, whom the King did chide exceedingly. And he again reproved the King out of his youthfulneſſe and raſh humour, as though he did defend the Crowne by flying, and not by fighting; wherefore hee was committed to priſon, thereafter pardoned; and being made Earle of Murray, he was imployed in the Kings ſervice. This is related in the *Bruces* book, and hath nothing fabulous or improbable in it: and therefore it ought not to be ſlighted: Eſpecially ſeeing, as I am informed, the Book was penned by

by a man of good knowledge and learning, named maſter *John Barbour*, Archdeacon of Aberdene; for which work he had a yearely penſion out of the Exchequer during his life, which he gave to the Hoſpitall of that Towne, to which it is allowed and paid ſtill in our dayes. He lived in the reigne of *David* the ſecond ſonne, and ſucceſſour to King *Robert Bruce*.

Sir *James* was with the King at Inverourie (ten miles from Aberdene) againſt *John Cummine* Earle of Buchan, who was there defeated on Aſcenſion day, in the yeare 1308. From thence Sir *James* went with him when he recovered Argyle; the Lord whereof had once comed in to the King, but was now revolted to the Engliſh ſide. And likewiſe at many more journeyes and roads, both in Scotland, and England, Sir *James* did ever more accompany him.

In the year 1313. hee tooke in the Caſtle of Roxburgh, called then Marchmouth, whileſt the King was buſie about Dumfrees, Lanrick, Aire, and others; and while Sir *Thomas Randulph* was lying at the Caſtle of Edinburgh: The manner of his taking of it was thus; about Shrovetide which is a time of feaſting and revelling, he with ſixty more, having covered their armour with black, that they might not be diſcovered by the glittering thereof, went in the forenight toward the Caſtle; & when they came neare to it they lay along, and crept upon their hands, and feet, through a buſhie piece of ground, till they were come cloſe to the foot of the wall. Thoſe that did watch upon the Caſtle wall eſpied them; but the night being dark, and by reaſon of their creeping they tooke them to have been cattell: for they at the foot of the wall heard the watchmen, (there being two of them) ſaying the one to the other, my neighbour ſuch an one (naming him by his name) means to make good chear to night, that he hath no care of his cattell, but leaves them thus in the fields all the night: to whom the other replied, hee may make good chear this night, but if the *Douglas* come at them, he will fair the worſe hereafter; and with this diſcourſe they went their way. Sir *James* and his men having heard this conference, were very well pleaſed withall, and glad to be ſo miſtaken: they laddered the walls with ladders of cords, made by one *Simon* of the Leadhouſe, who was alſo the firſt that adventured to ſcale with them himſelf alone, both to trie how they would hold unbroken, and to view what guard and watch was kept above. The man that ſtood ſentinall ſaw him well enough, but becauſe there were no more with him, he gave no alarum, but ſtood watching to have catched him on the top of the ladder, thinking to have knockt him down, or to have tumbled him headlong over the wall: but the other prevented the danger, and leaping in nimbly upon him ere he was aware, ſtabbed him with a knife, and threw him over the wall amongſt his fellowes, to whom he called to make haſte up, aſſuring them the coaſt was clear: but ere they could come up, another of the watch coming about, and perceiving a man ſtanding on the wall, made towards him, but *Simon* diſpatched him alſo. And now the reſt of his companions were got up alſo, who marching towards the hall, they found the Engliſh at their ſhroving, eating, and drinking, and piping, and dancing. They entred the hall, he had but eaſie work of it, to do with them what he liſted, being moſt of them

drunke, and all of them unarmed: Onely the Captain (*Guillaum de fermes*) fled into the great tower being dangerouſly hurt with the ſhot of an arrow, where he remained ſafe all that night, but the next morning hee yeelded himſelf becauſe of his wound, upon condition that his life ſhould be ſafe, and his perſon ſafely ſet on Engliſh ground, which was willingly granted, and faithfully performed. But hee lived not long after, his wound being deadly and uncurable.

Thus was the wheel of worldly affairs (vvhich men call fortune) ſo vvhirled about by the King, and his partners, that in this yeare 1313. being the ſeaventh from his Coronation, and the fifth or ſixth from the beginning of the courſe of his victories, there vvas not one ſtrength remaining in the poſſeſſion, or povver of the Engliſh, ſave Dumbartane Caſtle (which was afterward yeelded up by *John Monteeth* upon compoſition) and Stirling, which at this preſent was beſieged by *Edward Bruce* the Kings brother. To relieve Stirling, and to raiſe the ſiege thereof, King *Edward* the ſecond came in proper perſon, and thereon inſued the battell of Bannockburn; a battell ſo famous and memorable, as few the like have happened in any age; where there were two Kings preſent, the ods ſo great, and the defeat ſo notable. The Engliſh King did bring into the field all that he was able to make, not onely of Engliſh, but of his beyond ſea dominions; neither of thoſe that were his owne Subjects onely, but hee was alſo aided and aſſiſted by his friends and confederates, in Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Brabant, Picardie, Gaſcony, Normandy, Guien, Bullonois, and Burdeaux; of theſe and his owne Countreymen, he had in all 150000. fighting men, to place them in the middle number, which ſome ſay was but half the number, and that he had 300000 of the whole, in equall proportion of foot and horſe; intending to have exterminated the whole nation of Scots, with ſo confident a preſumption of victory, that he brought with him a Carmelite frier (a Poet according to the time) to commit his triumphs to writing: he was defeated by 30000 or 35000 at the moſt (as all agree) and that in a plain and open field, where there was ſlain of his men 50000. It was fought the 22 of June, 1314.

Sir *Iames* being preſent at this Battell, did carry himſelfe ſo before the fight, in the fight, and after it, as that his behaviour is not to be ſlightly ſlipped over with a dry foot (as we ſay) but particularly to be noted, both for his owne honour (for it is indeed worthy of perpetuall honour and praiſe) and for a patterne to be followed by others, eſpecially by all ſuch as ſet their hearts and minds to follow vertue, and to ſeek true glory, which ariſeth from vertue. Before the battell, we have his kindneſſe, love, and care of his friend, or (as ſome will have him to be) his emulous Competitor, joyned with true magnanimitie in his demeanour towards *Thomas Randulph*: for King *Robert* having ſent *Randulph* with 500. horſe to oppoſe the Lord *Clifford* with 800. who was making toward the Caſtle of Stirling; Sir *Iames* carefull for his friend in reſpect of this ods in number, firſt very orderly ſought leave of the King to go to his ſuccours, but after the King had refuſed him, he went out without leave; which though it were a kinde of breach of militarie diſcipline, yet it ſhewes how

how dearly he loved the man, that for his ſake he would thus tranſgreſſe the order of the warre, and to take his hazzard of the Kings diſpleaſure, rather then to forſake him in this great danger, as he took it to be. And as he ſhewed his love and kindneſſe in this (a vertue of great price, and greatly to be commended) ſo did he alſo his modeſtie, courteſie, and magnanimitie (all three concurring in one fact, and much more commendable) in that hee ſeeing his friend to have the better of the enemie, ſtood aloofe as a ſpectator, for feare to impaire his glory in that victorie, by being a ſharer with him therein. Weake mindes ſeeke to participate of other mens glory, and for want of worth in themſelves thruſt in with others. Baſe and meane ſpirits are wont to leſſen and diminiſh the actions of others, becauſe they have no hope to equall them. Malignant diſpoſitions envie them, and approve of nothing but what is their owne, and would have it thought that they onely are able to do all things, and that none beſides them can do any thing. As theſe vices were here farre from this man, ſo ſhould they be as farre from all others: and as the contrary vertues did ſhine in him, ſo let them alſo doe in us. And thus he behaved himſelfe before the Battell.

In the Battell he with *Randulph* had the leading of the Vantguard, wherein he diſcharged himſelfe ſo well, that for his good ſervice he was knighted in the field. This honour in thoſe dayes was given for deſert, and was a badge and ſeale of valour, not of favour or riches, as now it is for the moſt part: neither was it ſo ordinary and common as now it is, and by commonneſſe proſtitute as it were, and diſ-eſteemed. But that it was in great eſteeme of old it appeares by this, that notwithſtanding this mans predeceſſours, and himſelfe alſo (as his evidents do witneſſe) were Barons and Lords, yet he thinks it no diſparagement to be knighted, and did chooſe rather to be known and deſigned by that title, than the other; ſo as he was commonly called Sir *James Douglas*, rather then Lord *Douglas*. And indeed we have found that even Princes and Kings have taken upon them this order, not as any diminution of their place, but an addition of honour, ſeeing by it they were received into the number and rank of military men and Warriours; their other titles ſhewing more their dominion and power, or place, then their valour and courage. Wherefore we reade how *Edward* Prince of Wales was knighted when he was ſent againſt King *Bruce*: So *Henry* the ſecond, being then Prince of England, received the honour of Knighthood from *David* King of Scotland, his grand Uncle, as from one that was the beſt and worthieſt man in his time. Then it was that he tooke his oath, that he ſhould never take from the Crowne of Scotland, the Counties of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon. This cremonie vvas performed vvith great ſolemnitie and pomp in thoſe dayes, as our Writers obſerve: ſo honourable vvas it then; and of late it vvas thought ſo too: for the Earle of Clanrikart (chiefe of the *Bourks* in Ireland) having done a piece of notable ſervice to Queene *Eliſabeth* at the ſiege of Kinſoile, and at an encounter betvvene the Lord Deputies Army vvith the Iriſh Rebels, vvas knighted by the Lord *Montjoy*, then Generall Lieutenant for the Queene. Neither ſhould any abuſe diſcredit it novv. Nor can it diminiſh the honoura-

honourableneſſe thereof in our Sir *Iames*, who is able to honour it rather by his worth.

After the battell he is as diligent (as he was both diligent and valorous) in it. This is a vertue which hath been wanting in great Commanders, and hath been marked as a great defect in them. It was told *Hanniball* that great Carthaginian to his face: Thou canſt obtain, but not uſe a victory, nor proſecute it to thy beſt advantage. Sir *Iames* did not ſo, but as farre as he was able, with ſuch companies as hee could gather together, and with as much ſpeed as was poſſible for him, hee followed King *Edward* to have done him ſervice, though his father *Edward* the firſt would have none of it, and ſet it at nought. But he was gone ere Sir *Iames* ſervice came to the beſt: Now hee would gladly have ſhowne what it was worth to his ſonne and ſucceſſour (the ſecond *Edward*) in moſt humble ſort, though it had been to have pulled off his boots (no queſtion) but his Majeſtie had no mind to ſtay for him, who notwithſtanding made all the haſte he could to have overtaken him, and followed him with foure hundred horſe more then fourty miles from Bannockburne, to Dumbarre Caſtle, into which hee was received, and ſo eſcaped. The next was to wait upon him in his way to Berwicke, which he did; but the King nothing well pleaſed with the ſervice hee had done, and expecting rather worſe then better, ſeeing his importunity, and that other wayes he could not be rid of him, went by ſea to Berwicke in a ſmall fiſhers boat or two, with a very thinne train to attend him: not unlike unto *Xerxes* who a little before was ſo proud of his huge army, is now become the ſcorne of his contemned and threatned enemies, a ſpectacle of pride, and an example of preſumptuous confidence unto all ages. Wee told before hovv his father had driven King *Robert* and Sir *Iames* to the like ſhifts and ſtraits, but theirs vvas not ſo ſhamefull. A Chriſtenmaſſe feaſt may be quit at Eaſter, ſayes our Proverb, vvhich they do here verefie by this requitall: And this vvas all the ſervice Sir *Iames* could do to King *Edward* at this time: but aftervvards vve ſhall heare vvhat ſervice he ſhall do, if not to himſelf, yet to his ſonne, *Edward* the third, at Stanhop Parke ſome few yeares after this.

In the mean time let us behold our Scots, enjoying there renowned and honourable victory, which cannot bee denied to have been ſuch, nor cannot be by envy it ſelf. Their ſpoil and prey was great and rich, their priſoners many, and their ranſomes proportionable. The Queen (King *Roberts* wife) was reſtored by exchange, and for her an Engliſh Nobleman ſet free without ranſome: And as their joy was great, and their gaining not ſmall, ſo was both the grief of the Engliſh, their ſhame and their loſſes. Their were ſlain of note in the field 200 Knights, together with the Earle of Gloceſter, and Sir *Giles* of Argentine (whoſe death was lamented by King *Robert* very much) and of priſoners very nere as many, of which the chief were the Earle of Hartford, who fled to Bothwell, and was received by Sir *Gilbert Gilbaſton* captain thereof, (as the *Bruces* booke ſayes) Sir *Iohn Segrave*, *Iohn Clattengrave* (perhaps *Cattegrave*) *William Latimer*, Sir *Robert Northbrooke* (Lord keeper of the broad ſeal) and Sir *Ralph Mortimer*, who had married the Kings ſiſter. *Mortimer*

was

was dimitted ranſome-free, and obtained the Kings broad Seale at *Bruces* hands. Theſe and many other priſoners of divers nations thus diſmiſſed, are as many witneſſes of the Scottiſh valour in the fight, and of their mildneſſe and humanitie after it, who uſed theſe their ſo ſpightfull enemies no worſe, who if they had overcome, would have uſed another kinde of cruelty, as they had both determined and threatned unto them.

Amongſt other Forreiners, there were two Holland Knights, who being in King *Edwards* Army before the battell, and hearing the bravery and brags of the Engliſh, and their ſpightfull railings againſt King *Robert*, had wiſhed him good luck. Theſe were turned out of the Engliſh Camp, and ſent unto the Scottiſh, bidden in ſcorne to go and fight with them whom they wiſhed ſo well, with a price ſet upon their heads to him that ſhould either kill or take them priſoners in the battell. Their heads nevertheleſſe were ſafe, and themſelves did partake of the good fortune they had wiſhed; and when they came home into their owne Countrey, they built a lodging, naming it Scotland, upon which they ſet up the Scottiſh Armes, and King *Roberts* ſtatue in Antwerp, as a monument of that notable victorie; which remained there many yeares after. The Carmelite alſo changed his note, ſinging their victorie, whoſe overthrow he came to ſet forth; and chaunting their diſcomfiture, whoſe praiſes he was hired to proclaime. Thus he began his Ditty.

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Riſum detrudo, dum tali themate ludo.

In Engliſh thus:

With barren verſe this mournfull rime I make,
And am but laught at, while ſuch theme I take.

Let us here conſider the meanes and wayes of both ſides, we ſhal finde on the one ſide confidence of their power, and a contempt and ſlighting of the enemie, which ſeldome falls well, becauſe from thence there ariſeth commonly ſloth, negligence, diſorder, and confuſion: on the other ſide we may ſee carefulneſſe, diligence, order, and exhortation, all poſſible meanes uſed both humane and divine: wiſedome joyned with religion, and prayer, and what pious formes were then in uſe. They digged trenches and ditches, which they covered with greene turfe, for the horſemen to fall into, and did knit together and twiſt as it were a net of croſſe ropes to entangle the footmen: which ſtratagems being ſeconded with true courage, reſolution, and valour of the common ſouldiers and Commanders, together with the device of thoſe that were ſet to keep the baggage, the ſculs, and grooms, who made ſhowes and muſters, as if they had beene another armie (of their owne head, without the direction of any) were the chiefe meanes of the victorie. For the firſt was the overthrow of the men at armes, and barbed horſes, and the ſecond the bane of the middle battell of the Engliſh, who ſeeing this trap laid for them, fled preſently, and turned their backs. But above all theſe, the principall and

prime

prime cauſe was even the Lord of hoſts, who guided all theſe, and gave ſucceſſe unto them. Let no mortall man ever think other of any his enterpriſes, or that any man, however wiſe, provident, or valorous, can uſe his wiſedome, providence, or valour, or whatever other vertue he hath, to any purpoſe, or ſuccesfully, unleſſe it be given him in the very inſtant of uſing it. A leſſon much inculcat, but little learned; often approved by experience, but ſeldome marked, or ſoone forgotten; at leaſt little appearing by our practice, and which doth produce no other effect but a ſuperficiall acknowledgement, and ſlender confeſſiõ thereof.

1316. King *Robert Bruce* in Ireland.

But to returne to our *Douglas*: though the King himſelfe did thus eſcape his ſervice, yet out of all doubt he hath beene imployed againſt his ſubjects, ſeeing our Hiſtorians doe tell us, that after this battell there were divers incurſions made into England, for which they never ſtirred, but ſate quiet for 2. or 3. yeares: howbeit there are no particulars ſet downe.

In the yeare 1316. King *Robert Bruce* went into Ireland to ſupport his brother *Edward Bruce* made King of Ireland; and King *Edward* of England thinking this a fit opportunity for him to be revenged on the Scots, did levie a great Armie, and came to the borders of Scotland, hoping to doe ſome notable exploit now in the Kings abſence. But many things faile that are intended, and princes as well as others may be diſappointed of their purpoſes, and fruſtrate of their hopes. It ſeemes he had forgotten, or not well conſidered what a Lieutenant he had left behinde him, and how good a ſecond Sir *Iames* had alwayes beene to his maſter the King. But howbeit he knew it not perhaps, or would not take any notice of him, yet King *Robert* knew it full well, and put ſuch truſt and confidence in his well knowne worth and ſufficiencie, that he durſt go abroad out of his owne Kingdome, and hazzard himſelfe and the flower of the youth in Ireland, concrediting the Countrey unto his care and conduct, leaving him Governour in his abſence, and entailing the Crowne unto him next unto *Thomas Randulph*, by making him Protectour of the young King during his minority, if he himſelfe ſhould happen to die in that voyage, as the blacke booke of Scone doth witneſſe. And indeed Sir *Iames* did not deceive the Kings expectation and truſt, neither did King *Edward* finde him aſleepe, but watchfull and diligent in his charge, as became a good Governour: for he raiſed an Army to give him battell, and put both him and his people to flight, ſlew three notable Captains with his owne hand, Sir *Edward Lillow* a Gaſcoine, Captaine of Berwick; others call him *Callock*, and ſay that he was ſlaine at the reſcue of a bootie which he had taken in the Merſe and Tivedale; which narration agreeth with the *Bruces* booke, which calls him *Edmond de Callock*. The ſecond was Sir *Robert Nevill*, and the third a Nobleman whom they doe not name, onely they ſay that Sir *Iames* ſlew him with his owne hand: but the *Bruces* booke calls him *John de Richmond*, and ſayes he ſlew him in Jedward Forreſt, in the midſt of his Armie, Sir *Iames* having very few with him, not above fiftie horſe, and ſome Archers, in a ſtrait Cleugh or Valley, betweene two hills, which he had of purpoſe taken as a place of advantage; and tying together the young birk trees by their boughs in the

the way by which the Engliſh were to paſſe, the horſemen being entangled in the thickets, he ſet upon them and defeated them. From hence it is that ſome think the Earls of Douglas and Angus have ſtakes & rice in their Coat of Armes; yet ſuch points of Heraldrie are hard to interpret and give a reaſon for them. This was the ſecond peece of ſervice that he did to King *Edward* himſelfe (ſay ſome others) but others ſay that the King was not there in perſon, but ſent a great Army commanded by divers Captains, with whom Sir *James* fought in three ſeverall battells, at three ſundry times, and ſlew all their Chieftains, with moſt part of their companies. Others againe affirme that in every one of thoſe battels he ſlew the Commander with his owne hand in ſight of both Armies, the which whatſoever way it was, the victorie was notable and glorious. And thus did he governe in the Kings abſence.

He had beene a good ſubject before when the King was preſent, now we ſee how well he governes when he is abſent, and at his returne laying downe his authoritie, and returning to his former ſubjection, he proves as good a companion and colleague unto *Thomas Randulph* (then made Earle of Murray) with whom the King did joyne him for the proſecuting of the warres. It is ſeldome found that theſe vertues are ſo happily linked together in one perſon, abilitie to governe, and willingneſſe to be ſubordinate, and obey; excellencie of parts, and patient enduring of an equall and companion. I have often obſerved and admired it in theſe two (the ground whereof ſeemes chiefly to have beene in Sir *James* his love and modeſtie, as we obſerve in his carriage towards this man at Bannockburne) that in all their joynt-ſervices, being equall in authority, and both commanding in chiefe, we never heare of any queſtion, controverſie, or debate, of any grudging or heart-burning betweene them, but find them ever agree and concurre, without any diſſention or variance, with one heart and minde (as if they had beene one man) in all buſineſſe whatſoever.

Their firſt aſſociation (after the Kings returne out of Ireland) was when they went and burnt Northallerton and Burrowbrigs, and ſpoyled Rippon, where they ſpared the Church, onely they cauſed thoſe that fled thither to pay 5000. marks ſterling to be free. They burnt alſo Scarborough towne, and hearing that the people had fled into the woods with their goods and cattell, they went and ſearched them out, and brought away a great bootie. Then returning home by Skipton in Craven, they ſpoyled the Towne, and after burnt it without reſiſtance. This was in the yeare 1318. in May.

The next was in the year following. 1319. when King *Edward* having gathered an army lay before Berwick. Theſe two entred England as farre as Milton, which is within 12. miles of York, where the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Ely Chancellour, made head againſt them; in which conflict there were foure thouſand Engliſh ſlain, amongſt whom was the Major of Yorke, and a thouſand drowned in the water of Swail, and if the night had not come in too ſoon, the battell being joyned in the afternoon, few or none of them had eſcaped as it is thought. It is called the battell of Milton or Swail, or the white battell, becauſe there were a number

The white battell.

a number of Prieſts ſlain at it, belike they have been apparelled in their ſurplices.

Hollinſhed in his Chronicle of England, relateth the manner how it was done: He ſayes that as the Engliſh men paſſed over the water of Swale, the Scots ſet fire upon certain ſtacks of hay, the ſmoke whereof was ſo huge, that the Engliſh might not ſee where the Scots lay. And when the Engliſh were once gotten over the water, the Scots came upon them with a wing in good order of battell in faſhion like to a ſhield, eagerly aſſailing their enemies who were eaſily beaten down, and diſcomfited. Many were drowned by reaſon that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Engliſh and the bridge, ſo that the Engliſh fled betwixt that wing of the Scots, and the main battell, which had compaſſed about the Engliſh on the one ſide. as the wing did upon the other. The King of England informed of this overthrow, brake up his ſiege incontinently, and returned to Yorke, and the Scots home into their Countrey of Scotland.

Their third expedition was that ſame yeare at Hallowtide, when the Northern borders of England had gotten in their cornes, and their barns were well ſtuffed with grain, which was their proviſion for the whole yeare. They entred England and burnt Gilſland, tooke divers priſoners, and drave away all the cattell they could finde. Then they went to Brough under Stanmoore, and returned by Weſtmooreland, and Cumberland, with great booty and ſpoil, none offering to make head againſt them.

The fourth was in the yeare 1322. when the King of England grieved with theſe invaſions, having complained to the Pope, had purchaſed a Legate to be ſent into Scotland, to admoniſh King *Robert* to deſiſt from further diſquieting the Realme of England, and becauſe he would not obey, he with Sir *Iames Douglas*, and *Thomas Randulph*, were accurſed by the two Cardinalls, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and York, and all the Prieſts in England, every day thrice at Maſſe. Theſe two, Sir *Iames Douglas* and *Randulph* (ſome ſay the King himſelf) following the Legate at the heels (as it were) entred England, little regarding their curſings, and waſted the Countrey to the Redcroſſe, and coming to Darlington at the feaſt of Epiphanie, ſtayed there a while for gathering of booty, and deſtroying the Countrey: The Lord *Douglas* on the one hand, and the Lord *Stuart* of Scotland on the other; the one going towards Hartelpool and Caveland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmond-ſhire, having no Captains to defend them, gave a great ſumme of money (as at other times they had done) to have their Countrey ſaved from fire and ſpoil. Theſe adventurers ſtayed 15. dayes in England, and returned without battell. It is ſaid that the Knights of the North came to the Duke of Lancaſter, then lying at Pomphret, and offered to go into the field with him againſt the Scots, but he refuſed; whether by reaſon of the diſcord between him and K. *Edward*, or for ſome other occaſion I know not.

At this time it is, that the King gives to Sir *Iames Douglas* a bounding Charter of Douglaſdale, dated *apud Bervicum ſuper Tucdam anno Regni noſtri decimo quinto*, which is either the yeare 1320. or 1322. the firſt of April.

April. It bears Jacobo *de Douglas, filio & hæredi* Gulielmi Douglas, *militis*, which decides the queſtion of his age, and his brother *Hughes*, who outlived Sir *James* 12. or 13. years, and calls himſelf his heire, as ſhall be ſhowne. It hath alſo this clauſe, *Volumus inſuper, &c.* wee will alſo, and grant for us and our heires, that the ſaid *James* and his heires ſhall have the ſaid lands free, *ab omnibus priſiis, & petitionibus quibuſcunque ita quod nullus miniſtrorum noſtrorum in aliquo ſe intromittat infra dictas diviſas, niſi tantum de articulis ſpecialiter ad coronam noſtram pertinentibus.*

To return, King *Edward* conceived ſuch diſcontent, and was ſo grieved at this ſo waſting of his Kingdome, that he gave order to levie an army of 100000. to enter Scotland at Lammas: whereof K. *Robert* being advertiſed, entred England neare to Carlile; and burnt ſome towns which belonged to King *Edwards* own inheritance, ſpoyled the Monaſtery of Holme, where his fathers corps were interred. Hither the Earle of Murray, and Sir *James Douglas* came to him with another army, whereupon marching further Southward, they came to Preſton in Anderneſſe, and burnt all that towne alſo, except the Colledge of the Minorites. This was foureſcore miles within England from the Borders of Scotland. Then they returned with their priſoners and booty to Carlile, where they ſtayed ſome fourteen dayes, waſting and deſtroying all about with fire and ſword, and ſo they returned into Scotland on Saint *James* day, having remained within England three weeks, and three dayes, without any oppoſition or reſiſtance. They were not long at home when K. *Edward* entred into Scotland with his army, and paſſed to Edinburgh, but for want of victualls (which were conveyed out of the way of purpoſe by King *Roberts* command and direction) he was forced to make a retreat, and goe home the way he came, having diſcharged his choller with what he could meet with in his return. But hee was quickly followed by the two Colleagues, Sir *James* and *Randulph*, who entred England, burnt North-Allerton, with other townes and villages as farre as Yorke; and overtaking the King at the Abbey of Biland, gave him battell, and defeated him. There was taken *John Britton* Earle of Richmond, who had alſo the Earledome of Lancaſter: he being ranſomed for a great ſumme of money, paſſed over into France, where he remained, and never came back again into England. The Engliſh Chronicle to excuſe this defeat, layes the blame hereof upon *Andrew Barkeley* Earle of Carlile, whom (they ſay) Sir *James Douglas* corrupted with money, upon which pretext *Barkeley* was executed, ſuffering (good Gentleman) to cover other mens faults. It doth me good to heare Maſter *John Major* anſwer the Engliſh Writers in his round and ſubſtantiall manner: It is but a dream (ſaith he) and ſpoken without all likelihood, for neither were the Scots ever ſo fluſh and well ſtored with moneyes as to corrupt the Engliſh, neither was that the cuſtome of good Sir *James Douglas*, a valiant Warriour, who did what he did, not with gold but with another mettell, ſharpe ſteele. The Earle of Carlile alſo died without confeſſing any ſuch thing. Some write that King *Robert* was there in perſon, but it is more likely that he was not, but ſent theſe two, of whom we have ſpoken: however, if he were there, theſe two were with him. At this battell Sir *James* tooke three French

The battell of Billand.

Herkley.

Knights, *Robert Bartrame, William Bartarhome, Elye Anyallage*, with their vallats; for whoſe relief the K. of France requeſted K. *Robert*, and hee willing to pleaſure him, tranſacted with Sir *Iames* to give him for their ranſome foure thouſand markes ſtarling, for payment of a part of which ſumme, the K. giveth to him the next yeare appearently.)

The *Douglas* Emrauld Charter.

Indictamenta Latrociniorum, & Miniſtrationem eorundem in omnibus, infra omnes terras ſuas ſubſcriptas: Scilicet infra. 1. *Baroniam de Douglas.* 2. *Forreſtiam noſtram de Selkirk, de qua eſt officiarius noſter.* 3. *Conſtabularium de Lauderio.* 4. *Forreſtiam de Jedworth cum Benjedworth.* 5. *Baroniam de Batherewle.* 6. *Boroniam de Weſter-Calder.* 7. *Baroniam de Stabilgorthane.* 8. *Baroniam de Romanok.* Then in generall, *Et infra ſuas terras quaſcunque, infra regnum noſtrum, cum pertinentibus, quas de nobis tenet in capite.*

Then followes the Privelledge.

Etſi aliqui de hominibus ſuis, infra prædictas terras, fuerint judicati per Juſtitiarium noſtrum; volumus quod dictus Jacobus, *& hæredes ſui, & eorum miniſtri habeant Liberationem, & liberam eorundem miniſtrationem, ſalvis nobis, & hæredibus noſtris omnibus aliis particulis ad homicidium & coronam noſtram pertinentibus. Tenenda, & habenda prædicta indictamenta, cum adminiſtratione eorundem, & cum omnibus libertatibus commoditatibus ad prædicta indictamenta, & adminiſtrationem eorundem pertinentibus, præfato* Jacobo, *& hæredibus ſuis in feudo & hæreditate in perpetuum de nobis & hæredibus noſtris.*

Volumus inſuper & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quod præfatus Jacobus *& hæredes ſui, & eorum homines infra prædictas terras manentes Liberi ſint in futurum, de ſectis curiæ, de omnibus terris ſupradictis, & de Wardis caſtrorum, nec non de omnibus preſis, talliagiis curiagiis & captionibus quibuſcunque ad opus noſtrum, & hæredum noſtrorum, ſalvo tantum communi auxilio pro defenſione regni noſtri contingente.*

Et ut præſens charta robur firmitatis obtineat in perpetuum, manum ejuſdem Jacobi, *annulo, cum quodam lapide qui dicitur* (Emeraudus) *eidem* Jacobo, *& hæredibus ſuis nomine Saſinæ in memoriale permanſuro in futurum ex manu noſtra perſonaliter invectimus. Apud Bervicum ſuper Twedam octava die menſis Novembris anno regni noſtri nono decimo, anno Domini.* 1325.

Then there is a precept directed to *Bernard*, Abbot of Arbrothock, Chancellour, to cauſe make a Charter thereof under the broad ſeal, and deliver it to the ſaid *Iames*. This I thought good to ſet down in the owne words, becauſe of the ſingularity, in that it is the promiſe of a King fulfilled to his ſubject, not for any proper debt, or money disburſt, but for the ranſome of priſoners. 2 It is ſingular alſo in reſpect of the thing given, Inditements, Immunities, Liberties and Priviledges. 3. The forme and manner of it is not ordinary, to hold in feudo, and inheritance without any duty, or *reddendo*, as they ſpeake. 4 And laſt of all, the manner of infeftment and ſeaſing; not by earth and ſtone, but by putting a ring on his finger with the Kings owne hand, and thereby infefting both himſelf and his heires (as it ſhould ſeem) in this one action without reiterating. All which things how our Lawyers will allow of, conſidering their formali-

formalities; and what their opinion will be of the validitie hereof, I know not; but we finde here plaine and ſquare dealing, and honourable meaning: whatſoever the ſubtilties and quirks of Law be, we ſee an upright and loving Prince, a liberall and bountifull King, willing to honour a princely loyall ſubject.

This and the former Charter given foure yeares before, and ſuch others as may be thought to have beene given after, to corroborate or increaſe (perhaps) theſe freedomes and priviledges, is it whereunto *Archbald* the fourth and his ſucceſſors have leaned and truſted to, in contemning *Crighton* and *Levingſton*, at what time they told them they would preſerve their owne rights and priviledges, and not ſuffer them to be infringed. And this alſo hath beene the ground upon which the Bailies of *William* the eighth Earle, he being himſelfe in Italie, would not ſuffer the Kings Officers to meddle with theſe priviledged things in his bounds, which men that know not their immunities particularly account treaſon and rebellion: and ſo their enemies did terme it, to incenſe the King againſt them.

This battell at Biland was the laſt piece of ſervice that Sir *James* did to *Edward Carnarvan*, who having found fortune ſo froward to him in chance of warre againſt the Scots, was thereby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and therefore he ſued for peace, which was concluded at Newcaſtle to laſt for certaine yeares. In this time of peace, although all occaſion of Warlike action was cut off, yet Sir *James* was not idle, but did good offices for his King and Countrey. K. *Robert* did eſteeme ſo well of him, and had ſo good opinion of his prudencie and fidelitie, and did ſo confide in his love, that he entruſted and employed him in the greateſt buſineſſe that ever he could have to doe, which concerned no leſſe than the ſettling of his Crowne, and his title to the kingdome, which Sir *James* performed dexterouſly and happily.

Douglas ſent into France to *Balliol.*

For being ſent into France to *John Balliol* of Hercourte to procure his reſigning all title and right to the Crowne in King *Roberts* favour, he ſailed into Normandie, and having declared his Commiſſion, and delivered his meſſage, he found *Balliol* very tractable, contrary to all mens expectation; for he plainly and ingeniouſly confeſſed that he had been deſervedly rejected and debouted, being no wiſe uſefull nor profitable for the good of Scotland. He ſaid likewiſe that it was Gods eſpeciall and favourable providence, that had advanced K. *Robert* thereunto, and therefore he did not repine nor grudge, to ſee the Kingdome in the hands of his Couſin, by whoſe high vertue, ſingular felicity, and great travell, it was reſtored to the ancient liberty, ſplendour, and magnificence, but rather rejoyced thereat. And chiefly for that they by whom he was deceived, did not injoy the hoped fruits of their fraud. And calling together his friends and kinſmen in preſence of them all, hee did freely reſigne unto *Robert*, and to his heires, all right and title, that he, or any from, or by him, had or might have to the Crown of Scotland, renouncing all intereſt and claim whatſoever that could be alledged or pretended for any cauſe, or conſideration, from the beginning of the world unto that preſent day. This being done, Sir *James* returned into Scotland. This King *Robert* thought

thought fit to be done, not becauſe his owne title was not good enough before, for it was good already and ſufficient, and ſo found to bee by a better judge then King *Edward* of England, to wit, the Eſtates of the Realme, who are the righteſt judges in controverſies of this nature, and who had power to have made it good, if it had not been ſo, & might have helped any defect that had been in it, ſeeing *Balliol* by his owne fact had diſabled himſelf, by giving it over to King *Edward*, eſpecially ſeeing it was prejudiciall, and againſt the common liberty, and good of the Kingdome, to accept of him who had betrayed theſe, and was not able to defend them. Wherefore King *Robert* being in poſſeſſion, and the Kingdome being confirmed to him, and to his poſteritie, he needed no further right from *Balliol*: Notwithſtanding of this, to cut away all pretences of quarrells and calumnies, that malicious men might ſurmiſe thereabout afterwards, he thought good to have a renunciation from *Balliol* of his title, and conſolidate that with his owne: whereupon eſteeming none fitter for the purpoſe then Sir *Iames*, as well for the honourable place he held, as for his ſufficiency to diſcharge the Commiſſion, not without ſome conſideration of his kindred with *Balliol*, by the houſe of Galloway: he laid the charge upon him, which he performed as we have heard.

Sir *Iames* being thus returned out of France, King *Robert* being very glad that his buſineſſe had ſucceeded ſo well, called a Parliament at Cambuskenneth, in the which the right of ſucceſſion to the Crowne was renewed to King *Roberts* heirs, and namely (failing his ſonne *David*) to *Marjorie Bruce* his daughter, and *Robert Stuart* his ſonne. This the Nobility did enact, and confirme by oath in the yeare (1325. or 1326.) and before the ſending of Sir *Iames Douglas*, as ſome Authours record.

Not long after King *Robert* fell ſick, and partly for that cauſe, partly in regard of his age, not being able to ride abroad and endure travel himſelf, he committed the managing of all buſineſſe of weight both in peace and warre to the two Friends and Colleagues, Sir *Iames* and *Randulph*, two of the moſt noble Knights, and braveſt Captains that were in their dayes, as our Writers do ſay. And now *Edward* the ſecond was dead, and *Edward* the third had ſucceeded to him, to whom Sir *Iames* laboureth to do as good ſervice, as he had done to his father. This *Edward* ſent Ambaſſadours to King *Robert* to treat of peace, but being diſcovered to have no ſincere meaning, and to deal fraudfully, in ſtead of peace they carried home warre. So due preparation being made on both ſides, our two Commanders aſſembled to the number of 20000. all horſe men: (ſome ſay 20000. horſe, and 5000. foot) and entred into England with reſolution not to fight but at their advantage and pleaſure, which was the reaſon they took all or moſt part horſe men, and few or no foote men. Againſt theſe King *Edward* came in perſon with a great Army of 100000. men, (as *Froyſard* writes) 80000. horſe, 24000. archers, having brought with him the Lord *Beaumont* out of the Low-Countries with 700. or 500 horſe. The Engliſh ſouldiers of this Army were cloathed in coats, and hoods, embroydered with flowers and branches, and did uſe to nouriſh their beards; wherefore the Scots in deriſion thereof, made this rime, and faſtned it upon the Church doore of Saint *Peter* in the Canongate,

Beards

beards hartleſſe, painted hoods witleſſe, gay coat graceleſſe, make England thriftleſſe. He fortified the Townes of Carlile and Berwick, and furniſhed them with men to ſtay the Scots paſſages. But they little regarding either his fortifications, or his forces, paſſed the water of Tine at knowne Foords, and made him firſt know of their arrivall by ſmoake and fire: whereupon putting his men in order, he marched directly towards thoſe places that were ſmoaking, to have given them battell; but not finding them there, and not knowing how to force them to fight, his reſolution was to paſſe Tine, and there to entercept them at their returne, and to give them battell in thoſe fields where the ground was more levell and even, and ſo fitter for his Armie. Thither then he goeth with great trouble and turmoiling both of men and horſe, by reaſon of the great raine that fell, as alſo for ſcarcitie of victuall; and after he had lien there eight dayes waiting for them, he could heare no newes of them: wherefore he choſe out about ſixteene able young men, whom he ſent abroad into the Countrey to ſearch for them, promiſing a great reward to him that ſhould firſt bring him word where they were. They having roaved up and downe the Countrey, at laſt one of them fell into the hands of the Scots, who when he had told how K. *Edward* had ſent him to ſearch for them, they let him goe, and withall bid him tell the King, that they had beene eight dayes as uncertain of him, as he had bin of them, and that now they were come within 3. miles of him, where they would ſtay for him, and abide him battell, being as deſirous to fight as he was. When the young man told the King this, he was rewarded with Knigthood, being made ſuch by his owne hand; and beſides that he got 150. pound land to maintain his dignity. Then he gave order that his Army ſhould march towards them; but when they came neare, they found them ſo ſtronlgy encamped upon a hill, having ſteepe rocks at the one ſide, and a river on the other, called by *Hollinſhed* the water of Weire, that they durſt not adventure to aſſaile them at ſo great diſadvantage: wherefore they ſent a trumpet to them, and deſired them to come downe to the plaine ground, and ſo to fight with true vertue, for honour and empire, and not to ſit on the tops of the hils, where no body could come at them. The Scots anſwered with deriſion, that they would not fight how and when it pleaſed their enemie, but at their owne pleaſure; telling him withall, that they were come into his Countrey, and had done as he knew, if any thing that they had done did grieve him, he might come and ſeeke his revenge: they would ſtay there as long as they thought meet and expedient for them, and if any ſhould aſſaile them, they would do what they could doe to defend themſelves, and make their enemies ſmart. So they ſtayed there three dayes in his view, but he not thinking it ſafe to aſſaile them in that place, after ſome few skirmiſhes at their watering place, the Scots removed their Camp to another place that was ſtronger and harder of acceſſe, which *Hollinſhed* calls Stanhop parke, whither the Engliſh alſo followed them. While they lay there encamped the one over againſt the other, Sir *James Douglas* (who was a provident and watchfull Captaine) perceiving that the Engliſh watches were ſomewhat negligently kept (either becauſe they deſpiſed the ſmall number of the Scots, or for that they thought

1327 *Douglas at* Stanhop park.

thought they had no mind to fight, but to retire) adventured upon a hazzardous but hardie and worthy enterprise: he did choose out two hundred of the choicest of his men, and passing the river in the night season, a little off from the English Camp, he entred the enemies Trenches on that side they least expected, and approached the Kings Tent, thinking either to have taken or to have slaine him; but the Kings Chaplaine being awake, discovered him, whom he slew with his owne hand for his paines: and now the alarme was given, and the whole Armie was up against him: wherefore having only cut the Kings Tentroapes, he returned safe in spite of them, leaving 300. of them slaine in the place, who offered to hinder his retreat. Upon this show and omen of successe and good fortune, *Thomas Randulph* would have given them battell in the plaine fields, but Sir *Iames* advised him otherwayes, showing him how it was not for them, being so few in number, to deale with so great an Armie in the open and plaine fields, but that their onely way was to use slights and stratagems, and to keepe themselves in places of strength and advantage. To which purpose he told him the Apologue of the Fox, whom a Fisherman finding in his Lodge carrying away a Salmond to his denne for his young Cubs, he drew his sword, and stood in the doore to kill him, knowing he had no other way to get out. The Fox being thus straitned, went and tooke hold of the Fishers mantle (which lay by) and went toward the fire to cast it into it and burne it: the Fisher to save his mantle, ranne to the fire, and left the doore free, so that the Fox escaped out at the door, and in his way catched hold of the Salmond, and went cleare away withall, to the fishers great griefe, who had his mantle burnt, his Salmond lost, and the Fox escaped. Even so, sayes Sir *Iames*, it fares with us; we have done these men harme, and they think they have us in the house, and in a mouse-trap, but I have espied a way, by which, though it may seeme somewhat hard and troublesome, we shall escape safe without the losse of a man.

They continued still in the same place certaine dayes after this, without doing any thing of note or moment on either side; for the English warned by their late danger, kept better watch then they had done before: and now having taken a Scottish prisoner, they were informed by him, that the host of the Scots was commanded to be in readinesse against the third watch to follow Sir *Iames* his standard. This put them to no small businesse, so that they presently armed, and stood all night ranked in order of battell, supposing that the Scots intended to make an onset, and assaile them in their Trenches, and therefore their Watches and Sentinels were doubled, and the Foords strongly guarded. But the Scots by this time were risen and departed, passing through a Mosse or Bogue two miles long, which was never passed before, especially by horsemen: but they had provided flaikes and hurdles, upon which they made the horse to passe without sinking, leading them in their hands, and walking on foot by them. About the breake of day two Scottish Trumpeters were brought to K. *Edward*, who were taken by his Scouts, and being come before him, told that they were commanded to suffer themselves to be taken thus, that they might tell him that the Scots were gone home, and

that

that if he had a minde to be revenged on them for any thing they had done, he ſhould follow them. But he conſidering of the matter, and weighing all things, and with what men he had to doe, being both valiant, and able to endure ſo much hardſhip, thought it his beſt to let them goe, and ſo he returned to London, having ſeene his Kingdome burnt and ſpoiled under his noſe, for all his great Armie, and himſelfe in the midſt thereof in danger of his life, or of taking: which effronts he was forced to pack up at this time, not without great griefe and anger without all doubt. And this is the third piece of ſervice done by that ſo deſpiſed man to the poſterity of his deſpiſer; to his ſonne before, and now to his grandchilde in the yeare 1327. or 28. neare unto Stanhop park; which becauſe it cannot be denied, *Caxton* alledgeth that it came to paſſe by the treaſon of *Mortimer* Earle of March, who being corrupted by the Scots with money, would not ſuffer (ſaith he) the Earle of Lancaſter to paſſe the water, not very deep at that part to invade them, by which means they eſcaped. But our *Major* doth juſtly ſcorn that point of corrupting and bribing with money, and doth further affirme, that they had not any conference at all with *Mortimer*. So that it is likely, that what *Mortimer* ſpake in that matter of not following, or invading the Scots at their departure, he hath ſpoken it out of judgement, and not partiality; and perhaps more prudently, then they that counſelled the contrary. However they confeſſe that the King miſſed of his purpoſe, and being very penſive therefore, broke up his army and returned to London. Amongſt other things, they tell that after the Scots were diſlodged, ſome of the Engliſh went to view their Camp, partly to ſee their cuſtomes and manner of living, and what proviſion they had, partly to ſeek ſome ſpoil; when they were come there, they found onely five hundreth carcaſſes of red and fallow Deare, a thouſand paire of Highland ſhowes called rullions, made of raw and untand leather, three hundreth hides of beaſts ſet on ſtakes, which ſerved for Caldrons to ſeethe their meat. There were alſo five Engliſh men who had their legs broken, and were bound naked to trees, whom they looſed and gave them to Chirurgions to bee cured. When they ſaw theſe things, and judged hereby how painfull and able to endure the Scottiſhmen were, they found that counſell to have been good and ſound, which was given to their King not to follow them, whether it were *Mortimers* or ſome others.

The Engliſh Writers upon this ſcarcitie and penury here found, and upon ſuch other paſſages (as when *Edward* the ſecond entred Scotland, and was forced to returne for want of victualls, the King having cauſed remove all things out of his way) take occaſion to ſpeake contemptuouſly of the Scots, as though they had not defended their Countrey by vertue and proweſſe againſt England (between it and which they think there is no compariſon) but partly by cold and hunger, partly becauſe the Engliſh Kings did ſlight it, and were not deſirous to conquer it: as alſo for the Engliſh forces were almoſt imployed in France, ſo that they had no leiſure to bend their whole power againſt Scotland, which if they had done, they might eaſily (as they think) have maſtered it. Imputing hereby the cauſe of their failing to do it, they having ſo great ods

in number of men and warlike appointment, to want of will, and their hinderance by France, and the poverty of our Countrey, together with the roughneſſe thereof (being ſo Mountainous, and full of heaths and waſts, harder enemies then the inhabitants) giving no place to the vertue and valour of the people, very abſurdly and maliciouſly: for as touching the firſt, that they have had no deſire of it, it is a childiſh alledgeance, when they ſee they cannot get a thing, to deny that they deſire it. The great means they have uſed, the many attempts they have made, and that common and proverbiall ſpeech ſo ordinary in their owne mouthes, and deviſed amongſt themſelves, (*Qui la France veut gagner, a l' Eſcoſſe faut commencer*) do teſtifie the contrary. And above all, their often intending a full conqueſt of it, as their owne Hiſtories beare record. And as for the hinderance by France, their aides to Scotland have not been very great, nor very frequent; yea, it may bee ſaid juſtly, that France hath received more help then ever it gave: for ſince the league with *Charlemaigne*, it may be truely ſaid without any poeticall hyperbole, *nulla unquam Francis fulſit victoria caſtris, ſine milite Scoto*; that the French armies never wanted Scottiſh ſouldiers, but the Scots have but very ſeldome had Frenchmen to helpe them. And if the Kings of England have ſometimes bended their forces towards France, yet they did it not alwayes, but have made more warre in Scotland, when they had peace with France. And it is amongſt the complaints of our Nation, that France have caſt them into warres with England, when they might have had peace: Like as when they had advantage by warre, France did often wring their weapons out of their hands, and forced them to a diſadvantagious peace, which was commonly the greateſt fruits of their friendſhip and league. Now as for the difficulties of hills, hunger, &c. Theſe are not ſo great as they talke of, for neither is it altogether ſo poore, nor ſo hilly, and mountanous, as they would have it beleeved to bee; and if King *Robert* at this time or any other at any time have cauſed ſpoil and waſte in the Countrey at ſome times, thereby to famiſh or ſtraiten the enemy, or have choſen to vexe or trouble them with a Camp *volante* to eſchew the hazzard of a battell (as *Douglas* and *Randulph* did at this time) it hath been the practice of all warriours of all Nations: but neither hath it been, neither could it have been, the onely mean of conſerving this Countrey in freedome, except manhood and valour had been joyned with it, and that in a great meaſure; whereof ſufferance and hardneſſe to endure great ſtraits, want, ſcant, cold, hunger, and travell is no little part. As on the contrary, not to be able to endure theſe, is effeminateneſſe, the ordinary conſequent of riches, wealth, eaſe, abundance and deſicacie, all reprochfull to men. Even as the other (I confeſſe) are oft the conſequences of povertie, and are helps to harden the bodies, and whet the courages of men.

Wherefore if they had meant nothing elſe, but that the poverty of Scotland did preſerve the liberty thereof, becauſe it kept the inhabitants in continuall exerciſe both of body and minde, and did not ſuffer them to grow tender, delicate and effeminate, but hardned their bodies againſt want, and their minds and courages againſt perills and dangers, which they

they imployed for the defence of their Countrey, and by the which (as the chief means under God) they did defend it, we could well admit of it, and acknowledge as much poverty, (that is to say, want of superfluity) and vanity, invented by soft and womenly minds, and covered under the maske of civility, as hath begotten in them valour and temperance, as it is said to have done in many people before ; the Romanes, Macedonians, Turks, Parthians, Scythians, &c. But since that is not their meaning, but even to detract from their valour, they exprobrate their poverty, and casts it up for a reproach, to breed contempt of them in others, and to ascribe to it what is due to their worth ; to wit, the liberty, and preservation of their Countrey from all forrain enemies: we may say justly that it hath not been the immediate cause of their being preserved against England, Danes, or whatsoever enemy ; but that there hath been as much sufficiency of things necessary (call it riches, or by what other name you list) as hath moved other Nations (especially England) to covet it, and coveting to invade it, and when they had done their best, they were driven from it ; not so much by the barrenneſſe and roughneſſe of the soyle, as by many and sad stroakes of the inhabitants thereof; and by such acts and deeds, as became wise, valiant and couragious men. Touching all which, this one example will serve to confute whatsoever hath been, or can bee said in this kind, then which we need no other proof, and that is this same huge and great army raised by this King (*Edward* the third) and intending to have come into Scotland, if hee had not been thus affronted by Sir *James* and *Randulph* : and before in his fathers time at Biland, (and which admitteth for no exception) at Bannockburne. In all which there is no colour of want of will ; he showed it, he professed it, and presumed to devoure them in an instant: No want of forces, having gathered from all Countreyes not onely his subjects, but his friends also : no scarcitie of victuall, hee had abundance of all things : no hills nor mountains, they met in the plain fields : no forrain aid on the Scots side that we heare of, besides the two Brabanders, that King *Edward* sent to help them. And so again whatsoever progresse, or appearance of conquest the Englisſh have made of Scotland, it was never by their valour and armes, but by the advantage of an inteſtine warre, they siding with the one party, and at last overcoming both, as did *Edward* the first, in the dayes of *Balliol* ; wherefore they make a wrong account, and much mistake the matter, that thinke the liberty of this Kingdome hath been maintained more by the wants of our soyle, want of will in our enemies, or of leasure in the Englisſh, then by the worth of our predeceſſours, if wee weigh things rightly. But the true way, and mean, by which our Countrey and liberty thereof have stood, and by which they have relieved and vindicated it, when it was thralled, are these we have spoken of ; by which also they procured peace at all times, and now also at this time.

For the same yeare, in March Ambassadours came from *Edward* to treat of perpetuall peace, which the next yeare was concluded by the Parliament of England held at Northhampton : unto this Parliament for treating of Articles of peace, King *Robert* sent Sir *James*, with some Prelates, where it was concluded on these conditions : That the King of England

Peace with England.

ſhould renounce all title and claime that he and his predeceſſours had laid to the Crowne of Scotland, and deliver unto them whatſoever Bonds, Contracts, Writs or Evidents, they had for their pretended Title thereto. And ſhould leave that Kingdome as free as it had been in the dayes, and at the death of King *Alexander* the third, from all bondage and ſervitude for time to come. That the Scots ſhould alſo reſigne to the Engliſh, all lands and poſſeſſions, which ſometimes they had in England, or held of England in fealty, as beneficiars thereof, and that the Marches between the two Kingdomes ſhould bee Cumberland and Northumberland, unto Stone-moore: That *David* ſonne to King *Robert* ſhould marry *Jane*, King *Edwards* ſiſter, called by ſome *Jane* of the Tower, and by the Scots, *Jane* make peace, (in deriſion) and that King *Robert* ſhould pay to *Edward* three thouſand marks ſterling, for the dammage done to his people in the late warres, by Sir *James* and *Randulph*, Earle of Murray. The firſt of theſe articles was preſently performed, and the King of England delivered all the Writs and Evidents which hee had concerning his alledged ſuperiority of Scotland, and amongſt them an Indenture which they called Ragman (ſaith *Hollinſhed*) and certain Jewels won from the Kings of Scotland, amongſt which the blacke Croſiere or Rood was one. This peace the ſame Authour calleth unprofitable, and diſhonourable, done by evil and naughty counſell. If it were diſhonourable for England, it was ſo much the more honourable for the Scots that gave the peace. But the diſhonour hee meaneth is the renunciation of his title to the Crowne of Scotland, whereof he had fair claiming. King *Robert* and the Scots had driven him out of his uſurpation, and vindicated their liberty by force of armes. And as for his right and title in Law, the world knowes what ſmall account Scotland ever made of his pretenſions; having never been ſubject unto any but to their owne King. Wherefore it was onely to take away all occaſion of cavilling, and the better to keep peace with their neighbours, that they deſired this ſurrender, as they had done before with *Balliol*, whoſe right notwithſtanding carried a greater ſhow of equity and reaſon, and truly it is not ſo much to be wondered at, that King *Edward* condeſcended to theſe Articles; as it is that King *Robert* ſhould have yeelded to them, being more unprofitable for him, then for the other: and a man would think it very ſtrange that he ſhould part with Northumberland, or give any moneys to recompenſe any dammage done in a juſt warre: and that there ſhould not rather money have been given unto him, as a dowrie or portion with his daughter in law. But the time anſwereth it, hee was now of a good age, and unmeet for travel, and warres, being wearied with battells, and cloyed with victories, and ceaſed by ſickneſſe, he longed for peace to himſelf, and to his poſteritie, but with what fidelity, and how little it was kept by King *Edward*, we ſhall heare hereafter. No aliance, nor bond of amity (which ought but ſeldome doth tie Princes and great men) could keep him from breaking of this peace. The marriage was ſolemnized at Berwick, with all the pompe that might bee, after which King *Robert* lived not a full yeare.

A little before his death being at Cardrois, which ſtands over againſt Dum-

Dumbarton on the other ſide of the water of Levin: whether hee had withdrawne himſelfe by reaſon of his age and ſickneſſe, to live a private, and quiet life; hee called his friends together, and made his laſt Will and Teſtament, in which having ordered all his other affaires, hee called to minde a vow that he had made to go into Syria, and there to fight againſt the common enemy of the Chriſtian name: but becauſe his warres before, and now his age and ſickneſſe would not ſuffer him to performe it in his owne perſon, hee recommended the performing of it to Sir *James Douglas*, requeſting him earneſtly to go and do it for him; and withall, to carry his heart to Hieruſalem, and there to bury it neare the holy Grave. This was eſteemed a great honour in thoſe dayes, both by Sir *James* himſelf and others, and withall a cleare and honourable teſtimony of the Kings affection towards him; and ſo he interpreted it. Wherefore King *Robert* dying the 7. of July 1329. hee made himſelf ready, and prepared all things for his voyage very diligently; yet there were ſome of the moſt judicious in thoſe times, who tooke it to have a deeper reach; and that (however he did alſo reſpect Sir *James*, and thinke him the fitteſt for this buſineſſe:) his main deſigne was to prevent all diſſention, which might have riſen between theſe two great Captains, *Douglas* and *Murray*, *Randulph* to obviate the which, they thinke he deviſed to ſend Sir *James* out of the Countrey upon this honourable pretext. But there bee Authours that ſay, the King did not particularly deſigne Sir *James* by name, but deſired his Nobles to chooſe one of his moſt noble Captains in the Realme for that effect, and that they after his deceaſe laid it upon Sir *James* with one conſent, who moſt willingly accepted thereof, as one (who during King *Roberts* life) had ſerved the body wherein the heart had lodged. But whether the King deſired him by name, or the Nobility did interpret the Kings meaning to be ſuch (under the title and deſcription of the moſt noble Captain) or that they themſelves did deem him to be ſo (as indeed he was moſt worthy) ſo it was, that the charge was committed unto him, and he moſt gladly undertook it, when his preſence was very needfull for the Countrey.

King Bruce, dieth 1329

For before he tooke journey, their fell out a matter that occaſioned great troubles afterwards by *Edward Balliol*. One *Lawrence Twine* an Engliſh man borne, and one of thoſe who had obtained lands in Scotland for reward of his ſervice in the warres, a man well borne, but of a vitious life. This man after King *Roberts* death preſuming of inpunite in reſpect of K. *Davids* youth, looſed the reignes to his licentious lewdneſſe; and being often taken in adultery, and admoniſhed by the officiall of Glasgow when he would not abſtain from his wickedneſſe, he was excommunicated; wherewith being incenſed, he tooke the officiall as he was riding to the towne of Aire, and kept him priſoner till hee was forced to redeeme his liberty with a ſumme of money. Sir *James Douglas* highly offended with this enormity, cauſed ſeek him, that he might be puniſhed; which *Twine* underſtanding, and fearing that he ſhould not long eſcape his hands if he ſtayed within the Countrey, fled into France, and addreſſing himſelf unto *Edward Balliol*, he perſwaded him to enterpriſe againſt the King of Scotland, and recover that which he had ſo good right to, and ſo faire

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an opportunity, which *Balliol* did in Sir *Iames* his abſence, by his voyage; or after his ſlaughter in his voyage. And no queſtion his abſence was a ſtrong inducement both to this *Edward*, and to *Edward* of England, to attempt the ſubduing of Scotland; which he did thinke would prove eaſie; by making *Randulph* away (which he ſought to have done by poyſon) Sir *Iames* being abſent. So that either the Kings devotion (if it were indeed devotion or his pollicy, (if it were but pollicie) in ſending of him out of the Countrey, is greatly condemned by our Writers. And to ſpeake the truth it deſerves to be condemned, having by ſo doing ſent away ſo fit and uſefull a man, denuding the Countrey of ſuch a Captain in ſo doubtfull times; whereas a Prelate or ſome other Churchman had been fitter for that imployment. And hee ought to have conſidered that England would be ſtill aiming at the Crown of Scotland, notwithſtanding of the late alliance: neither needed he to feare any emulation betweene *Randulph* and Sir *Iames*, there being ſuch intire love in Sir *Iames* towards *Randulph*, that howſoever he contended with him in vertue, yet his contention was but in vertue, and ever within the bounds of modeſtie, love, and friendſhip, behaving himſelf to him as to his Comrade and Brother in armes, whereof hee had ever given in all the joynt ſervices ſo evident proofe, eſpecially at Bannockburne, where his love drew him out to have ſuccoured him if there had been need, and the ſame love and candor (ſo to call it) or courteſie and modeſty joyned with true magnanimitie, ſtayed him from going forward, that he might not arrogate to himſelf one ſhare or parcell of that victory, whereby the others glory had been eclipſed. And when hee had gotten the victory, hee accompanied him joyfully unto the Camp, no leſſe glad then if he had been victorious himſelf, farre from any hatefull or envious emulation: ſo that there was ſmall reaſon to looke for any harme from ſuch a diſpoſition, or any inconvenience from ſuch emulation, but rather to have expected much good from that his ſo well knowne affection and conſtancie both towards *Randulph*, and his native Countrey: however, hee out of his own worthie and good nature taking all in good part, hee paſſed on with his journey, taking with him two hundred Gentlemen of note, and (as it is reported) ſeaven hundred others. Amongſt the Gentlemen of good qualitie, there was Sir *William Sinclaire* of Roſline, Sir *Robert Logane* of Raſtaſlrig, and Sir *William Keith*. *De Froyſard* (in his 20. Chapter) reporteth that after his imbarking in Scotland he arrived at the Sluce, and ſtayed there ſome 12 dayes, where he kept ſuch ſtate and port, as if he had been King of Scotland: That he had in company with him, a Knight Banneret, and 7 other Knights of Scotland, and was ſerved by twenty ſixe young Squires and Gentlemen of good ſort, all his veſſels being of gold or ſilver: That all that came to ſee him of all ſorts of people were (according to their ranks) well and plentifully ſerved with all manner of vivers, wines and ſpices, the beſt that could be had. He ſaith alſo that in his return from Jeruſalem, he arrived at the port of Valence the great in Spain, where indeavouring to aſſiſt *Alphonſus* the king thereof, who warred againſt the King of Granado, then a Saracen, he was there incloſed by an ambuſh of the enemie, and ſo loſt his life.

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He carried with him to Hieruſalem the Kings heart embalmed and put into a box of gold, which he ſolemnely buried before the high Altar there: and this is the reaſon why the *Douglas* beare the crowned Heart in their coat of Armes ever ſince. When he had performed this ſervice to his dead Maſter, he went with ſuch company as he had brought with him, and joyned himſelf unto ſuch other Chriſtian Princes, as at that time were gathered with great power out of ſundry parts of Chriſtendome, to warre againſt the Infidels; where he did ſo notable ſervice, that by his frequent victories, he wan great honour to the Chriſtian name. At laſt, having accompliſhed things in thoſe parts with no leſſe fame and glory, then Princely Magnificence, he embarked for Scotland, but was caſt by ſtorme of weather upon the Coaſt of Spain, and forced to go a ſhore on the borders of Granado, where at the ſame time hee found the King of Arragon fighting againſt the Saracens that inhabited theſe parts: Sir *James* offered to the King to ſerve him in thoſe warres, and ſo fought againſt the enemy valiantly, and with great ſucceſſe at divers times; till at laſt having conceived too great contempt of the enemy, eſteeming them no Warriours, he became ſomewhat too careleſſe and ſecure, ſo that he was incloſed in an ambuſh, and ſlain, with all that were about him: his bones were embalmed and ſent home to Scotland, and buried in the Church of *Douglas*, called Saint Brides Kirk.

And thus he died in the yeare 1330. the 20. of Auguſt, the next yeare after King *Roberts* deceaſe. As for his vertues, his actions have declared him ſufficiently, yet theſe in ſpeciall are to be obſerved: In his youth he was carefull to inable and fit himſelfe for imployment, by the ſtudy and exerciſe of letters, and all good and commendable arts, whereby his mind contracting a good habit, was ſolidly fixed upon the vertues of modeſty and ſoberneſſe, and emptied of all envie; which hardly and very ſeldome are joyned with theſe great vertues of courage and magnanimity in a Military ſpirit and life, which commonly do hinder another. In his riper years we may ſee his perfect practice of them againſt the enemy, and towards his friends: In action he was bold, reſolute, couragious, ſtrong, diligent, and adviſed; and ſuch every way as a ſtout Souldier or worthy Commander ought to be. Out of action, and in private converſe, he was toward, affable, gentle, and courteous unto all: hee was loving to his Countrey, loyall, faithfull and obedient to his Soveraigne; he contended in vertue with his equalls, free from envie and hatred againſt any, and through the courſe of his whole life, without ſtain or blemiſh that wee heare of.

He is reckoned to have been in battells and incounters againſt the Engliſh fiftie ſeaven times, againſt the Saracens and other Infidels thirteene times ever victorious; thrice as often as hee had been yeares in action, which were about twenty foure from King *Roberts* Coronation. 1306. untill the time of his death in 1330. which if it be ſo, wee may ſee how many things were omitted by our Writers, all that are ſet down being farre ſhort of that number. Wherefore it is no marvell, if in ſuch a continuall courſe of victories, ſome confidence crept upon him; and if accuſtomed to ſo hard enemies, and good warriours, as the Engliſh, and Scots

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that ſided with them (as commonly thoſe are, who are born and bred in in the Northern parts of the world) he diſeſteemed and ſlighted the Saracens and Southern ſoftneſſe, weakneſſe and effeminacie in reſpect thereof, whereby he fell into this Ambuſh, which was his death. Now as in theſe reſpects it is ſomewat to be pardoned, ſo is this uſe to be made of it, that we deſpiſe no enemy however inferiour, and to eſchew too much confidence and preſumption in whatſoever advantage, which hath been the ruine and loſſe of many worthy men. He is ſaid to have been of a black and ſwart complexion, and to have liſped ſomewhat in his ſpeech. We heare nothing either in Hiſtory, or Monument, or otherwiſe of his marriage: he had two baſe or naturall ſonnes, *William* Lord of Liddeſdale (of whom we ſhall ſpeake hereafter) and one *Archbald*, whom the Lord of Liddeſdale made Captain of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, when hee tooke it in. To conclude, let this bee obſerved, that Sir *James* is never mentioned by any either Engliſh or Scottiſh Writer whatſoever, but with honour and commendation, as worthy, valiant, noble, good, or ſome ſuch Epithete; and confeſſed to have beene one of the moſt valiant that lived in his dayes. Such is the force of vertue, and ſo prevalent is it, even with enemies. We will not omit here (to ſhut up all) the judgement of thoſe times concerning him, in an old rude verſe indeed, yet ſuch as beareth witneſſe of his true magnanimity, and invincible mind in either fortune, good or bad.

Good Sir *James Douglas* (who wiſe, and wight, and worthy was)
Was never overglad for no winning, nor yet over ſad for no tineing,
Good fortune and evil chance, he weighed both in one ballance.

Jacobus Duglaſſius Brucii *Regis ſocius omnium laborum in Hiſpania cæſus a Saracenis*, 1330.

Quicquid ſors potuit mortali in pectore ferre
Vel facere, hoc didici perficere, atque pati.
Prima ubi luctando vici, ſors affuit auſis
Omnibus, & quid non pro patria auſus eram?
Hoſti terror ego: nullus me terruit hoſtis:
Conſiliis junxi robora dura meis.
Prælia quot numerat, titulos, actoſq; triumphos
Brucius, *hinc totidem pene trophæa mihi.*
Quo jam ſigna feram? major quærendus & orbis
Atque hoſtis; famam non capit iſte meam.
Arma Saraceno objeci prope littora calpes
Herculeæ, hic tellus me male fauſta tegit.
Herculeæ Græcis memoretur Gloria laudis,
Fallor an Herculeis *ſtant potiora mea.*

In Engliſh thus,
What ever weight in furious Fortune laid
On weak mans breaſt, I ſuffered undiſmaid,

Nor

Nor leſſe my active force; and when I tri'd
Her power in warre, propitious fate deny'd
No help; whiles my endeavours well did prove
How much I dared for my Countreys love.
A terrour to my foes; I knew no feare,
Wiſedome and valour both united were
In me. And looke what triumphs great *Bruce* gain'd,
As many Trophies were by me obtain'd.
What more remaineth to increaſe my name?
The world appears too little for my fame.
To Spain my aid I gave, and did oppoſe
The Saracen, there was the fatall cloſe
Of my brave life, wher't may be queſtioned much
If *Hercules* his Monuments were ſuch.

Of Hugh *the fourth and ninth Lord of Douglas.*

UNto this Sir *James* his brother germane *Hugh Douglas* did ſucceed, the ninth Lord, and fourth of that name. Of this man, whether it was by reaſon of the dulneſſe of his minde, or infirmity of his body, or through whatſoever occaſion elſe, wee have no mention at all in Hiſtory of any of his actions, onely it is certain that he ſucceeded, and was Lord of Douglas, which he demitted (in favour of his brother *Archbald*, ſlain at Halidoun hill) to his ſonne *William*, who was the firſt Earle of Douglas, as ſhall be ſhowne in his life. The honour of the name and dignity of the houſe was upheld by his brother *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, of whom therefore we are now to ſpeake. This *Hugh* lived after the death of his brother *Archbald* (which was 1333.) ſome nine or ten years, till the 1343. as the Charter of reſignation of the Lordſhip to his nephew doth witneſſe. He died without children, and was never married.

Of Archbald Douglas *Lord of Galloway, Governour of Scotland, third brother to Sir* James.

BEfore we proceed to ſpeak of the next Lord *Douglas*, the time, and order of the Hiſtory requireth that we ſpeake of *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway, and Governour of Scotland: he was third brother to good Sir *James*, as *Boetius* affirmeth in theſe words; *Archibaldus Duglaſius Germanus Jacobi de Douglas, quem nuperrime in hiſpania interiiſſe ſcripſimus*. This *Archbald* did outlive Sir *James* not above three yeares, as we ſhall ſhow hereafter. Neither is the loſſe of the battell wherein he died, imputed to his youth, but to his haſte and indignation. And in the battell of Annand, he ſhewed wiſedome and adviſedneſſe ſufficiently. Touching his education, there is no mention thereof in Hiſtory: he mar-

His marriage. ried *Dornagilla* daughter to Red *John Cummin*, whom King *Robert* ſlew at Dumfrees. This *John Cummin* was ſtiled Lord of Galloway, having married a daughter of *Allane* Lord of Galloway, called *Mary*, whoſe elder ſiſter *Dornagilla*, *John Balliol* had married: and therefore he is alſo ſtiled Lord of Galloway. There was alſo a third of theſe daughters married (as our Writers ſay) to the Earle of Abermale: it ſeemeth the lands of Galloway (Lord *Allane* dying without heires male) have been divided among the three ſiſters: as for his third wee finde nothing elſe of her. This *Archbald* having married *John Cummins* daughter, the inheritrix of the lands of Galloway, was imployed in the warre againſt *Edward Balliol*, whom he defeated and chaſed to Roxburgh, whereupon for this ſervice, and alſo by another title which hee claimed as neareſt to the houſe of Galloway by his Grandmother, the Earle of Carricts ſiſter, (which right wee have deduced at large in the life of Lord *William* the third maker of the Indenture) *Balliol* being forfaulted, hee obtains the lands of Galloway, as Evidents and Hiſtories beare record, ſtiling him *Archibald* Lord of Galloway, which continued in his poſterity untill the forfeiture of the Earles of *Douglas*. Some alledge that Red *John Cummin* did not marry the Lord of Gallowayes daughter *Marie*, but a daughter of *John Balliol* of Harcourt in Normandy, called *Adama*, whom he begot on his wife *Dornagilla*, who was daughter to *Allane* Lord of Galloway: but how came Red *John* to ſtile himſelf Lord of Galloway, ſeeing his wife was *Adama Balliol*, who had brothers, at leaſt one, to wit, *John Balliol* that was Competitor with *Bruce*. However it was, *Archbald Douglas* having chaſed *Edward Balliol*, and *Balliol* being forfeited, was made Lord of Galloway.

He is made Lord of Galloway.

His ſonnes. This *Archibald* had by his wife, *Dornagilla Cummin*, two ſons, *William*, who ſucceeded to his Uncle *Hugh* in the Lordſhip of Douglas, and was created Earle of Douglas, and *Archibald* after Lord of Galloway: hee had alſo a daughter called *Marjory* married to *Thomas* Earle of Marre.

We have heard in the life of good Sir *James*, how King *Robert Bruce* before his death had taken all pains for eſtabliſhing the Kingdome to his poſterity, and to leave it peaceablie unto them, and had done for that effect what the wit of man could deviſe: he had beaten out his enemies by armes, he had ratified and confirmed his right by the Lawes and Act of Parliament, he had obtained a renunciation of all title and claim he could pretend, from *John Balliol* his Competitor: he had gotten alſo the like renunciation of the King of England, and all Evidents, Writs, and Monuments concerning his pretenees delivered up unto him, diſcharged and cancelled, and declared to be null, and of no value, by conſent of the Engliſh Parliament, and (to be the ſurer of King *Edwards* friendſhip) he had married his ſonne *David* to *Jane* his ſiſter. He had cut off the rebellions that were ſpringing up againſt him, by executing ſuch as were guiltie, eſtabliſhed *Randulph* Tutor and Protector to his ſonne, and Governour of the Countrey, hee had removed all occaſion of emulation, that might have falne out therein, and ſetled all with good advice, good precepts, good councell in his Teſtament, both for peace among themſelves, and warre againſt the enemy. But what is the wit of man, and how weak a thing

a thing are his devices ! or what bonds will bind whom duety cannot binde ?

This ſame *Balliol*, whoſe father had renounced his right (nothing regarding what his father had done) renewed his claim to the Crown. This ſame King of England, who had himſelf ſolemnly renounced, who had bound up friendſhip with the moſt ſure and ſtrongeſt bonds that can bee amongſt men, regarding neither his reſignation made, nor his affinity and alliance, nor any dutie towards God, or faith and promiſe to man, uſed all means to ſtrip his brother-in-law (by conſequent his ſiſter) out of the Kingdome of Scotland; as if nothing were unlawfull, that could fill up the bottomleſſe gulf of his ambition. Firſt, he cauſed an Engliſh Monke (under colour of giving Phyſick for the gravell) to poyſon the Governor *Thomas Randulph* Earle of Murray; and afterward aided *Edward Balliol* with 6000. Engliſh, upon condition that *Balliol* ſhould hold the Crowne of him. *Edward Balliol* entering Scotland with theſe forces, and being aſſiſted by the male-contents in Scotland, prevailed ſo, that having wonne a battell at Duplin (1332. the 22. of September, the third yeare after the death of King *Robert*, and about one yeare after the death of *Randulph*) in which many were ſlain, to the number of 3000. together with *Duncane* or *Donald* Earle of Marre, the Governour; hee was Crowned at Scone, and theſe of the *Bruces* ſide conſtrained to ſend their King (*David Bruce* with his wife) into France, having no ſafe place at home to keep him in.

1332. Battell at Duplin.

Balliol Crowned at Scone.

After his Coronation, having taken in divers places that ſtood out againſt him, he went at laſt to Annand, receiving ſuch as would acknowledge him, and taking their oath of Allegeance and Fidelitie. Whereupon *Andrew Murray* Earle of Bothwell (choſen Governour after *Marres* death) ſent *Archbald* Lord of Galloway to ſee what hee could do againſt *Balliol* in theſe quarters: he taking with him his nephew *William Douglas* Lord of Liddeſdale, and *John Randulph* (the Governour *Randulphs* ſonne) together with *Simeon Fraſer*, having in company with them a thouſand horſe, went firſt to Mophet, and having there underſtood of *Balliols* careleſſe diſcipline and ſecuritie, departing from thence in the night, he came ſo ſuddenly to Annand where *Balliol* lay, that he eſcaped very narrowly, being halfe naked (not having leaſure to put on his cloathes) and riding upon a barme horſe unſadled, and unbridled, till he came to Carlile. Others write, that howbeit he came very quietly to have ſurpriſed the enemy at unawares in the night time, yet they had notice of his coming, and iſſued forth of the Towne with a great army, where they fought long, and ſtoutly, till at laſt *Balliol* was overthrowne, and fled. There were ſlain many of his friends, and amongſt theſe, *Henry Balliol* (who behaved himſelfe very manfully) *John Mowbray*, *Walter Cummin*, *Richard Kirbie*. *Robert* (or *Alexander*) *Bruce* Earle of Carrict, (and ſonne to *Edward* King of Ireland) was taken priſoner, and obtained pardon by the interceſſion of his Couſin *John Randulph*.

Douglas chaſeth *Balliol* at Annand, the 25. of December, 1332.

Hollinſhed writeth, that ſomewhat before this time the friends of *David Bruce* underſtanding that *Balliol* did ſojourne within the Towne of Perth, had beſieged it, but that they were conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, becauſe of the men of Galloway, who having bin ſometimes the *Balliols*

dependers, invaded the beſiegers lands under the conduct of *Euſtace Maxwell*; whereupon hee ſaith, *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, with the Earle of March and Murray, invaded Galloway with fire and ſword, and brought away great booties, but ſlew not many men, becauſe they got them out of the way, for feare of that terrible invaſion. This narration may bee true in the laſt part thereof concerning their invaſion, but the cauſe of this invaſion is not probable: that the men of Galloway ſhould invade mens lands that lay ſo farre from them, as they behoved to be, that did beſiege Saint Johnſton; for in all liklihood it was beſieged by theſe that were neareſt to it, being in kinne, and friends to thoſe that were ſlain in Duplin; and both *Hollinſhed* himſelf, and others, write that it was recovered in *Balliols* abſence about the ſame time, while he ſojourned in Annand, by thoſe that lay neare to it, without mentioning any other ſiege before that at which it was taken.

This battell at Annand ſo changed the caſe, that hee who even now was Crowned King (in September) who had farre prevailed, to whom all men (even King *Davids* neareſt friends and kinſmen) had yeelded, (deſpairing of his eſtate) was by this act of *Archbald* Lord of Galloway turned quite out of his Kingdome and Countrey, and compelled to fly into England, to ſave his life, the 25. of December the ſame yeare, about three moneths after his Coronation, and was compelled to keep his Chriſtmas at Carlile in the houſe of the Friers Minors. A notable example of the inconſtancy of worldly affairs, and conſtancy of an honeſt heart in the *Douglas*, not abandoning his Princes cauſe, when others had forſaken it, and alſo a proof of his good ſervice, and uſefull; for which as he deſerved perpetuall praiſe and favour of his rightfull Prince, ſo did he incurre great hatred of his enemie, the uſurping *Balliol*; who the next day after (the 26 of December) going into Weſtmoreland, and there being honourably received by the Lord *Clifford*, gave unto him the whole lands of Douglaſdale, which the ſaid Lord *Cliffords* grandfather had before in the dayes of King *Edward* the firſt. So proudly did he preſume, to give that which was not in his power: And ſo little had he learned the leſſon of the uncertaintie of humane affairs, grounded on whatſoever power, appearance, or even ſucceſſe: and ſo difficult a leſſon it is to learne, where there remains means ſo great as hee truſted to, the power of the King, and Kingdome of England, with his owne particular friendſhip and faction within the Countrie of Scotland, which ſhall indeed have power to trouble the State a while, but not to eſtabliſh either the Kingdome to himſelfe, or any part of Douglaſdale to the Lord *Clifford*.

Warre proclaimed.

The next yeare, 1333. K. *Edward* of England having ſhaken off all colour of duty to his brother-in-law K. *David*, made open warre to be proclaimed betweene the two Countreyes, which turned on all hands to the diſadvantage of Scotland, even upon both the Marches. For the Lord of Liddiſdale was taken priſoner on the Weſt hand, he having the charge of that quarter: and *Murray* the Governour on the middle March was taken likewiſe at the Caſtle of Roxburgh, by purſuing the victorie too farre on the bridge, and ſo excluded from his owne. King *Edward* took openly upon him the protection of *Balliol*, having cauſed him to ſweare homage

homage to him, and ſo with a great Army both of his owne ſubjects and forreiners, came in perſon and ſate downe before Berwick, and beſieged it, both by ſea and land. Hereupon the Nobility of Scotland chooſe *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway to be Governour, and Generall of the Army, adviſing him to enter England, and to ſpoile it with fire and ſword, ſo to force K. *Edward* to riſe from before Berwick, and leave the ſiege. And this whileſt he was about to have done, he is advertiſed from within the Towne, that Sir *Alexander Seaton* Governour thereof had made a paction with K. *Edward* to render the Towne, if he were not ſuccoured by the Scots before the firſt of Auguſt next, and for performance thereof had given him his ſonne and heire in pledge and hoſtage. Hereupon the Lord Governour changeth his purpoſe, fearing the loſſe of the Towne, and againſt the opinion of the wiſeſt of his Armie, marcheth directly towards Berwick, and the third day after he ſet forth, he came within the ſight both of his friends and foes. Before this King *Edward* (beſides *Thomas Seaton*, who was given him in pledge) had taken alſo *Alexander Seaton*, another ſon of the Governour of Berwick (whileſt at a ſally out of the Towne he followed upon the enemy too eagerly) and had now both the brothers in his power, the one a pledge, the other a priſoner. He therefore ſeeing now that the Towne was like to be relieved, ſent to the Captaine, certifying him plainly, that unleſſe he did render the towne forthwith into his hands, both his ſons ſhould be hanged immediately upon a gibbet in ſight of the Towne before his eyes. The Captaine returned him anſwer, that the dayes of Truce were not yet expired, and therefore deſired him either to keep the covenant he had made, or elſe deliver the Hoſtages, and be at his advantage. When the King could not prevaile with him, nor breake him off his reſolute conſtancie (to which his vertuous and generous Lady did alſo notably encourage him) he was as good as his word, and performed indeed what he had threatned, againſt the law of Nations, and againſt all humanitie, hanging them up almoſt in the very ſight of their Parents, who bore it patiently and conſtantly for the good of their Countrey, and thought their childrens lives well beſtowed in that regard: onely that they might not be beholders of ſo heavie a ſpectacle, they retired themſelves to their chamber apart.

Berwick beſieged by K. *Edward* the third.

Occaſion of the battell at Halidoun hill.

This ſtrange, tyrannicall, barbarous, and monſtrous fact is ſuppreſſed in the Hiſtories of England, and buried in ſilence, not unwiſely, it being capable neither of defence nor excuſe; and yet is contrary to the lawes of Hiſtories, and the duty of an Hiſtorian, who ought (according to the oath of witneſſes) to tell all the truth, and nothing but the truth; ſeeing where the truth is either adulterated or ſuppreſſed, the life of Hiſtory is loſt, which conſiſts in particular circumſtances, truly related. Neither do I ſee how this ſame King (in the end of his life) can pertinently and juſtly be called courteous and gentile, after ſuch a fact, whereof few the like have fallen into the hands of the cruelleſt Tyrants that ever were recorded in ſtory. And for my part I think certainly, that it is not poſſible that one who is of a nature truly gentile and courteous, ſhould commit and be guilty of ſo foule a crime. It is a perpetuall blot and unexcuſable, and ſuch

as

as no wit can waſh away. So it is ſtill, and ſo let it ever be branded and deteſted. So it was by our Governour the Lord of Galloway, and ſo much did it move him, and ſo farre ſtirre up his noble indignation, that he thought he could never be exonered with credit, without avenging of it, or ſpending his life in the quarrell, and ſo being reſolved to fight, he would never give eare to any counſell on the contrary, nor alter his determination for any difficulty that could be propoſed. And now K. *Edward* (after that unpleaſant ſpectacle, deteſted even by the Engliſh themſelves) had drawne up his Army, and taken a hill to the weſt of Berwick, called Halidoun hill, a place very advantageous for him; and the Scottiſh Army did ſtand over againſt them in battell aray. The Governour commanded to march up the hill, and to invade the Engliſh where they ſtood, altogether againſt the counſell of the beſt adviſed, who both before, conſidering the inequalities of the Armies, both in number (they being but few in reſpect of the Engliſh) and in experience (being for the moſt part young and raw ſouldiers, not yet trained) had diſſwaded him from fighting any at all, and now ſeeing the odds, and inequality of ground, would gladly have oppoſed themſelves thereunto. But all was in vaine: he was ſo incenſed with that ſo deteſtable fact, that boiling with anger, and deſiring of revenge, and truſting to the goodneſſe of his cauſe, and to the forwardneſſe of his Armie, who being inflamed in the like anger, upon the ſame occaſion, were very deſirous to joyne battell, eſteeming that their earneſtneſſe of minde would ſupply their want of skill, and overcome all other difficulties, and thinking in himſelf, that if having bin a ſpectator of that vile and cruell murther, he ſhould turne his backe without fighting, it would be accounted cowardiſe; he proſecuted his reſolution, and commanded to march forward, which was accordingly performed. They were firſt to deſcend and go down from a little hill on which they ſtood, then through a valley, and ſo to climbe up another hill ſo ſteepe that one man may (as *Major* ſaith) keepe downe foure, ſuch is the ſcituation thereof on the weſt ſide. Wherefore the Scots, ere they could come to ſtroakes, were almoſt overwhelmed with ſhot and ſtones; when they were come up, being quite out of breath, and charged from the higher ground, they were borne downe with violence, and ſlaine. Some write that the firſt joyning of the battell was at the foot of the hill, upon more even ground, but that the Engliſh gave ſomewhat back towards the ſide and aſcent of the hill, and having gotten that advantage of the riſing of the hill, made a fierce onſet upon the Scots, who purſued them too raſhly, ſuppoſing the Engliſh had fled, by which meane they were utterly overthrowne.

There died of the Scots in this battell 10000. others ſay 14000. the Engliſh writers ſay 30000. A rare hoaſt amongſt the Scots, though the Countrey had not been divided in it ſelfe: and there were but few more then 30000. when they overthrew the King of England with his invincible Army at the renowned battel of Bannockburn: but ſuch is the cuſtome and forme of their Writers, to extoll their owne facts, and to leſſen their neighbours, for they ſay there were ſlaine onely at Bannockburne of the Engliſh 10000. and at this battell but 15. how apparently let the Reader judge.

judge. Our Writers ſay there was no ſmall number of them ſlain, and that it was fought with great courage, nevertheleſſe of this inequality: neither did the Scots turne their backs, or give ground, untill their Generall (fighting valiantly in the midſt of them) was ſlaine. There died with him *Iohn*, *Iames*, and *Allane Stuarts*, ſons to *Walter Stuart*, in his owne battell, the Earle of *Roſſe*, to whom he had committed the Vauntguard, with *Kenneth* Earle of Sutherland, *Alexander Bruce* Earle of Carrict, *Andrew*, *Iames*, and *Simon Fraſers*. Few were taken priſoners, and ſuch as were taken, by the commandment of K. *Edward* were beheaded the next day, againſt the law of armes: ſome few were ſaved by their keepers, who were more covetous of their ranſome, then of their bloud. Such cruelty did this gentile nature practiſe before the battell (upon the *Scatons*) in the the chaſe (upon the flyers) and after the battell (upon the priſoners) in cold bloud. But his aime was to make a full conqueſt of Scotland, which did faile him notwithſtanding. This battell was fought July 22. 1333. called *Magdalens day*, accounted, by the ſuperſtition of the people, unfortunate for Scotland.

Thus died *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway fighting for his Countrey: his love thereof, his indignation againſt ſo inhumane a fact is commendable: his magnanimitie likewiſe and valour is ſuch as became his houſe: his conduct is blamed, and the cauſe thereof, whether it were anger or errour: his anger or deſire of revenge, though the cauſe be never ſo juſt, ſhould have beene bridled and tempered, and ſo governed, with ſuch wiſedome as might have effected a due puniſhment indeed, and not ſo headie, as to have precipitated himſelfe and the Countrey into extreme danger and ruine, whileſt he ſought revenge. Or if it were errour, and too much relying upon the forwardneſſe of his Army, that indeed is a thing not to be neglected, but to be taken hold of, and made uſe of, yet it ought not to be ſo farre truſted, but well imployed, and managed with judgement, as a good addition to other meanes and helps, but not that the whole hope of the victorie ſhould be grounded and hang upon it alone; farre leſſe ought it to be made uſe of when there is too great odds. In which caſe it ſerves but for a ſpurre to ſet us on to our more ſpeedy ruine. If it were feare that he ſhould be thought a coward if he did not fight that moved him, his feare was needleſſe: he had given good proofe of it before, and might have given more thereafter: he ſhould have remembred that he was a Generall, and Leader, in whom want of wiſedome and government were as much to be blamed as fearefulneſſe. He was alſo a Governour, in whoſe ſafety the Kingdome was intereſſed, and who ought to have regarded the good thereof. In this ballance he ſhould have weighed things, and ſhould have done according to it, though with hazzard of a ſiniſter report for a while, which might eaſily have beene recovered in the owne time. Concerning which, and all idle fame, and vaine opinion of ignorant people, we have that notable example of that worthy *Fabius Maximus*, the Romane Captaine, who neither by the provocation of the enemie, nor importunitie of the ſouldiers, nor diſgracefull rumours ſcattered among the people, as if he durſt not have fought, or had colluded with *Hanniball*, and other ſuch ſlanders, could be moved to fight but

at

at a convenient time. Nay rather then he would doe it, he ſuffered the halfe of his Armie to be taken from him, and given to his Lieutenant, as the hardier man than he, who both durſt, and would fight, as he bragged. And ſo he did indeed upon the firſt occaſion, but with ſuch foole-hardineſſe, as that he had both loſt himſelfe, and his whole Army, if *Fabius* had not come in time to his reſcue; who at that fit time of fighting ſhewed in effect both what he durſt in manhood, and what he could do in wiſedome; and eaſily made thoſe fond rumours to vaniſh, to his perpetuall glory, the confuting and confounding of his Competitour, and confeſſion and acknowledgment of his worth from thoſe who had blamed him before. Not unlike to this was the ſaying of great *Scipio* the Africane, who being reproached by a certain man that he was not ſo forward a fighter as he could have wiſhed (though in very deed he was forward enough) daigned him with no other anſwer, but that his mother had borne him to be Commander, not a fighter; thinking that a Captaines chiefe honour is to command well, and to chooſe fit times, places, and meanes for fighting. And not to goe any farther; we heard before in good Sir *Fames* his life, how little he was moved at the Engliſh Heralds demands, who deſired (in the Kings name) that he would fight him on the plaine field, upon equall ground, if he had either vertue or honour. Sir *Fames* ſent him away with deriſion, as one that had made a fooliſh requeſt, telling him, that a good Captaine ſhould account it his honour not to fight for his enemies requeſt, but as he found moſt expedient and convenient for himſelfe, in wiſedome, chooſing the forme, the field, the time, the place, and all for the advantage of his Army, and giving no advantage to the enemy whereof he could poſſibly hinder him. And this I have inſiſted upon ſo much the more, becauſe many that are of good ſpirits otherwiſe, do oftentimes erre in this falſe opinion, and thereby doe both loſe themſelves and their honours. So that while they affectate to be called hardie fighters, doe prove indeed to be fooliſh Captains, and ill Commanders, and ſo doe not eſchew reproach, but incurre it. Neither get they the honour of valour, which they ſeeke, but the blame of temeritie and raſhneſſe, which they ſhould avoid. So that the Writers ſpeaking of this fact, doe all of them condemne it, and brand it with a note of ill conduct; and ſome of them ſay in expreſſe termes, *Archbald* Lord of Galloway was not valiant (in this caſe) but temerarious and fooliſh; very truly and wiſely, to warne others to take heed, and beware of failing in the like kinde; very ſoberly and reſpectively, reſtricting it to this particular onely, and in this caſe leaving him his due praiſe and commendation in his other actions, as ye have heard hee very well deſerved.

This defeat drew on with it the ſurrendring of the Towne of Berwick (the next day after) by Sir *Alexander Seaton*, and of the Caſtle by *Patrick Dumbarre* Earle of March, lives and goods ſafe, themſelves giving their Oath of allegeance and fealty to the K. of England. He commanded the Earle of March to re-edifie the Caſtle of Dumbarre, which he, being not able to keepe it, had demoliſhed, that it might not be a receit to the Engliſh. And within a ſhort time this overthrow had wellnigh overthrowne the

the Kingdome, and the cauſe: for the greateſt part of the Nobilitie, that were not dead before, being ſlain in this conflict, the reſt flying to ſave themſelves, to ſtrengths & deſarts; *Balliol* aſſiſted by *Robert Talbot* (a Noble man of England, whom the King had left with him, with a few Engliſh bands) being aided by his Favourers in Scotland, made himſelf once more King, and was confirmed by Parliament, within half a yeare after he had been driven out. All yeelded obedience to him, ſave onely foure Caſtles, to wit, Loch-leven, Dumbarton, Kildrummie, Urwhart and Lowdon peele, ſeated on a little lake; ſo that no man in Scotland durſt call *David Bruce* their King, except young children in their playes: ſo far were matters altered by this check! Where it is to be marked, that as by the wiſe and wary government of the ſame *Archbald*, his Countrey and lawfull King were defended, and *Balliol* chaſed out of his uſurped Kingdome: So by the ſame mans overſight in government, both the uſurping *Edwards* (Engliſh and Scots) are repoſſeſſed again therein, and his Countrey plunged into miſery, and the rightfull King and his partners brought to great extremitie.

Of ſo great efficacie is good, or evill government: therefore it is ſo much the more circumſpectly to bee looked to, and to bee exerciſed according to the rules of wiſedome, and not after the opinions of men, fame, and reports, anger, or whatſoever other cauſe doth make men ſtray from the right and ſtrait courſe of reaſon. This was the lamentable condition of our Countrey: But let us have patience a while, and wee ſhall ſhortly have better newes. Both theſe uſurpers ſhall ere long bee driven to let go their hold, and at laſt be utterly diſappointed of all their hopes and projects; God conſerving the liberty of this Countrey, and the Crowne thereof to the rightfull heire, and the *Bruces* bloud, in whoſe poſterity it ſhall yet proſper. In which work no little part ſhall bee the valiant and faithfull efforts of the *Douglaſſes*. Amongſt whom it were requiſite to ſpeake of the next Lord *Douglas*: But the order of time draws me another way: it being long before his turne come in, even tenne or twelve, or perhaps twentie yeares, as ſhall bē ſeen in the owne place, for hee hath been young (it ſhould ſeeme,) and abroad out of the Countrey, but in his abſence ſome other of the *Douglaſſes* muſt not be idle.

Archibaldus Duglaſius *ad Halidonem cæſus*, 1333.

Non potuit perferre nefas, fœdamque Tyranni
Perfidiam. Et quiſnam ſuſtinuiſſe queat?
Ergo furens animi, atq; accenſo pectore inardet
Prælia, & ingratas increpat uſque moras.
Poſcimus aut æquo (dixit) certamine Martem,
Aut certum eſt fatis cedere velle tuis.
Ah nimis! ah properant! Non illis ignea virtus
Defuerat: nocuit præcipetaſſe nimis.
Nec te victorem jactes, temeraria virtus
Sic nocuit. Vinci vis animoſa nequit.

In Engliſh thus,

He was not patient enough to ſee
The Tyrants faithleſſe fact (and who could be)
Hence his enflamed breaſt with anger ſweld,
Enrag'd at ſuch impediments as held
His hand from juſt revenge. Come let us trie
Our chance, and winne the field, or bravely die.
If fate will have it ſo, he ſaid: and all
With too much haſte obey'd their Generall.
No courage wanted, but the hard event
Prov'd the act raſh, and loſe the puniſhment
Of ill rul'd valour. Thou didſt nothing gain,
Who to his paſſion yeelds commands in vain.

Of William Douglas *Lord of Liddeſdale, called the flowre of Chevalrie.*

BEfore we proceed to the reſt of the Lords of Douglas, the order of the Hiſtory requires, that wee ſpeake ſomething of *William*, not Lord of Douglas, but Lord of Liddeſdale, and a worthy member of the houſe and name of *Douglas*. The firſt mention of him, and his actions, is at the battle of Annand, where hee was with *Archbald*, Lord of Galloway. The laſt of his actions of importance are in the beginning of the firſt Earle *William*, before the battle of Durham the ſpace of thirteen yeares or thereby: which time hee imployed for his lawfull King and Countrey againſt the uſurpers, ſo diligently as ſhall bee deduced in the progreſſe of this Story. Writers call him naturall ſonne to Sir *James* ſlain in Spain, which is truth: But they erre when they ſay that *John* Lord Dalkeith was brother to *William* Lord of Liddeſdale, hee being Liddeſdales uncle, and Sir *James* brother, ſo maſter *John Major* hath *Davidis*, for *Gulielmi*, and *Hollinſhed*, and *Boetius William* for *Archbald*, who was made Captain of the caſtle of Edinburgh, by this ſame *William*. But it is ſo clear and manifeſt whom they mean of, that there is no queſtion to be made of it. However it be, he hath ſo honoured and nobilitated himſelf by his vertue, that no poſteritie needs to enquire of his birth. We finde that he was married to a daughter of Sir *John Grahame*, Lord of Abercorne, called *Margaret Grahame*, by whom he got the lands of Liddeſdale, he had but one onely daughter (*Marie*) who was married to Sir *James* of Lowden, who after the Lord Liddeſdales his death, and *Margaret Grahames*, got the lands of Liddeſdale.

Sonne naturall to Sir *James*.

Her marriage

One childe *Marie*.

His firſt appearing, to wit, at the battell of Annand, hath been ſpoken of: after that hee was for his wiſedome and manhood accounted worthy to have the cuſtody and government of the Weſt Marches, as the charge of the Eaſt Marches was committed to *Patrick Dumbarre*. Being Wairden there, hee had his reſidence at Annand, where at a certain skirmiſh with the

the Engliſh, his men were ſcattered, himſelf was hurt and taken priſoner, about that ſame time that Regent *Murray* was taken at Roxbrough, to wit, in the yeare 1332. before the battell of Halidoun hill, which was the occaſion that he was not there with his uncle *Archbald*, Lord of Galloway. He continued a priſoner untill 1335. and then he and *Murray* were both ſet at libertie, having payed a great ſumme of gold for their ranſome. It is ſtrange that theſe two great Politicians (the two *Edwards* I mean) intending a conqueſt of Scotland, ſhould have ſuffered ſuch men to bee ſet at liberty at any rate, without making them ſure to their ſide; conſidering that the detaining of them would greatly have facilitate their deſignes: and their liberty, being enemies, hinder and annoy them, as we ſhall heare it did not a little. It was apparently the pride of their hearts in that good ſucceſſe, which made them careleſſe and ſecure, not fearing any danger from theſe or any elſe. So doth ſucceſſe and pride growing thereupon commonly blind men: or ſo doth God blinde the wiſedome of unjuſt men, when hee hath a work to do againſt them. But before wee come to the reſt of the deeds of this valorous Lord, we muſt take a view of the eſtate of things at that time, that the circumſtances (which are the life of Hiſtory, and light of actions) being knowne, the actions themſelves may be the better conſidered. 1335

We have heard how deſperately things went on the *Brucian* (which was the onely right) ſide: hee that was lawfull King durſt not bee named, nor there was none that durſt do ſo much as once offer to call him King, but the little children in their play, who ſtill ſtiled him ſo; whether by a naturall inclination to their rightfull Prince, or by ſome ſpark of Divine inſpiration joyned therewith, who can tell? or who knowes theſe things? what motions will either remain of old or ſpread of new in the hearts of men, where Gods work is to be done? wiſe men keep ſilence, and therefore the ſtones behoved to cry out, and fooliſh ſimple babes beare witneſſe that the *Bruce* was King, for all the uſurpers confidence and crueltie: no doubt, it was with great deriſion, and contempt of the hearers, but the event did juſtifie it, that it had a ſecret mover. No man ſaw the means how it could come to paſſe, but means will not be wanting, where a work is to be done. This ought to be a heartning to good ſubjects in their lawfull Princes quarrell, and for good men in all good cauſes, not to deſpaire for want of means. Let men do their beſt, means will come from whence they leaſt dream on: Perhaps it will fall out ſo here in this caſe: Out from among the midſt of the enemies the firſt glimpſe of deliverance doth ariſe.

There were that conſpired againſt the *Bruce* to wrack him, and the Countrey, England and the *Balliols* faction in Scotland, and thoſe had overrunne all. There comes a blink of favour, and hope from Rome, by the procuring of France. The Pope ſends to King *Edward* of England, to deſiſt from invading of Scotland, but that evaniſhed without effect: pride had ſo farre prepoſſeſſed his heart, that he thought himſelfe ſure to make a conqueſt of Scotland, pleaſing himſelfin his owne conceit, and ſuppoſing Scotland neither durſt, nor could ever make head againſt him hereafter: wherefore he will not do ſo much as give the Ambaſſadours leave

to come into his ſight. A manifeſt contempt, not ſo much of the people, as of the voyce of equity and reaſon: But he called it reaſon what he had ability to doe: (*Stat pro ratione voluntas*) is the voyce of Tyrannie, and indeed a change being to come, pride behoved to go before; bùt the working of this is obſcure, and not perceived at firſt openly: diſſention amongſt the conſpirators doth ariſe upon a light occaſion, a gnats wing (as the Proverb is) but it growes to a Mountain. *Talbot* an Engliſh man was appointed with *Balliol* (as hath been ſaid) for to govern Scotland, his co-adjutors for re-conquering of it were (amongſt other Scots Englized) *David Cummin* Earle of Athole, *Henry* of Beaumont, *John Mowbray* an old favourer of that faction, from the time of *Edward* the firſt, of whom he had received diverſe lands for ill ſervice to his Countrey, which *Edward* eſteemed to bee good; as indeed it was profitable to him. This *John Mowbray* was dead, and had left his lands to be divided between his two daughters, and his brother *Alexander*, or rather as a bone, and a matter of debate amongſt the whole faction: for his daughters claiming it as heires of line, his brother by heire-male as entail, the Caſe was brought to judgement. *Henry* of Beaumont had married one of the daughters, he therefore was fracker froward that way, as one that was intereſſed. *Talbot* and *Cummin* ſwayed this way; *Edward Balliol* enclined to the other party, and gave ſentence for *Alexander* the brother. Hereupon diſſention ariſeth; they grudge and murmure againſt the judgement, they complain of it in their open diſcourſe, and ſpeaches, as unjuſt: they withdrew themſelves from Court, as mal-contents. *Talbot* goes into England (perhaps to complain to the King) and as he came thorow Lowthian, hee is taken by ſome of King *Bruces* party (who began to ſhow their heads upon this occaſion) and carried to Dumbarton where hee died: *Beaumont* put hand to work, and without ſo much as acquainting the King withall, takes Dungard a ſtrong Caſtle in Buchan, and the reſt of the lands that were in plea, hee ceaſeth them, and makes them his owne by the law of the ſtrongeſt. *Cummin* gets him into Athole and there fortifies himſelf againſt whoſoever ſhould aſſail him. This terrifies *Balliol* ſo, that he retreats his ſentence, and turnes his coat; agreeth with thoſe two, granting unto *Beaumont* the lands which he had adjudged from him, and giving *Cummin* diverſe other good lands which belonged to *Robert Stuart*, who ſhall reigne afterward, to ſhew upon what ill ground that gift was founded. But is he the better for this injuſtice? for injuſtice it muſt be either firſt, or laſt, he is not ſo much the better, as in likelihood he ſhould have been; for injuſtice is never profitable. If hee gain one, he loſeth another: hee winnes *Cummin* and *Beaumont*, but he loſeth *Alexander Mowbray*: who thereupon joins himſelf to the other party. And thus was this uſurpers faction brangled, then bound up again, and after divided again by want of worth in *Balliol* their head. But this is not all, for it ſeems that *Cummins* mind hath not been ſo much ſoundly reconciled to *Balliol*, as it hath been onely plaiſtered over, which may appeare to bee probably collected out of the Hiſtory, which they ſay is thus. *Edward* of England came with 50000. men into Scotland; to what purpoſe ſo many? was there warre? None ſaith he, nor rebellion greatly, that appeared any where, what doth hee then?

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doth he fight with any man? doth he fortifie Caſtles? we heare no word of any ſuch matter. What hath been his intention then? wherefore came he, and with ſo huge an Army? they tell not. But let actions ſpeake, they will tell: All agree in this, that he tooke away *Balliol* into England; there is one point: Then hee hath been jealous of him, and hath feared perhaps that he would not continue long his vaſſall, as his Grandfather had proofe, in *Balliols* father: but what doth he more? hee leaves *Cummin* to guide the affaires in Scotland; there is another point: Hee makes him Viceroy in Scotland for *Balliol*, and *Balliol* in effect priſoner in England. Of which courſe *Edward* of England is the Authour, let it bee ſo; who will purge *Cummin* of having been a Counſeller, a ſuggeſter of information for his owne advancement? he being a man that did ever hunt after preferment, which he made the ſcope of his actions, and compaſſe, by which he ever ſailed, being alſo of an aſpiring mind, and of a fickle and various diſpoſition and nature. However it be, this is another diviſion in that ſociety between the *Edwards*, the uſurping Kings. And thus much of the eſtate of their faction.

Concerning the other partie that ſtuck to the lawfull King *Robert Stuart*, that afterward was King, had eſcaped *Balliols* ambuſh: being but fifteen yeares of age, and by the help of his friends, was conveyed to the Caſtle of Dumbarton, where hee was received by *Malcolm Fleeming* Captain thereof. Now both the *Edwards* being abſent, and he having a particular ſpleen againſt *Cummin*, who poſſeſſed his private inheritance; the ſaid *Robert* with the help of *Colin* or *Duncan Campbell* in Argyle (from whom he obtained an aid of foure hundreth men) had taken the Caſtle of Dunholm in Coile, and deſtroyed the Engliſh Garriſon there, whereupon the men of Boote (which was his private inheritance) had taken armes, ſlain *Allane Lyle* there Captain, and Sheriffe, who was placed there by *Balliol* and *Cummin*, and were come home very joyfull to their old maſter the *Stuarts*. Upon this *Thomas Bruce* Earle of Carrict with his friends, and neighbours of Coile, and Cunninghame, and *William Karrudiſe* of Annandale (who had ever refuſed the Engliſh yoake) coming forth out of the place where they had lurked, reſorted to him alſo. *John Randulph* Earle of Murray was returned from France, and did incourage them with hopes of forreign help of *Jeffercy* or *Godfrey Roſſe* (Sheriffe of Aire) had drawne Coile, Carrict, and Cunningham to be of the partie; Ranfrow was alſo returned to the *Stuarts*. By their example, the dependers of *Andrew Murray* had drawne all Cliddeſdale to them, partly by faire means, partly by force. Theſe under the command and leading of *Robert Stuart*, and *John Randulph* had paſſed into the North parts, chaiſed *David Cummin*, Governour for the Engliſh to Lochaber, and compelled him to yeeld, and ſwear obedience to *David Bruce*: Notwithſtanding, that the enemy had committed to him ſo great a charge, as to bee Lieutenant for him in thoſe parts.

About this time or a little before, *William* Lord of Liddeſdale returns from his captivity, having been three yeares in priſon: And hee is no ſooner returned, but that preſently he begins to ſerve his King and Countrey faithfully, and diligently againſt both their enemies, Scots and Engliſh

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lized uſurpers; recompencing his long impriſonment with his enemies loſſes, eſpecially in Lowthian: for the more eaſie performance hereof, and that hee might annoy them that were in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, (which was then held by the Engliſh) and them that went toward it, hee lay in wait in Pentland-hills. To him *John Randulph*, after that he had left *David Cummin* Earle of Athole Lieutenant for him in the North parts (*Randulph* and *Robert Stuart* were choſen Governours by the Kings party) did adjoyn himſelf as to his old and faſt friend: from thence they both went to Perth, to a Convention of the States, the 2. of April 1335. But there was nothing done at that meeting, becauſe of the enmity betwixt the Lord Liddeſdale, and *David Cummin* Earle of Athole. The occaſion was, the Lord of Liddeſdale alledged that hee was detained longer in priſon, then other wayes he would have been, by the means of the the Earle of Athole, who (no doubt) did thinke it meet for *Balliol* and the Engliſh faction, and therefore adviſed them to keep him. And certainly he was wiſer in that point, then they that ſet him at libertie for ranſome: Now under the colour and pretext of this ill will between him and Liddeſdale, Athole was ſo ſtrongly accompanied with his ſervants and dependers, that the reſt being jealous of his diſpoſition, and fearing his preſent power did conclude no matter of importance, *Robert Stuart* enclined toward him, but all the reſt favoured the Lord Liddeſdale. *Robert* was young, and knew not the diſpoſition of Athole, which the reſt knew better, and what ods was between them in fidelitie, which was not long in diſcovering. For King *Edward* of England came with a great army, both by Sea and Land, and brought *Balliol* with him. So ſoone as he came to Perth, Athole being ſolicited to defection from *Bruce*, he was not very hard to wooe, whereas Liddeſdale did ſtill his uttermoſt endevours for him. One of the Governours (to wit, *Robert Stuart*) being ſick, and the other (*John Randulph*) thinking it too heavie a burden for him alone to fight, divided his forces, that ſo he might the more annoy the King. Now word was brought to him, that there was a great army of the Guelders coming through England, to joyne with *Edward*, and help him againſt the Scots. Wherefore *Randulph* paſſeth over into Lowthian, to try if he could conveniently intercept them, and cut them off ere they ſhould joyn with the King. There came hither to aſſiſt *Randulph* (the Governour) *Patrick* Earle of Marche, *William* Lord Liddeſdale, and *Alexander Ramſay* of Dalhouſie, and others. Theſe being aſſembled together, lay in wait for them near Edinburgh in the Borrow moore: and ſo ſoon as they came in ſight one of the other, without any delay of either ſide they joyned battell, and after a great conflict, the Guelders were put to rout, and chaſed to a little hill, where was a ruinous Caſtle. There they were beſieged all that night, and the next day, they rendered themſelves, lives ſafe.

Convention at Perth, 2. April. 1335.

Others write that they fled to the Caſtle hill of Edinburgh, up Saint Maries wind or lane, defending themſelves valiantly through the high ſtreet till they came to that place, where they ſlew their horſes, and made (as it were) a rampart of their carcaſſes, and ſo ſaved themſelves. There they ſtayed all that night, and having neither meat nor drink, nor convenient lodging,

lodging, oppreſt with hunger, and cold, and thirſt,, yeelded themſelves on the morrow. This narration ſeems not to bee ſo probable, as the former; for if it had been at the Caſtle of Edinburgh, it might have made them more ſupport, at leaſt releeved the Duke, and have ſaved him. Beſides that, the town of Edinburgh ſhould ſuffer ſtrangers to paſſe through the midſt of them, and neither aid them if they were friends, nor aſſail them if they were enemies, nor ſhut their gates if they were neutrall, for fear of ſome danger to come to their towne thereby, but ſuffer both parties to have free acceſſe into their chief ſtreet, and to ſtand as lookers on, it hath no great likelihood. They aſcribe alſo the winning of the field, to the Lord of Liddeſdale, who was not (as *Hollinſhed* ſayes) preſent at their firſt joyning battell, but came to it from Pentland-hills in ſo convenient time; that if he had not come, the Guelders who fought exceeding well, had got the day. Others make no mention of *Randulph*, but of the Lord Liddeſdale, and *Alexander Ramſay* with him.

Thoſe that write of this battell, tell of a huge and wonderfull ſtroake given by Sir *David Annand* in his fury, hee being hurt, ſtroke his enemy on the ſhoulder with a Pole-axe, and clave him and his horſe down to the hard pavement, in which, the force of the ſtroake left a great mark long after. And no leſſe memorable is the valour of a woman in the Guelders army, who at the beginning of the battell ſtept forth before her company, and encountred in a ſingle combat or duell a Scotiſh Squire, named *Robert Shaw*, whom ſhe ſlew, and afterwards beat downe her enemies on each ſide, till at laſt after a good time ſhee was compaſſed about, and ſo ſlain. The Duke of Guelder their Captain having yeelded, was courteouſly, and honourably uſed, his ſtuffe and baggage was reſtored to him, and himſelf ſet free. The reaſon of this was, becauſe *Randulph* Earle of Murray, having been bred in France, knew that the French King did affect him; and therefore to gratifie him, he ſhewed him this favour to let him go without any other hurt or dammage; onely he made him ſweare, hee ſhould never aid the Engliſh again againſt the Scots. This ſame Author ſayes that this was not the Duke of Guelders, but the Earle of Namurs called *Guy* contrary to all our Writers, who with one conſent affirme that it was. And if it were *Guy* of Namurs, he had alwayes been an enemy, and received greater courteſie then enemies deſerve, and more favour then was expedient for the Countrey. Nay, *Randulph* was not content to diſmiſſe him free onely, but would needs for his ſafety, accompany him to England, in which journey they were ſuddenly ſet upon by the Lord *Percie*, and the Englized Scots, who had dreſſed an ambuſcado for them, and there *Randulph* was taken, and the Lord Liddeſdale hurt in the leg. The Governour was carried to the two *Edwards* that lay before Perth, which towne was thereupon ſoone after rendred unto him.

Upon this ſucceſſe of the uſurpers faction, *Athole* very glad of what had falne out, accounting the prize now wonne, and following forth his fraudulent pollicie revolted again to the uſurping Kings; thinking it ſafeſt to ſide with the ſtronger, and did now clearly ſhow, how worthy he was of that favour beſtowed on him by *Robert Stuart*, who at the Convention at Perth had appeared on his ſide againſt the Lord Liddeſdale. And not onely

onely did *Cummin* come in to them, but undertakes alſo the government of Scotland once more as Lieutenant for the Engliſh, promiſing to root out all theſe of the contrary part that ſhould ſtand out, and would not acknowledge their authoritie. The King of England partly for lack of victuals (which were put out of the way by the Governour) partly becauſe of his journey into France, which he was then projecting, returned into his owne Countrey, and took along with him *Balliol*, who had the name of a King, but was indeed a very ſlave to another mans affection, for a vain and empty title; a juſt reward for his fooliſh truſting to a ſtranger in prejudice of his Countrey.

Athole being willing to doe what hee had ſaid to the *Edwards*, that he might approve his ſervice and fidelity unto them (whereby hee proved alſo falſe to his lawfull King, and late benefactours; his ſo friendly enemies, who had not onely pardoned him ſo lately, and ſaved his life, but truſted him ſo far, and committed ſo much to him) left no kind of crueltie unpractiſed, that he could againſt his Countrey, ſo far, as that almoſt the whole Nobilitie relented, and became ſlack and remiſſe againſt him, or did yeeld unto him, having forgotten their duty. But behold the reward of ſuch wiſedom, and the due fruit of ſuch ſeed as he had ſown; a fruit that is often reaped of ſuch ſeed, if men would beleeve, & obſerve it: though the preſent appearance, the firſt buds and bloſſomes of things do blinde their eyes, & make them chooſe that which ſhould not be choſen, which is unacceptable to man, and not paſt over by God, as is ſeen in this man before the yeare be fully expired. For *Robert Stuart* being ſick, and *Randulph* a priſoner, there were left but three Noble men who ſtuck faſt, and were faithfull to their King, and Countrey. Theſe were *William* Lord Liddeſdale, *Patrick* Earle of March, and *Andrew Murray* who had been Governour. They were ſo conſtant, that no promiſes could corrupt their fidelitie, nor no threatning nor danger could quail their courage ſo, as to bow their hearts to any Engliſh ſervitude. Some adde unto theſe the Earle of Roſſe, and *William* Lord Keith. Theſe did greatly hate his unnaturall dealing againſt his Countrey, and treachery againſt his promiſe, and crueltie joyned withall: three things ever odious and hatefull to honeſt minds. Wherefore underſtanding that hee lay at the ſiege of the Caſtell of Kildrummie, they levied ſuch companies and number of men as they could get, and marched towards him. *Cummin* being advertiſed hereof, raiſeth the ſiege, and meeteth them in the fields within the Foreſt of Kilblane: There they fought it very hardly, and *Cummin* being more in number, had overthrown them (as it is thought) but that *John Craig* Captain of Kildrummie, iſſuing forth with three hundreth freſh men, reſtored the battell which was almoſt loſt, and gave them an undoubted victory, which when *Cummin* perceived (being conſcious of his owne ill deſerving) that he might not fall into his enemies hands alive, he ruſhed into the midſt of the battell, and ſo was ſlain: Sir *Robert Minyeis* fled to the Caſtle of Kenmure (ſaith *Boetius*) who ſaith alſo that *Alexander Gordon* was he that ſlew Athole; but others attribute it to the Lord Liddeſdale himſelf, who for that cauſe, and for the ſlaughter of Sir *Thomas Minyeis* (it may be they mean Sir *Robert*) at the Caſtle of Lochindors, in the Sheriffe-

Cummin overthrown at Kilblane, and ſlain. 1337.

dome

Sheriffedome of Bamfe, was rewarded with the Earledome of Athole, and is ſo ſtiled in the reſignation by which hee ſurrenders it again ſome foure yeares after (to wit, 1341) the 16 of February in favour of *Robert Stuart*, Great Stuart of Scotland, whereof the evident is yet extant in the Regiſter. There died in this battell beſides Athole, *Walter Braid*, and *Robert Cummin*, and a great number of others both Gentlemen and Commons. Sir *Thomas Cummin* was taken priſoner, and the next day (being the 1. of January) he was beheaded. They were not above 1000. or (as ſome write) 500. choice men againſt 3000. yet the event was (as wee have ſaid) favourable to the juſt and right cauſe. This battell was fought the laſt of December, 1337. By this blink of fair weather in ſuch a ſtorme of forrain aſſaults, things were again ſomewhat changed, and the *Brucians* encouraged: wherefore that they might have ſome face of a ſettled eſtate and government, they chooſe *Andrew Murray* Regent as hee had been before his captivitie. He went into the North, and in the mean time the Lord of Liddeſdale with a company of choſen men paſſeth over into Fyffe, and beſieged the Caſtle of Saint Andrews, Falkland, and Luchers, all which he tooke in with ſmall difficulty, by his wiſedome, and manhood, though they were ſtrongly manned, and well fortified, and furniſhed with munition, and victuall. *Major* referreth this to the time after the Governour came backe out of the North. After this, he returned into Lowthian to his old haunt in Pentland-hills to wait his time, and watch the Engliſh that lay in Edinburgh Caſtle, that hee might ſlip no occaſion of troubling, and moleſting them. At laſt this occaſion did happen; the Towne being full ſtuft with a great number of Souldiers, both Engliſh and Scots: There was a ſcottiſh man amongſt them of a ſtout ſtomack, named *Robert Phandergheſt* whoſe lot was fallen to be on that ſide, but his heart was with the other party, and hee carried no great good will to the Engliſh. This being perceived he was the worſe entreated by them, ſo that one day his head was broken by the Marſhall *Thomas Kneveton*, whereat taking indignation, hee ſought all means to bee avenged thereof, and ſo brought it to paſſe that he ſhortly after ſlew him; and to avoid the danger of puniſhment, fled to the Lord Liddeſdale, whom having informed of the negligence that was growne amongſt the Engliſh; he perſwaded him to take advantage of their ſloath, he nothing ſlack in a buſineſſe of that nature, went ſecretly in the night to the Towne, and ſlew foure hundreth of them in their ſleep, and drunkenneſſe, before they could make any reſiſtance.

About this time *Murray* the Regent dieth, after he had brought back all the Northerne parts of Scotland to his Princes obedience excepting Perth, a great loſſe for his Countrey, and hee greatly regrated; But no loſſe is without ſome gain. *Robert Stuart* had now recovered his health, who was the other Governour; (and as ſome write) hee aſſumed the Lord Liddeſdale for his collegue, whether that were ſo or not, and what ever his place and name was, hee was a notable adjunct to *Robert Stuart*, and under his authority performed much good ſervice, and profitable to King and Countrey with great hazard of his life, by receiving of many wounds; while he did aſſail and vanquiſh greater numbers with far fewer:

So that by his proweſſe and ſingular valour hee reduced Tivedale, Niddeſdale, Annandale and Cliddeſdale (except the Hermitage) to the Kings obedience, having expulſed from thence all the Engliſh. Theſe lands and ſtrengths were loſt again after the battell of Durham, and recovered again the ſecond time, by *VVilliam* the firſt Earle of Douglas, which wee have inſerted here, leſt men inconſiderately ſhould confound, and miſtake the one *VVilliam* for the other.

By theſe doings his name came to bee ſpred throughout the whole Iſland, inſomuch that *Henry Lancaſter* Earle of Darbie hearing thereof, and being himſelf a valiant man, and deſirous of glory, provoked him to fight with him hand to hand on horſeback: but at their firſt encounter, the Lord of Liddeſdale his hand was ſo ſore wounded with his owne ſpeare (which brake hard at his hand) that hee was not able to proſecute the combate, whereupon it was delayed. *Major* maketh mention of his juſting, and joyneth *Alexander Ramſay* with him at Berwick: hee telleth alſo of one *Patrick Grahame*, who being provoked and challenged by an Engliſh man into the field, told him he was content; but wiſhed him to dine well, for hee would ſend him to ſuppe in Paradiſe, which hee alſo did: hereupon hee condemns theſe juſts and duels in time of peace; ſo that it ſhould ſeeme there have been ſome peace or truce. But wee heare not of any, I doe rather thinke there hath been ſome aſſurance at that time.

That ſame yeare, the King of England ſent a very valiant Knight named Sir *Thomas Barcklay* into Scotland with a great power of men to aſſiſt their faction: *Robert Stuart* and the Lord Liddeſdale goe againſt him, and gave him battell at Blackburne; where the Lord of Liddeſdale fought ſo eagerly, that all his men being ſlain, he and *Robert Stuart* having onely three left with them, continued ſtill fighting, and defended themſelves till night, which being come on, by favour thereof they eſcaped, and ſaved themſelves by flight.

A battell at Blackburne.

It was not long ere he recompenſed this loſſe, by the defeating of *John Stirline* and his company. This *Stirline* with five hundreth men aſſailed the Lord Liddeſdale at unawares, at a place called Cragens, having but fourtie in his company, as he was journeying without any feare or ſuſpicion of an enemy. This did put him into a great feare at firſt, but he recollecting himſelfe out of that ſudden affrightment, fought ſo valiantly that hee defeated *Stirline*, ſlew fiftie of his men, and tooke fouretie priſoners.

John Stirline defeated by Liddeſdale.

Afterward the Engliſh that lay at Creighton, made divers onſets and incurſions upon him, in one of which he was runne through the body with a ſpeare, and was thereby diſabled to doe any ſervice for a ſeaſon.

So ſoone as he was recovered, being accompanied with twenty men onely, he ſet upon ſixty Engliſh, at a place called The blacke Shaw, and having wiſely taken the advantage of the ground, which was fitter for foot then horſemen, he ſlew and took them every one.

In the ſame year 1338. the 24. of December, or as others, the 2. of November, he ſet upon the convoy of the Engliſh that were carrying vivers

to

to the Caſtle of Hermitage, as they were in Melroſſe, or neare to it, and defeated them, but not without great ſlaughter of his owne men: and ſo having got the victuals, he went and beſieged the Caſtle of Hermitage, tooke it, and did victuall it with the ſame victuall which he had taken at Melroſſe. He takes the Caſtle of Hermitage.

He vanquiſhed alſo *Lawrence Vauch* (alias *Rolland Vauch*) a very valiant man, with a great company of Engliſhmen.

And in the yeare following (1339) he fought five times in one day with *Lawrence* (or *William*) *Abernethie*, a Leader under *Balliol*, and having beene put to the worſe foure times, ſaith *Hollinſhed*, *Boetius*, five times, at the ſixth time vanquiſhed him, and ſlew all his men, and took himſelfe priſoner, and thereafter preſented him to *Robert Stuart*, who ſent him to the Caſtle of Dumbartan. For theſe and ſuch other exploits atchieved by him, he was highly eſteemed of all men, and got the name which is commonly uſed of him, The flowre of Chivalrie. Hee fighteth five times with *Lawrence* in one day, and vanquiſheth him.

He was after this ſent Ambaſſadour into France to informe King *David* of the eſtate of the Realme, and to conferre with him about weighty matters, being either choſen for his worth, or only ſent by *Robert Stuart* as his Collegue, and ſo fitteſt for that employment. While he was there he obtained pardon of the K. of France, and peace for one *Hugh Hambell* a famous Pirate. He is ſent Ambaſſadour into France.

During his abſence in France, *Robert Stuart* had laid ſiege to St. Johnſtoun in the yeare 1339. and had divided his Army into foure ſquadrons, under foure chiefe Captaines (each Captaine commanding a part) of which he himſelfe was one, the Earle of March another, *William* Earle of Roſſe the third, and *Magnus Mowbray* Lord of Cliddeſdale the fourth. It was divers times aſſaulted, but they were repulſed with loſſe, it being valiantly defended by the Engliſh that were within. They had lien at it ten weekes without doing any good, and were now almoſt quite out of hope to take it; ſo that they began to thinke of leaving off, when in the very meane time the Lord Liddeſdale arrives on Tay, having brought with him out of France *Hambell* the Pyrate, with five ſhips well furniſhed with men, munition, and weapons. Theſe men the Lord Liddeſdale had hired in France of purpoſe for this buſineſſe; amongſt them were two Knights of the family of Caſtle Galliard, and two Eſquires, *Giles de la Hayes*, and *John de Breiſe*, He landed a part of the ſouldiers, and left the reſt in the Ships to keepe the mouth of the river, and he himſelfe marched to Cowper in Fife to take it. It had beene deſerted by the Engliſhmen for want of vivers in the time of *Murray* the Governour, and now againe it was ſeized by the Englized Scots for the uſe of the Engliſh. Their Captaine at this time was one *William Bullock* an Engliſh Prieſt, but a valiant man, who was alſo Treaſurer for them and the faction. The Lord Liddeſdale deales with him, that ſeeing there was no hope of ſuccour from Engl nd, and that the Scots Garriſon was not to be truſted to, he would forſake the Engliſh faction, and enter into King *Davids* ſervice, promiſing to procure him lands in Scotland. *Bullock* accepted his offer, and having obtained his promiſed lands, hee did much ſervice afterward to the King and the Lord of Liddeſdale. Having by Perth beſieged by *Robert Stuart*.

Recovereth Cowper. this meanes recovered Cowper, he returned to the ſiege of Saint Johnſtoun, where (as he was ever forward) he was hurt in the leg with the ſhot of a Crosbow going to the Scalade. Neverthelesſe, he departed not till

Perth taken. the Towne was taken, or given up by the Governour thereof *Thomas Uthred.* The manner of the taking of it was this: when the ſiege had laſted foure moneths, and was like to have continued longer, the Earle of Roſſe by digging of Mines drew away the water, and dried up the Fouſſes and Ditches, ſo that the Souldiers going to the aſſault upon dry ground, and approaching the walls without any let or difficultie, beat the defenders from off the walls, eſpecially by ſhooting of darts and arrowes out of the Engines which they had cauſed make: And ſo they rendred, and departed with bag and baggage in the yeare 1340.

Stirline taken Within foure dayes after Stirline was alſo beſieged, and rendred on the ſame conditions.

After the ſiege of Saint Johnſtoun was ended, the Lord Liddeſdale rewarded the Frenchmen very liberally, and ſent them backe into France well contented. He cauſed alſo reſtore to *Hugh Hambell* one of his beſt Ships, which was taken by the enemie during the ſiege. For *Hambell* having adventured to approach the Towne with his Ships to give an aſſault, one of them was taken by the Engliſh, and now was reſtored.

Thus K. *Davids* party did flouriſh by the faithfull valour of theſe his good and notable ſubjects, and prevaile againſt the pretended K. *Balliol:* who ſeeing ſuch ſucceſſe in K. *Davids* affaires, durſt ſhow his face no longer; but having lurked a while in Galloway, by changing and ſhifting places for feare of being intercepted, and wearying of that kinde of life, he returnes into England now the ſecond time after his conqueſt; he did not poſſeſſe his Kingdome long, and but with little eaſe or contentment, what by the Scots chaſing of him, what by the King of England (his good Maſter) detaining of him little better then a captive. A ſhadow of a kingdome, or ſlaverie rather; being miſerable indeed, yet ſees he not his miſerie, but ſeeketh it againe, and loſeth it againe.

But let us returne to our Lord of Liddeſdale, who deſiſts not here from doing of good ſervice to his King and Countrey. Edinburgh Caſtle is yet in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh: it was too ſtrong to force, wiſedome muſt ſupply, which was not lacking in him, no more then valour; a good harmonie, and happy conjunction, which were ever to be wiſhed! There

The originall of Innerleith. was one *Walter Towers* (of whom are deſcended the *Towers* of Innerleith) a man of his acquaintance, and a follower of him, had (by chance) a Ship laden with victuall in the Firth of Tay beſide Dundie. Liddeſdale cauſeth him to bring about his Ship to Forth, where (as he was inſtructed) feigning himſelfe to be an Engliſh Merchant, and ſending ſome flagons of very fine wine to the Captaine of the Caſtle, he prayed him to take him into his protection, and that he would give ſuch order as the reſt of his victuall might be free from all danger and perill of his ſouldiers, and of the enemie; promiſing that if the Garriſion in the Caſtle had need of any thing, he ſhould command any thing that was in his power, ſo farre as it could reach. The Captaine deſired him to ſend ſome hogſheads of the ſame wine, and ſome bisket bread, and promiſed him acceſſe when he pleaſed:

Occaſion of taking the Caſtle of Edinburgh.

pleaſed: he further warned him that he ſhould come timely in the morning for feare of the Scots, that did make frequent onſets and incurſions in thoſe parts. The Lord of Liddeſdale being advertiſed hereof, chooſeth out 12. of his beſt men, and the ſame night goeth out to *Walter Towers* ſhip, and he and his men having borrowed the Mariners apparell, did put it on above their Armour, and ſo went to the Caſtle, carrying the wine and victuall with them: he had before placed the reſt of his men as neare as he could, that they might be in readineſſe, upon a ſigne given them, to come to the Caſtle to his aid. Liddiſdale himſelfe, with *Simeon Fraſer*, and *William Bullock* (ſay our Writers, but his name was Sir *John Bullock*) went a little before, and the reſt followed a certaine ſpace after. When they were let in within the Bulwarke, perceiving the keyes of the Caſtle hanging upon the Porters arme, they ſlew him, and without noiſe opened the gate, and preſently gave the ſignall, by winding of a horne. This ſound gave warning both to his friends and enemies, that the Caſtle was taken. Both made haſte, the one to defend, the other to purſue; but the Scots having a ſteep hill to aſcend, behoved to come forward the more ſlowly: for that cauſe (leſt their Lord ſhould be excluded from his men) they caſt down the carriage in the gate to keep it open, and having fought a ſharp fight, at laſt they that were within gave place: the Captaine with ſix more were taken, the reſt were all ſlaine. And having thus wonne the Caſtle, he made his brother *William Douglas* (ſay they, but ſhould call him *Archbald*) Keeper and Captain thereof.

The Caſtle taken, hee makes *Archbald Douglas* his brother Keeper.

This ſame yeare or the next (1342. the 30. of March) *Alexander Ramſay* tooke Roxburgh in Tividale, and ſone after *John Randulph* was ſet at liberty in exchange for *John Montague* taken in France (ſaith *Major*) and tooke in his owne Caſtle of Lochma-bene in Annandale.

So that by the induſtrie and efforts of theſe three Wairdens, the Lord Liddeſdale in the middle March, *Alexander Ramſay* in the Eaſt, and *John Randulph* in the Weſt: the Engliſh were wholy expelled out of Scotland beyond the Borders, which fell out in the time of *Edward* the third: neither did the Engliſh men poſſeſſe one foote of Scottiſh ground, excepting the towne of Berwick. Such good ſervice did theſe Noblemen, with the other good Nobilitie, in the minoritie and abſence of their Prince from his Countrey, againſt the great force of England, and a great part of their owne Countrey of Scotland, being unfaithfull Subjects, unnaturall Scottiſhmen. And this theſe Nobles did even for the love they bore to King *Robert*, this *Davids* father, bearing the heat of the day for him, while he is at eaſe and ſecuritie, with watching, hunger, thirſt, cold and great effuſion of their bloud, to make the Kingdome peaceable to him, chooſing to adventure their lands, their lives, and whatſoever worldly thing is deare unto men, rather then to abandon him, and follow his enemies with eaſe and quietneſſe, under whom they might have lived a peaceable life; if they would ſet aſide regard unto their honour and duetie.

Such is the force of the love of Subjects, beyond all ſtrength of men, and riches of treaſures, onely able to bide a ſtreſſe, and hold out: As may bee ſeen by this example to bee remarked greatly by ſubjects, and entertained above all treaſure by Soveraignes, and to be accounted a chiefe, yea almoſt

almoſt the onely point of true policy, to love and make much of all men, and moſt ſpecially their Nobilitie; that they may in ſuch their Princes ſtraits (when they ſhall happen) endure the better as theſe men did, which they could not have done, if they had not had authority and dependance, and ſo been reſpected by their inferiours: who ſo would diminiſh this authority in Noblemen; abaſing them too farre, and making them ſuſpect to Princes, and not ſafe for them, they erre greatly in policie, and unadviſedly cut the props of the Princes ſtanding, which being brangled but a little, his Kingdome is eaſily bereft him, all authoritie going away with his owne perſon: It fell well out with King *David Bruce*, that theſe Noblemen were not ſo, and therefore the more able to doe ſo great things for him.

After theſe things, they ſent Ambaſſadours to deſire King *David* to come home, and ſo hee did the 2. of June that ſame yeare. His firſt Act was carefully to inquire for, and gratefully to reward ſuch as had ſuffered in his ſervice, a prudent Act; But allas (the *mal heur*) it falleth often out that Princes know not all things, and ere they be informed, they many times conclude. The cauſe of many errours and much miſchief hath happened thereby, as it fell out here. We have heard how the Lord of Liddeſdale (amongſt many his notable ſervices) had in ſpeciall expelled the Engliſh out of Tividale, and diverſe other places, by his wiſedome and valour, and was therefore rewarded with the ſame lands, which he injoyed afterwards as his rightfull inheritance: from thenceforth he ſo uſed it, as in a manner conquered by himſelf. He was Wairden, and ſo defended it: defending miniſtred juſtice, and diſcharged the place and office of Sheriffe, having wonne it from the enemy. This hee did with the tacite conſent of the Countrey, and by allowance of thoſe that were in authoritie.

Thus being in poſſeſſion, and truſting to his deſerving towards King and Countrey, and the Nobilitie of his bloud, and potencie of that houſe he was come of; he looked for no competitour in that which he had taken from the enemy. And not knowing or not caring for the Law (as is cuſtomable to Martiall men) or perhaps being prevented, being ſlower in going to King *David*, or on ſome ſuch like occaſion: the Sheriffe-ſhip is given from him to another. *Alexander Ramſay* was amongſt the firſt that welcomed King *David* at his return, and was received kindly as hee had merited, and much made of by him, who for his ſervice gave him the keeping of the Caſtle of Roxbrough, and together with it (whether of the Kings owne free and mere motion, or any other ſuggeſtion, or by *Ramſayes* procurement) the Sheriffe-ſhip of Tividale, very unadviſedly if hee knew Liddeſdales intereſſe, very ill formed, if he knew it not. Very imprudently (ſay our Writers) who blame the Kings indiſcretion, for giving it from *William Douglas* Lord of Liddeſdale, to *Alexander Ramſay*; and for withdrawing of it from ſo worthy a man, ſo well deſerving to whomſoever, for that was to make a diviſion among his owne: ſo it proved, for *VVilliam Douglas* of Liddeſdale tooke it very highly that *Alexander Ramſay*, ſhould be preferred before him to that office. But hee was chiefly incenſed againſt the taker of it, as having done him a great indignitie, which

makes

makes it apparant that hee hath not onely accepted of it, but ſued for it: therefore ſet altogether on revenge, he ſuppreſſed his ire for that preſent. But after ſome three moneths, as *Alexander Ramſay* was exerciſing the office in Hawick, and looked for no ſuch thing: hee ſet upon him, and having ſlain three of his men that ſtood to the defence of their maſter, hee hurt himſelf, and caſting him on a horſe, carried him to the Hermitage, where hee died of famine, according to the teſtimony of ſundry of our Writers, and the black booke of Scone, where it is ſhowen that hee was taken the 20. of June, and keeped ſeventeene dayes without meat, ſave that ſome few grains of corne, which falling downe out of a corne loft which was above him, were gathered by him and eaten.

Alexander Ramſay taken by Liddiſdale, and ſtarved in the Hermitage.

Such is the unbridledneſſe of anger (juſtly called fury) to be greatly blamed in him, yet they marke the cauſe thereof, the Kings unadviſedneſſe in procuring thereby the loſſe and ruine of ſo worthy a man of war, farre from his fathers prudencie and probitie. The King (not acquainted yet with military diſpoſitions) was marvellouſly moved therewith, and purpoſed to have puniſhed it exemplarily to deterre others from doing the like, and therefore cauſed ſearch very diligently to have apprehended Liddeſdale, but in vain: for hee withdrew himſelf to the mountains, and deſert places; and in time obtained pardon by the ſute of his friends, of whom he had purchaſed good ſtore by his worthy acts for the liberty of his Countrey; Among whom *Robert Stuart* the Kings ſiſters ſonne was his ſpeciall good friend. That which moſt effectually ſerved to procure him favour, was the magnificke, but true commemoration of the great exploits atchieved by him, the conſideration of the time, in reſpect whereof (the peace being uncertain without, and things not very quiet at home) military men were to bee entertained, and uſed with all favour. By this occaſion he did not onely obtain pardon for his fault, but hee got alſo the gift of keeping of the Caſtle of Roxbrough, and Sheriffeſhip of Tivedale (and all other his lands in Tivedale, or elſewhere reſtored to him) which the other had, and which were the cauſe of the ſlaughter. This clemencie of King *David* was (perhaps profitable for that time, but pernicious in example.) This fell out (as hath been ſaid) three moneths after the Kings coming home, and therefore in October, or (perhaps in September) at the head Court in Hawick. His pardon was obtained, and his peace made with the King a little before the battell of Durham, which was in the yeare 1346. the 17. of October: So as hee hath beene three or foure yeares a baniſhed man.

1346. He is baniſhed and reſtored again.

After his returne from baniſhment, finding the King bent upon his journey againſt England, he wiſely and earneſtly diſſwaded him, and did exhort him firſt to take order with the diſcorders at home, and before all things to ſettle them. For the Earle of Roſſe had ſlain the Lord of the Iſles, whereby a great party of the Kings army was diminiſhed, the Lord of the Iſles men lying back for want of a head; and ſo the Lord Roſſe, and his men for feare of puniſhment. So did alſo many others that lay neare them, retire and go home, fearing leaſt they ſhould ſuffer in their abſence by their neighbourhood to thoſe diſagreeing Lords, and be ſome way endamaged; wherefore they thought good to provide in time, the beſt

beſt they could againſt all perrills that might happen. For this cauſe hee councelled the King, firſt to ſettle peace amongſt his owne ſubjects before he enterpriſed a forraign war; that peace being ſettled, and his army united, he might the more ſtrongly, and with better ſucceſſe invade England. But the King contemning his good and wholſome counſell, (his French friendſhip prevailing more with him, then either his owne good, or the good of his Countrey) hee raiſed an army wherewith hee entred England, and was encountred by the Engliſh at Durham, where the Scots were defeated, King *David Bruce* taken priſoner, and with him (beſide others) *VVilliam* Earle of Douglas, and the Lord of Liddeſdale, who were ſhortly after ranſomed or diſmiſſed ſo much the more eaſily, for that they had the King, and ſo cared the leſſe for others. This fell out in the yeare 1346. October the 17. as hath been ſaid.

The battell of Durham. King *David* taken.

Liddeſdale taken alſo.

While the Lord Liddeſdale is a priſoner amongſt his enemies, he forgetteth not his friends at home. Sir *David Barcklay* had ſlain one *John Douglas*, brother to Sir *VVilliam*, and father to Sir *James* of Dalkeith (ſay our Writers) beſide Horſewood: but they ſhould ſay rather, brother to Sir *William*, (for there Sir *William* is the ſame Lord of Liddeſdale, of whom wee now ſpeake, ſonne naturall to good Sir *James*) neither was *John Douglas* ſlain in Horſewood, but in Kinroſher, by Loch-leven. This *Barcklay* alſo had taken Sir *John Bullock* at the Kings command, and put him in priſon in Lindores, where hee died of hunger almoſt in the ſame ſort that Sir *Alexander Ramſay* died. The Writers lay the blame on the Nobilitie that envied ſo worthy a man, and accuſed him falſely to the King of unfaithfulneſſe; but they tell not in what point. They themſelves call him a worthy Chaplain of great wiſedome, ſingular prudencie, and eloquence, beyond any in his time, who had been Chamberlain to *Edward Balliol*, Treaſurer to the reſt of the Engliſhmen in Scotland, and laſtly, Chamberlain to King *David*, and amongſt the chief of his Counſellers reputed as another Chuſſay. Nevertheleſſe, thus was he delated, and taken away, having done divers good offices in the Common-wealth, and being very neceſſary unto it. The Lord of Liddeſdale had drawne him from the Engliſh faction to King *Davids* party, and he had uſed him in good ſervices, whereof hee was not forgetfull, ever remaining one of his ſpeciall friends. This giveth men matter of ſuſpition, that his death was for ill will to the Lord of Liddeſdale by the King incenſed againſt him, never digeſting in heart the death of Sir *Alexander Ramſay*, whereby the King is blamed, as counſeller or follower thereof; and that Sir *David Barcklay* enemy to him, did execute it willingly, or did procure the Kings command thereto. The taking of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, in the yeare 1341. by the Lord of Liddeſdale, was plotted by Sir *John Bullock*, ſay the Writers, who in quickneſſe of wit, and ſharpneſſe of invention paſt all men in his dayes. In revenge of this, Liddeſdale cauſeth ſlay Sir *David Barcklay*, by the hands of Sir *John* Saint *Michaell* (ſay they) but they ſhould have ſaid *Carmichaell* in Aberdene. A juſt fact, but not juſtly done; the matter was good, the forme ill, being beſides and againſt all order, but who could wait for order in ſo diſordered a Countrey? when ſhould hee by order of law have obtained juſtice, his Prince being in cap-

captivitie; his duetie to his friends defendeth the fact, the eſtate of the Countrey excuſeth the forme. God looketh not ſo upon things: hee had before (as wee heard) ſlain Sir *Alexander Ramſay*, he muſt not want his owne ſhare, but who durſt doe it? The avenger of bloud finds the means. Such is the eſtate of man, what can they lean to on earth? ere he do not pay that debt of bloud, the Earle of Douglas ſhall exact it; his Chief, his Couſin, and to adde that alſo his owne ſonne in Baptiſme (as the Lord Liddeſdale was to the Earle of Douglas, for the black book of Scone calleth him his ſpirituall father) and thus it came to paſſe.

The Lord of Liddeſdale being at his paſtime, hunting in Attrick Foreſt, is beſet by *William* Earle of Douglas, and ſuch as hee had ordained for that purpoſe, and there aſſailed, wounded and ſlain beſide Galſewood in the yeare 1353. upon a jealouſie that the Earle had conceived of him with his Lady, as the report goeth, for ſo ſayes the old ſong. 1353 He is ſlaine by the Earle of Douglas.

The Counteſſe of Douglas, out of her Boure ſhe came,
And loudly there that ſhe did call;
It is for the Lord of Liddeſdale,
That I let all theſe teares downe fall.

The ſong alſo declareth how ſhee did write her love letters to Liddiſdale, to diſſwade him from that hunting. It tells likewiſe the manner of the taking of his men, and his owne killing at Galſewood, and how hee was carried the firſt night to Lindin Kirk, a mile from Selkirk, and was buried within the Abbacie of Melroſſe.

The cauſe pretended, or the cauſe of this ſlaughter, is by our Writers alledged to be the killing of this *Alexander Ramſay*, and Sir *David Barklay*, and ſome other grudges, and ſo the Earle ſaid himſelf, as they ſay, and ſo it was indeed, if we looke unto God; but who doth beleeve him, that it was on his part? no Writers, no report, no opinion of men doth beleeve it, not untill this day. They lay the cauſe on his ambition, on his envie of Liddeſdales honour, and jealouſie of his greatneſſe. Reaſon ſwaies to the ſame ſide, and brings great if not neceſſary arguments: for what had hee to doe with *Alexander Ramſay*, that he ſhould for his ſake dippe his hands in his owne bloud? farre leſſe for Sir *David Barcklay*, on whom he himſelf ſhould have taken avengement, if the Lord Liddeſdale had not done it; this *John Douglas* whom *Barcklay* ſlew, being ſo neare to himſelfe; but ſomething muſt bee ſaid to colour things. But this will not colour this blemiſh, though in a faire body indeed as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Doth ambition ſpring from a great minde? Doth envie, of vertue? jealouſie, of hatred? Let noble hearts eſchew them; it is the baſeſt thought that can fall into a mans mind. Right minds love vertue, even in ſtrangers, even in enemies; generous minds ſtrive to do better, not to hinder ſuch as do well. It is a ſtrange maxime and ill grounded, a wicked wiſedome and perverſe policy, to keep backe ones friend in whom vertue appeares. It is of follies the greateſt folly, to hinder their growth, for fear they ſhould overgrow our greatneſſe; the which when we doe, it comes to paſſe that wee are outgrowne by ſtrangers, and often by our enemies: yea under-

mined oftentimes, while our friends (thus kept under) are unable to underprop us, as they both ſhould and would do: a juſt reward of ſo unjuſt wiſedome. But for themſelves to put hand in them for their worth, I can finde no name to it. I muſt wiſh this Nobleman had beene free from ſo foul a blot, and I would fain vindicate him, and ſome ſmall appearance there is, that it was not his fact. But the current of witneſſes lay it upon him, and who can contend againſt all the world. Wherefore let us regrate it and not allow it, eſchew it and not excuſe it, or follow it, as we are too ready to follow evill examples.

To returne, thus he lived, and thus hee died, for whoſe *Elogium* ſhort, but worthie; let it be ſaid (as it was then blazed in the mouthes of men, and cited by the manuſcript) *He was terrible and fearefull in armes; meek, milde and gentle, in peace; the ſcourge of England, and ſure buckler and wall of Scotland, whom neither hard ſucceſſe could make ſlack, nor proſperous ſloathfull.* Hee is ſtiled by the Writers a ſecond to none, and by conſent of that age and voyce of the people, the flowre of Chivalrie: he was often wounded, thrice a priſoner, and ever ready to fight again, what manhood? what wiſedome behoved it to be? with fifty men, to overcome five hundreth: with twenty, to take and ſlay ſixtie. What invincible minde was it, that being defeated five times in one day, hee had the courage to fight and overcome the ſixth time. Let *Hanniball* wonder at *Marcellus*, that neither overcoming, nor overcome, would ſuffer him to reſt: yet was he not thus reſtleſſe that we reade of, a worthy branch of ſuch a ſtock, a true member of ſuch a houſe, well retaining that naturall ſappe ſucked from his Predeceſſours, of valour, and of love to his Countrey. And thus farre concerning the name of *Douglas* in this branch thereof, in the time of the minority or abſence of the chief. Now let us return to the Principall ſtock, the Earle of *Douglas* himſelf.

Gulielmus Douglaſſius *Liddalianus*, 1333. *cæſus*

Omnia quando habeas, quæ Mars dedit omnibus unus
Ut Mars Marte ferox fulminet alta tuo,
Hoc putes ut patiare parem; tibi Defuit unum hoc:
Quin age poſce hoſtem cætera ſolus eris.

Johns Heroes.

In Engliſh thus.

Whiles thou alone all valour didſt enjoy,
Mars doth beſtow on thoſe he would imploy,
One onely vertue wanting, doth appeare
To make thee excellent, thou couldſt not beare
An equall, bate this pride, and thou ſhalt have
This honour never ſouldier was more brave.

of

of William *the fifth of that Name, the tenth Lord, and first Earle of* Douglas.

UNto *Hugh* the ninth Lord of Douglas, did ſucceed his nephew *William* ſonne to *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, and Governour of Scotland, who was ſlain at Hallidon hill. Of this *William* the other great branch of *Douglaſſes* doth ſpring; to wit, the houſe of Angus, which overtoppeth the reſt, and at laſt ſucceedeth unto the place of the ſtock. Hee it is alſo that raiſeth the houſe to the dignitie of an Earledome, and doth greatly increaſe the ſtate thereof. That he was ſonne to *Archbald*, and not to Sir *James* (as ſome doe miſtake it) it is cleare by divers confirmations, in which Sir *James* is expreſly termed his uncle, and *Archbald* his father. And ſo doth the Charter witneſſe, upon which the confirmation proceeds. The Charter is given by *Hugh* Lord *Douglas* brother and heire to the late Sir *James Douglas*, to *William* ſonne and heire to *Archbald* brother to good Sir *James Douglas*. It is dated at Aberdene the 28. of May. 1342. The Kings Charter likewiſe cleareth it, bearing *David dei gratia, &. Sciatis nos conceſsiſſe, &.* Gulielmo *de Douglas* (ſaith the one) *Confirmaſſe dilecto, & fideli noſtro* Gulielmo *de Douglas militi* (ſaith the other) *Omnes terras reditus, & poſſeſsiones per totum regnum noſtrorum, de quibus quondam* Jacobus *dominus de Douglas avunculus ſuus, &* Archibaldus *de Douglas Pater ſuus milites obierunt veſtiti.*

Touching his marriage, we finde that hee had three wives! The firſt was *Margaret*, daughter to the Earle of Dumbarre and March; by whom he had gotten two ſonnes; *James* ſlain at Otterburn, and *Archbald* called the grimme Lord of Galloway, and afterward Earle of Douglas: and one daughter married to the Lord of Montgomerie. His ſecond wife was *Margaret Marre*, daughter to *Donald* or *Duncan* Earle of Marre, and afterwards heire, and inheritrix of that Earledome: for this *Duncan* had but one ſonne named *Thomas* and this *Margaret*, *Thomas* twiſe married: by his firſt marriage he had one onely ſon named *Thomas* alſo: This ſecond *Thomas* was married to *Marjorie* ſiſter to this *William* Earle of Douglas, but died without iſſue: his father *Thomas* married a ſecond wife, *Margaret Stuart*, who was inheritrix of the Earledome of Angus, but he had no children by her: ſo that there being none left now of *Duncans* race, but this *Margaret Marre*, married to the Earle of Douglas: we finde him ſtiled Earle of Marre in his wives right in the yeare 1378. whereof divers Monuments and Evidents yet extant do beare witneſſe. By this *Margaret Marre*, he had one onely daughter *Iſabell Douglas*, who did ſucceed to the Earledome of Marre. She was twice married, Firſt to *Malcome* Lord Drummond, by whom ſhee had no children. Secondly, to *Alexander Stuart*, ſonne to the Earle of Buchan, brother to King *Robert* the third, but had no children by him neither, yet ſhe did reſigne the Earledome in his favour, as a Charter given thereupon by King *Robert* the third to him and his heires, which falling unto her and her heires. Thirdly, the Earle of Douglas after the deceaſe of *Margaret Marre*, tooke to his third wife *Margaret Stuart* daughter to *Thomas Stuart* Earle of Angus, and his heire

His marriage, wives, and children.

and inheretrix of the lands, & Earldome of Angus. This *Thomas* was ſon to *John Stuart*, & brother to *Walter Stuart* the great Stuart of Scotland, who married *Marjorie Bruce*, daughter to King *Robert Bruce*. Now this *Margaret* had a brother who died without iſſue, and a ſiſter called *Elizabeth*, married to *Alexander Hamilton* of Cadyow. *Margaret Stuart* herſelfe was firſt married to *Thomas Marre* Earle of the ſame, and ſonne to *Duncan* or *Donald*, but had no children by him. Then ſhee was married to this *William* Earle of Douglas, by whom ſhe had a ſonne named *George*. This *George* ſucceeded to her in the Earledome of Angus, and by gift of his ſiſter *Iſabel Douglas* inheritrix of Marre, he got the lands that ſhe had gotten from her father: which diſpoſition *Iſabel* made to her brother *George*, and not to *James* or *Archbald*, for good conſiderations to be related at large hereafter, when we ſhall come to treat of the houſe of *Douglas*.

And ſo we ſee him very fortunate and honourable in his marriage, in his purchaſes, and in his children: his honourable minde appeares in his deportment to his ſiſter *Uterine*, whom the Writers call *Elconora de Bruce*, to whom he gives no leſſe then the Baronie of Weſter Calder *in maritagium* to her and her heires whatſoever, with her husband Sir *James Sandilands*, as the tranſumpt of the Charter beares, extracted by *James Douglas* Lord Dalkeith 1420. April 4. The Charter it ſelfe is not dated, but the giver is cleare, *Gulielmus Douglas Dominus loci ejuſdem*, and Sir *James* his entaile doth cleare it, in which he is called Earle of Douglas and Marre. This *Elionora Brucc* had to her father *Robert Bruce* (ſome call him *Alexander*) ſon to *Edward* ſlaine in Ireland, and Couſin Germane with K. *Robert*. He was Earle of Carrict, and after the death of *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, he married his relict this Earles mother, and had by her this Lady *Elionora*, who (as we have ſaid) was married to Sir *James Sandilands*. In regard of this marriage, and the Donation of theſe lands, that houſe of *Sandilands* gave the coat of the houſe of *Douglas*, a Heart, and three mullets, which none elſe hath beſides him, except thoſe of the name of *Douglas*.

This Earle *William* was bred in France, and as the manuſcript beareth, moſt part in the warres; his firſt returne to Scotland was before the battell of Durham ſome few yeares, which appears by the forenamed Charter given him by his uncle in the year 1342. Touching his actions after his return, the firſt was a hard entry at the battell of Durham, where the King made many Knights to ſtirre them up to fight valiantly; and firſt he created *William* Lord *Douglas* an Earle. In the morning, being Warden, he is ſent to view the Engliſh Camp, and engaged among them ere he was aware, he had a number of his men ſlaine, and himſelfe alſo narrowly eſcaped. In the battell (being Leader of the Foreward) he was taken, and the King himſelfe likewiſe, with divers others. But his ſucceſſe after is more fortunate: for the better underſtanding whereof, let us remember the eſtate of affaires of the Countrey of Scotland at that time.

Hee is taken priſoner at Durham.

After King *David Bruce* was taken priſoner at the field of Durham, the Engliſh repoſſeſſed themſelves of the Merſe, Tivedale, Liddeſdale, and Lawderdale: ſo that their Marches were Cockburnſpath and Sawtray, and from that to Carnilops, and the Corſe-cave. *Balliol* had gotten again his

his old inheritance in Galloway, and waſted Annandale, Nidiſdale and Cliddiſdale, with fire and ſword, and had alſo with *Percie* overrun Lowthian: neither could there be an army made up in Scotland to reſiſt him for ſome few yeares, ſo that *Balliol* behaved himſelfe again as King: but we heare that no obedience hee got by the good will of the people. The Scots had choſen *Robert Stuart* (who was King afterward) to bee Governour in the Kings abſence, but no great action is recorded, that hee was able to take in hand at ſuch a time, and in ſuch eſtate of his Countrey. The Earle of Douglas being ranſomed or diſmiſt, the more eaſily for that they had the King in their power, returned home. Thereafter there fell out a matter very greatly to bee lamented, that it ſhould have fallen into the hands of ſo worthy a perſon, the killing of the Lord of Liddeſdale by the Earle: let me never excuſe ſuch a fact, I may well bee ſory for it. But I wonder at this, that the Earle after his ſlaughter, ſhould have obtained his whole eſtate: not onely that which hee did acquire for his owne vertue and valour in the Borders, as Liddeſdale with the Sheriffſhip of Roxbrough, or Tweddale, but alſo thoſe lands which hee had gotten by his wife, as Dalkeith, Newlands, Kilbugho, &c. But being rightly conſidered it ſeemes not ſo ſtrange, for after the Lord of Liddeſdale had ſlain Sir *Alexander Ramſay*, the King apparantly hath never pardoned from his heart. But being ſtill incenſed againſt him (as may appeare in that action the King allowed, or rather moved of Sir *David Barcklay* in taking and ſlaying Sir *John Bullock* a ſpeciall freind of the Lord of Liddeſdale, and for ill will and ſpite of him (ſay our Writers) and that his anger being renewed, and increaſed by the killing of Sir *David Barcklay*: It is poſſible the King hath beene well pleaſed to heare and know of his ruine, whereupon the Earle of Douglas there being none ſo able to do it as he, being his Chief and kinſman, having his owne particular grudge, was incouraged to make him away, and having done it, hath obtained his lands the more eaſily. Our Hiſtories teſtifie that the houſe and name of *Douglas* was divided againſt it ſelf, purſuing each other for many yeares together with much bloudſhed, and all upon this occaſion. Belike the marriage of the Lord Liddeſdales daughter, to Sir *James Douglas* of Lowden, Kincavell, and Calder-cleere, hath beene or ſhould have been made in his owne time, which hath moved the *Douglas* of Dalkeith, Calder-cleere, and them of Strabrock to make head againſt the Earle, as thoſe who did moſt reſent that ſlaughter. But at laſt the Earle (as commonly remorſe cometh after bloud) repenting, or at the interceſſion of friends, gives the lands of Dalkeith, Newlands, and Kilbugho, to *Mary* daughter to the Lord of Liddeſdale, by reſignation in favour of her (as is extant in our publick Regiſter) to regain the favour and dependance of his friends, that were alienated from him; retaining Liddeſdale and his other Borderlands and Offices in his owne perſon: for we finde in the Regiſter *James Douglas* ſonne to *William* Earle of Douglas, and Marre, ſtiled Lord of Liddeſdale in a letter of penſion of 200 marks ſterling granted to him by King *Robert* the firſt of the *Stuarts*.

Ranſomed.

He killes Liddeſdale.

And obtains his whole eſtate.

His firſt care was to deliver his own inheritance from the Engliſh bondage, for which purpoſe having gathered together a company of his friends,

friends. He recovered Douglaſdale from them, having ſlain and chaſed them every man out of it: then encouraged with this ſucceſſe, the favour of his countrey people increaſing towards him, and greater companies drawing to him: he expelled them alſo out of Attrick Forreſt and Tueddale, and the greater part of Tivedale.

At that time *Johne Copland* (I know not whether it were hee) that had taken King *David* at the battell of Durham, or ſome other of that ſame name, was Captain of the Caſtle of Roxbrough, and ſeeing that the Earle of Douglas did ſo prevail againſt his countrey men, gathered together a great company of them, and went forth to oppoſe him, but was quickly put to flight, and conſtrained to retire to the ſaid Caſtle again.

Thus having repreſſed and ejected the Engliſh out of thoſe parts of Scotland, he not contented therewith reſolveth to invade them in their owne Countrey: wherefore he accompanied with the Earle of March (his owne father in law) and having gathered together a great power of men, as privately, and as ſecretly as hee could, hee marched towards England.

Conflict at Nisbet-moor. They ſent *VVilliam Ramſay* of Dalhouſie before, and gave him order to burn Norame, and to ſpoil the Countrey about, to draw the Engliſh upon their hoaſt, which lay in ambuſcade at a place called Nisbet-moore. *Ramſay* having done his part very dexterouſly as he was injoyned, having gathered together a great bootie of cattell, made as if hee would drive them into Scotland. The Engliſh to recover their goods, purſued him eagerly, and he flying of purpoſe drew them into the ambuſhment, where the Scots ariſing ſuddenly, ſet upon them fiercely, and put them to flight with great ſlaughter. There were taken priſoners, *Thomas Gray* and his ſonne, with *Johne Darcy* a Noble man, and many others, even the greateſt part of them.

He takes Berwick. After this (being encouraged by their former ſucceſſe) they did enterpriſe againſt the towne of Berwick, and took it in by ſcalade, not without great oppoſition and reſiſtance, having been diſcovered by the watches. They had in their company *Eugenie Garrantiers*, with ſome fouretie Frenchmen more, whom *Johne* King of France had ſent into Scotland a little before, with foure thouſand crownes to wage ſouldiers therewith, and this was all excepting fair promiſes, a weake ſupport in ſo great a ſtrait! and let it bee well marked, that men may ſee how farre they erre from the truth, that alledge that our Countrey and the liberty thereof hath been maintained and upheld by ſupport from France, and not by the valour and induſtry of the inhabitants. The Nobility tooke the money, and divided it amongſt themſelves, proſecuting the warre in their owne manner by frequent incurſions and inrodes. Theſe fouretie were preſent at this exploit, and at other occaſions where they behaved themſelves valorouſly. It is ſaid by ſome, that *Thomas Stuart* Earle of Angus was preſent at theſe ſurpriſes, and that he had a chiefe hand in it, as being the man that firſt broached it, and drew the reſt to it by his perſwaſion: But moſt Authours mention onely the two former. There were ſlaine within the towne of Berwick, *Alexander Ogle*, Governour thereof, *Thomas Percie* brother to the Earle of Northumberland, and *Edward Gray* with others: but they could not winne the Caſtle which he held againſt them:

them: whereupon King *Edward* coming to reſcue it; they being not able to keep the towne, rifled it, and then burnt it, and razed the walls thereof, in the yeare 1355. King *Edward* cauſed repair it again, and while that was in doing, he went himſelf to Roxbrough, where he kept his reſidence for that time: Thither came *Balliol*, and being wearied (as may be ſuppoſed) of his titular Kingdome, reſigned all that hee had, which was a ſhow and pretenſe to it. The King of England requeſting inſtantly that hee would avenge him of the injuries done to him by the Scots, who would not acknowledge nor obey him, but had expelled him out of his Kingdome: King *Edward* heard him very willingly, and upon that pretext invaded Lowthian by ſea and land: but his Navie was diſperſed and broken by ſtorme of weather, and by land the victuall was put out of the way, ſo as he was conſtrained to retire home again, after he had powred out his fury upon Edinburgh, Hadington, and other townes in Lowthian which lay in his way. He being gone, the Earle of Douglas paſſed into Galloway, and partly by force, partly by perſwaſion and entreatie, hee reduced that whole Countie to the Kings obedience; and cauſed *Donald Mackdowgall* one of the principall men in Galloway, to take his oath of allegiance and fidelitie in the Church of Cumnock. *Hollinſhed* attributeth this to the Lord of Niddiſdale his brothers ſonne, naturall ſonne to the Lord of Galloway: he tooke alſo by force the Caſtle of Dalſwinton and Carlaverock, and razed them. Some Hiſtories ſay they were razed by compoſition, and upon agreement by King *David* himſelf after his returne. At this time alſo *John Stuart* ſonne to *Robert* the Governour recovers Annandale from the enemy, and *Roger Kilpatricke* took in Diſdeir. And even as before in their Kings minority they had done: ſo now during his captivitie, theſe his faithfull ſubjects made his enemies to reap but ſmall profit of all the pains, having now again delivered this Countrey from them almoſt every where. Let it be remarked (as wee ſaid before) to the end that Kings and Princes may think it the beſt policy that can bee to procure and entertain the love and heartie affection of his ſubjects, and more ſpecially of his faithfull Nobilitie.

1355. Regained by the Engliſh.

Shortly after this they write, that the Earle of Douglas went into France with 3000. men, and was made Knight of the chiefeſt order in that Kingdome: he was preſent at the battell of Poictiers; where the field being loſt, and *John* King of France taken priſoner by *Edward* the black Prince (ſon to King *Edward* the third) the Earle of Douglas eſcaped very hardly, being reſcued by his own men, of whom there was ſlain *Andrew Stuart*, *Robert Gordon*, *Andrew Haliburton*, and *Andrew Vaſſe* Knights. *Archbald Douglas*, ſon naturall to good Sir *James*, and brother to the Lord Liddiſdale was taken priſoner, and with him *William Ramſay* of Colluthie. *Archbald* was known for a man of qualitie, but the other not known to be a man of any eſtate, and they perceiving it, the more to deceive their taker, *Archbald* uſed him as his ſerving-man, making him to pul off his boots, and do ſuch other drudgerie, by which means he was ſet at libertie for a ſmall ranſome.

Douglas at the battell of Poictiers.

Now, as theſe actions of warre do ſhew his valour and love to his Countrey, ſo likewiſe there fell out an occaſion at home in matter of State

State Policie, which did no leſſe manifeſt his prudencie, magnanimitie, and affection to his native ſoile; which was this: King *David* being returned from his captivity, after he had ſpent ſome five years in ſettling of the troubles and affairs of his Kingdome, after he had fined ſuch as had fled firſt at the battell of Durham, and compoſed ſuch broiles and diſorders as were amongſt his ſubjects, at laſt in the year 1363. he kept a Parliament. There he propounded unto the Eſtates, that they would give way to the uniting of the two Kingdomes of Scotland and England; and ſeeing he himſelf had no children, be contented to give way, that King *Edward* of England, or his ſon, might be his Succeſſour. Whether he made this propoſition, becauſe he did judge it indeed to be moſt profitable for both Kingdomes, ſo to end all their quarrells, and warres, or that he had taken a great liking of the King of Englands ſon, or elſe that he had been conſtrained to promiſe and ſweare to do it by King *Edward*, when he was in his power, or ſome other occaſion, it is uncertain. But the motion was ſo ill taken by all that were there preſent, that they had no patience to ſtay till every mans vote were asked in his turn, but altogether with one voice did cry out with a confuſed noiſe and clamour, deteſting it, and proteſting, that ſo long as they were able to bear armes, they would never give their conſent thereunto; that they had one of age to be heir already, whenſoever God ſhould call him. Eſpecially the Earle of *Douglas* took it ſo to heart, that he entred into League with *Robert Stuart* Earle of Stratherne, (who was next heir, and was chiefly prejudiced hereby) with *Patrick* Earle of March, *George* Earle of Murray his brother, *John Stuart* of Kile, (afterward *Robert* the third) and *Robert Stuart* of Monteith (after Duke of Albanie) to withſtand and oppoſe this buſineſſe to the uttermoſt of their powers, in caſe the King ſhould proſecute it, and to defend themſelves if he would uſe violence againſt them. And they were ſo forward herein, and went ſo farre on in it, that it had almoſt come to an open rebellion. Neither were they reconciled untill the King changed his purpoſe; And then by the mediation of the Prelats of the Realm, they deſiſted, and gave their oath of fidelitie to him again in the year 1366. having been at variance and jealouſie the ſpace of two or three years. The Engliſh Writers would make it ſeem to have been but colluſion, and that the King did but propound it for exoneration of his promiſe to King *Edward*, and was glad of the refuſall, for that he was not to labour further in it. But our Hiſtories ſignifie no ſuch thing, and ſay directly that he did it ſincerely, and was highly offended with the deniall for the time, and that thoſe who had refuſed, looked for the worſt, and ſet themſelves for defence; yea, that they went ſo farre, that ſome of them made incurſions upon the towns and villages in the Countrey, to terrifie the King (ſaith *Major*) and that he might learne to know, that the whole Kingdome did not altogether depend upon him, but upon the good counſell, and mature advice of the Nobility. And *Boetius* writes, that the convention being diſſolved, there followed rebellion of ſome of the Nobility: whileſt they feared that they had offended the King with their free ſpeeches, determining to enterpriſe and do ſomewhat before they ſhould be cauſed to ſuffer. Such is the force of jealouſie when it entereth

1363 A Parliament.

The union of the Kingdomes ſought.

tereth into mens breasts. And therefore it is to be eschewed with great care, and the occasions thereof cut off betimes: For it cometh often to passe, that upon such suspitions, when neither partie have had an ill meaning, but have been afraid of ill, and sought to prevent it, such inconveniences have followed, as would not have fallen out otherwise. And therefore above all things assurance should be given to Counsellours, and free voters, that in their free delivering of their opinions, they shall not offend there; or if they do suspect they have offended him, the suspition should be removed betimes, and they put in securitie. And this King *David* did in this matter, as the most judicious of our Writers say. They that had carried out against it most freely (saith he) hearing that the King was angry, were about to have made defection, whose fear when the King understood, he remitting all wrath, received them immediatly into favour. By this wise government and modestie on all sides suspition was taken away, and howbeit he was offended for the time, because they did not yeeld to his desire, yet afterward he rejoyced greatly (as certainly he had great cause) to see the true and heartie affections of his subjects to their Countrey, to his own bloud, and the house of *Bruce*, the uprightnesse, sincerity, and magnanimitie (vertues requisite and necessary for Counsellours) in resisting even himself for himself, for his own honour and good, which were both greatly interessed by this his desire, if he had obtained it; being so prejudiciall to his sister, and her off-spring, who have happily succeeded yet since, besides the breach of oath to his father, the servitude of his Countrey, subjecting it to strangers, and the stain of his honour for ever, to have been the authour of so unworthie a fact. And without all doubt, it was greatly against the security of his own Person, in regard of the ambition of his designed Successour and Heir (King *Edward*) and his impatiencie to abide Gods leasure, who in a colder hope, had used indirect means to make away *Thomas Randulph*. What would not that man have attempted for a certain possession? And what miserable case had the Person of this good King been in, if he had gotten his own will? if his will had been accounted as a Law by these his subjects? A notable example to Counsellours, of freedome, where their Princes good, and the good of their Countrey doth require it: to Princes of modestie in opposition made to that which may be their will for a time, and whereunto for the present appearance they may be verie bent. A happy King that can so dispose himself not to be wedded to his own affections onely! Or if not so, yet happy is hee that hath such Counsellers, who will resolutely remonstrate the right, and stand to it, by which means he may be brought to examine his own affections, to see the errours of them, and rejoyce thereafter that he did not what he most desired. Certainly, this King hath rejoyced at it all the rest of his dayes, living in great quietnesse some foure or five yeares. There was not any grudge, heart-burning or suspition after this between him and any of them: such was the integritie of heart on both sides, and so it should be in reconcilements; otherwise enmities must be perpetuall, or would be so, if it were not hoped that the reconciliation would bee sincere, and entire. Nay, where it is not so, that peace is worse then any warre, and nothing else but a snare

to entrap men. King *David* died in the Caſtle of Edinburgh in the Towre which he himſelf had cauſed build, and is called from his name *Davids* Towre, in the yeare 1370. the nine and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Holyrood-houſe.

After his deceaſe there was a Convention of the States at Linlithgow, to have Crowned *Robert Stuart* ſon to *Marjorie Bruce* King *Roberts* daughter. Thither went the Earle of Douglas, and did claime the Crowne; where he was ſo ſtrongly accompanied, that they feared hee would have taken it by force, if it were not given him voluntarily. He alledged that he was to be preferred before *Robert Stuart*, becauſe his right was derived both from *Balliol* and *Cummin*: Now for the better underſtanding of the ground of his claime, wee muſt remember that King *Alexander* the third dying without heires, the title of the Crowne was devolved to *David* Earle of Huntington, brother to the ſaid *Alexanders* Grandfather, King *VVilliam*. This *David* of Huntington (as Hiſtories relate) had three daughters, *Margaret*, *Iſabel*, and *Alda* or *Ada*. The eldeſt (*Margaret*) was married to *Allane* Lord of Galloway; *Iſabel* the ſecond, to *Robert Bruce*, called commonly *Robert* the Noble; the third, *Alda* or *Ada*, to *Henry Haſtings*, whoſe Poſteritie doth ſtill yet happily with good report poſſeſſe the Earledome of Huntington. This *Alane* Lord of Galloway had by his wife *Margaret* (eldeſt daughter to *David*) two daughters (as is moſt commonly reported) *Dornagilla* and *Mary*. *Dornagilla* his eldeſt daughter was married to *John Balliol*, father to that *John Balliol* who was afterward Crowned King of Scotland. *Mary* his ſecond daughter was married to *John Cummin* Earle of Marre, and (by her) Lord of Galloway, called Read *John Cummin* ſlain by King *Robert Bruce* at Dumfrees. Some write that this *Alane* had three daughters, and that the eldeſt was married to one *Roger* Earle of Winton, of whom ſeeing we have no mention in pretenſion to the Kingdome, it is apparent that either there hath been no ſuch woman, or that ſhe hath died without children. *Buchanan* ſayes he had three daughters at his death in the life of *Alexander* the ſecond. Alſo *Boetius* (in his thirteenth book, *fol.* 294.) ſaith the ſame, and calleth this man *Roger Quincie* Earle of Winton, who (ſaith he) was made Conſtable for his father in law *Alane*, and continued in that Office untill the dayes of King *Robert Bruce*, and then being forfeited for treaſon, the Office of Conſtable was given to *Hay* Earle of Arrall: hee ſayes alſo that *John Cummin* did not marry one of *Alanes* daughters, but one of this *Quincies* Earle of Winton, who had married the ſaid *Alanes* eldeſt daughter, which is carefully to bee marked. *Hollinſhed* ſayes the ſame in his Chronicle of Scotland, and calleth him *Roger Quincie*. *John Cummin* had by *Mary* his wife one onely daughter, called *Dornagilla*, who was married to *Archbald Douglas* ſlain at Halidon hill, father to this Earle *William*, of whom wee now ſpeake; whereby hee was Grandchild to *Mary*, and great Grandchilde to *Margaret* (*David* of Huntingtons eldeſt daughter) and by conſequent reckoning from *David* of Huntington his daughter, 1 *Margaret*, 2 her daughter *Mary*, 3 *Maries* daughter, 4 this Earle *William* is the fourth perſon. On the other ſide, for *Robert Stuart*, reckoning likewiſe from the ſaid *David* of Huntington; his daughter 1 *Iſabel*, her

ſonne,

ſonne, 2 *Robert Bruce* Earle of Carrict, 3 his ſonne King *Robert*, 4 his daughter *Marjory*. 5 her ſonne *Robert Stuart* is the fifth perſon, which is a degree further then the Earle of Douglas, who was in equall degree with *Marjory* his mother. This reckoning is not unlike that whereby *Robert* Earle of Carrict did claim it before when he contended with *Balliol*; for *Bruce* was a Male and a degree neerere, quall with *Balliols* mother, and this Earle was alſo the Male, and a degree neerer then *Stuart*, equall with his Mother; and beſides all this, he was come of the eldeſt of *Davids* daughters, which *Bruce* was not. This was the ground of his claim; but finding his pretenſion evill taken, and diſliked by all the Nobility, and diſputing that which had been decided long before in favour of King *Robert Bruce*, who had been confirmed King, and to whom *Balliol* had renounced whatſoever right he could claim; to whom alſo and to his poſterity they all, and Earle *Williams* owne predeceſſours, had ſworn obedience, and continued it the whole time of his life, and of his ſonne *David* the ſpace of 64. yeares.

To which *Robert Bruce*, and not to *David* of Huntington, *Robert Stuart* was to ſucceed; wherefore the Earles chiefeſt friends *George* and *John Dumbars*, Earles of March and Murray, his brothers in law by his firſt wife, and *Robert Ereskene* his aſſured friend, keeper of the three principall Caſtles in Scotland, Dumbartan, Stirlin and Edinburgh, diſſwaded him from it: And ſo he was contented to deſiſt, and joyning very willingly with the reſt of the Nobilitie, accompanied him to Scone, and aſſiſted at his Coronation; being no leſſe acceptable and commended for his modeſt acquieſcing, then he had been before diſpleaſing for his unſeaſonable motion. For the which in token of his good will, and that hee might ſo much the more tie the Earle to him, the new King beſtowes two very honourable gifts upon him: His eldeſt daughter *Euphane* on the Earles ſon *James*, that failing heires Male, the Crowne might ſo fall to his houſe. The other benefit was beſtowed upon the Earle himſelfe, the marriage of *Margaret Stuart* Counteſſe of Marre and Angus, daughter and heire to Earle *Thomas*: This Counteſſe of Marre and Angus did beare to this Earle, *George* Earle of Angus, that was married to one of King *Robert* the thirds daughters; as we ſhall ſee in the houſe of Angus. It is knowre that theſe two lived after from thenceforth in good friendſhip, as Prince and Subject without ſuſpition, grudge, or eye liſt on either partie; for neither did the King remember it as an aſpiring, whereby to hold a continuall ſuſpicious eye over him; neither did he feare the King as jealous of it, or as eſteeming that he had ſuffered vvrong in the repulſe, nor ſeekking any means to proſecute it further, laying aſide all quarrells vvith the cauſe in ſinceritie on both ſides.

This ſhould be the practice of all honeſt hearts, and is the onely mean to end all debates, entertain peace, and keepe humane ſociety: farre contrary to this novv called vviſedome of diffidence, diſtruſt, jealouſie, curbing and keeping under thoſe vvith vvhom vvee have had any difference, vvhich is the onely vvay to foſter variance, and to make enmitie eternall. For truſt deſerveth truth, and moves a man to deſerve that truſt, and to be vvorthy of it. Time vvins and allures even the wildeſt minds of men;

and alſo of beaſts, even of fierce lions, if it bee not a monſter in nature, or worſe then a monſter, one amongſt a thouſand, which is the onely true and ſolid policie, that makes the hearts of men ours; for men muſt be led by their hearts, and by no other way, and ſo imployed, or elſe let no man thinke ever to make any great uſe of them.

King *Robert* after his Coronation made divers Earles and Barons (or Lords) and Knights; amongſt whom *Iames Lindſay* of Glenaſke was made Earle of Crawford. This ſame yeare the peace with England was broken, which had been made with King *David* at his releaſing from captivitie for foureteene yeares, and had now continued not above foure or five yeares onely. The occaſion of it was this: there is a yearely Faire in Roxbrough, and ſome of the Earle of Marches ſervants going thither, were ſlain by the Engliſh that kept the Caſtle thereof. When the Earle of March craved juſtice, and could not obtain it, the next yeare when the Faire day came again, hee having gathered a ſufficient power of men, invaded the Towne, ſlew all the Males of any yeares, and having rifled it, and taken a great ſpoil and booty, he burnt it to the ground.

We reade that a good while after this, the Earle of Northumberland and Nottingham ſet forward toward Scotland with an army of three thouſand men at armes, and ſeaven thouſand archers, and ſent forth Sir *Thomas Muſgrave* with three hundreth ſpeares, and three hundreth archers to *Melroſſe*, to trie what hee could learne of the Scots in thoſe parts, with whom the Earle of Douglas encountring, tooke Sir *Thomas* himſelf, a hundreth and twentie priſoners, beſides thoſe that were ſlain.

Sir *Thomas Muſgrave* taken by *Douglas.*

The ſame yeare (1380.) the Earle Douglas entred England with twentie thouſand men, and went to the Faire of Pennure; and having taken all the goods that were there, he burnt the Towne. *Hollinſhed* in his Engliſh Chronicle ſpeaking of that journey (in all likelihood) ſaith they brought away fouretie thouſand cattell, and were aſſaulted by the way, but came into Scotland with the prey, having loſt ſome few of their men; he ſayes the occaſion of it was, becauſe the men of Newcaſtle had taken a Scottiſh ſhip well known to be a Pirate, but very rich, worth ſeaventy thouſand pound, whereat the Scots being angry, and offended, made this incurſion.

About this time the Earle of Douglas intreateth for mercy to *Iames Lindſay* Earle of Crawford, who had been baniſhed a certain time before for killing of *John Lyon*, ſonne in law to the King, and Chancellour (as ſome call him) or Secretary as others: hee was the firſt of the name of *Lyon*, of whom the houſe of *Glammes* is deſcended. This *Lyon* was a young man endued with all the naturall gifts of body and minde that could be. Hee was comely in perſonage, well bred, and of a good carriage, & winning behaviour, which made him to be wel liked of of all men, and in ſpeciall by this *Iames Lindſay*, who received him into his traine, and made him his Secretarie. By this occaſion being often at Court, the King tooke notice of him, and liking his deportment, and upon *Crawfords* commendation, tooke him into his ſervice, and made him his Domeſtick Secretary. It fell ſo out at laſt, that the Kings daughter (by *Elizabeth Moore*) fell in love with him, and was made with childe by him; which

The originall of the houſe of *Glammes.*

he

he revealed to the Earle of Crawford. The Earle fearing that the King would take the matter heavily and hainouſly, and uſe the young man hardly, deviſed this way for his ſafetie: hee cauſeth another Gentleman of his acquaintance to take the blame on him, and to abſent himſelfe as guilty; and then being very familiar with the King, deals with him to beſtow his daughter (ſeeing ſhee had thus falne) on *John Lyon*, and to give him the lands of Glams with her; which was done accordingly. He got alſo for his coat of Armes, the flowre de-luce, field argent, and a Lion azure, with a double treaſure, and a womans head for his Creſt. What unthankfulneſſe the Earle of Crawford did finde in him afterwards, or did apprehend and conceive, it is not particularly ſet downe; but finding his owne credit with the King to decreaſe, and *John Lyons* to increaſe, and taking *Lyon* to be the cauſe thereof, eſteeming it great ingratitude after ſo great benefit, he tooke it ſo highly, and with ſuch indignation, that finding him accidentally in his way a little from Forfaire, he ſlew him very cruelly, and fearing the Kings wrath, fled into a voluntary exile: and ſo he remained certain yeares, untill (at the Earle of Douglas interceſſion) the King ſuffered himſelf to be ſo farre entreated, as that he was reſtored, obtained pardon, and received into the Kings favour. What intereſt the Earl of Douglas had in it, and what friendſhip with the Earl of Crawford, or what pitie of his afflicted eſtate, or commiſeration of him; or weighing the cauſe that drew him to ſo hard a fact (as great men will regard one another, where they think they have been evill requited by them to whom they have been beneficiall) or how neceſſary the preſence of ſo worthy a man was for the King and Countries preſent eſtate, it is hard to conjecture: but this is cleare, that the Earle of Douglas hath beene not a little reſpected and accounted of at that time, ſeeing at his ſute the King conſented to forgive the murther of his owne ſonne in Law, and to receive the Authour thereof into favour.

The yeare following, (which was 1381.) there enſued a truce between the two Countries for three yeares. There met for concluding of this truce *John* of Gant Duke of Lancaſter, who was Uncle to King *Richard* the ſecond, with ſome other Lords of the Engliſh ſide: and for the Scots, the Earle of Douglas and March. In the very time of their meeting and treatie, both parties were informed of the inſurrection made by *Jack Straw* in England, and both diſſembled the matter untill the truce were agreed upon. Then when all was ended, the Earle of Douglas with a generous wiſedome (farre from that which is now in vogue and requeſt) addreſt himſelf to the Duke of Lancaſter, and told him, that from the very firſt beginning of their conference, hee was not ignorant in what eſtate the affaires in England were; but that they were ſo farre from catching hold of any advantage of the time, and from making either of peace or warre accordingly, that they had the rather conſented to the truce, becauſe of the troubles in England. And for your ſelfe (ſaith he) if it pleaſe you, you may remain here in Scotland, untill theſe tumults bee ſetled, or if you had rather return home, you ſhall have 500. horſe to accompany you, and to ſet you ſafe in what place in England you pleaſe. The Duke thanked them for their courteſie, but thinking that hee needed it not at

that

that time, made no uſe of either of their offers. But afterwards being on his journey home, when he found that they ſhut the gates of Berwick againſt him, and would not receive him into the Towne, he came backe againe, and was conveyed to Haliroodhouſe by the Earle of Douglas and his brother *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, and remained there till matters were compoſed in England.

After the truce was expired, *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, aſſiſted by his brother the Earle of Douglas, and by the Earle of March, wonne the Caſtle of Lochmabane, as we ſhall heare in the life of the ſaid *Archbald.*

Upon this the Duke of Lancaſter by way of revenge made an incurſion upon Scotland, in which having rifled Edinburgh, and waſted the Countrey, he returned home. And he being gone, the Earle of Douglas tooke in all the Caſtles and houſes of ſtrength in Tivedale, which the Engliſh had kept ſince the battell of Durham, Roxbrough onely excepted, and purged that Countrey of Brigands and Robbers, who had in time of the warre beene very licentious and bold.

1384. Earle *Douglas* death. This was the laſt work of this Nobleman, worthy (ſay our Writers) of his houſe and Predeceſſours, for he died ſoone after of a Fever in the Caſtle of Douglas, and was buried in Melroſſe in the Abbey, in the year 1384. as they reckon, and is likely: for his ſonne *James* is ſtiled Earle in the yeare 1385. March 20. Of what age he was at his death it cannot be certainly collected: but from his fathers death at Halidoun hill we have 51 yeares after he began to come upon the ſtage, and appeare in buſineſſe, and the affaires of his Countrey: 30. yeares at leaſt or 40. ſince we account that he came home before the battell of Durham.

He was a man (without queſtion) of exceeding great valour, whom even the Engliſh Writers ſpare not to call one of the moſt valiant perſonages in his dayes, within the Realme of Scotland: And certainly his actions beare no leſſe, even as they are ſummarily ſet downe. But if all had beene particularly deſcribed, with the full circumſtances, it would have beene farre more cleare. And not onely his valour would have appeared, but his wiſedome alſo, travell, and diligence, which he muſt needs have uſed in recovering of ſo many Countreyes and Caſtles, as he is recorded to have wonne, and in ſo many yeares, as he was employed in continuall action, ever victorious, without mention of any repulſe, overthrow, or evill ſucceſſe, where himſelfe was Conductor, and we may ſay, nor elſewhere, ſafe at the battell of Durham. Now all is involved in generall, and rowled up in groſſe, expreſſing little or nothing of the accidents, or particular wayes of his exploits, onely they tell us this road he made, and theſe Caſtles he wonne, and tell the event indeed to have beene ſucceſſefull, but no more. This good fortune (as men call it) though it be commended, and commendable in Leaders, yet it is ſeldome alone, but accompanied with vertue, to which it gives the luſtre, and without which he could never have atchieved ſuch enterpriſes.

The love he carried to his Countrey, and to the libertie thereof, needs no declaration. Thoſe his travells declare it, which could have no other end, chiefly that act of withſtanding King *David* in bringing in a forraine

King,

King, with ſuch reſolution, even to the diſcontentment of his Soveraign, to whom otherwayes he had beene ever moſt obedient, with the hazzarding of his perſon and eſtate. In which oppoſition, if we weigh it narrowly, how many vertues doe appeare? An unſpeakable love to his Countrey, with ſuch hazzard, freedome of minde, and uprightneſſe farre from flatterie, or any diſſimulation; not following his Princes humour, or ſoothing him in his preſent diſpoſition, but regarding vvhat vvas moſt for his good and honour, vvhat beſt for his Countrey, and vvhat the King vvas like to acknovvledge beſt for him, vvhen he ſhould be out of that fit. We may alſo ſee in it a ſtrange magnanimitie and courage, in his reſolving (as he did vvithout all doubt) to part vvith all that the vvorld could affoord, and vvhatſoever is deare to men in the vvorld, rather then not to maintaine that vvhich he accounted to be right, his life, lands, dignities, honours, and all ſuch things, both for himſelfe and his poſteritie. For what was that banding for it, but a plaine oppoſing himſelfe to the power of both the Kings (Scottiſh and Engliſh) the Suiter, and for whom it was ſuited; who queſtionleſſe would both have concurred in that cauſe: and what could the conſequent of oppoſing then be other, then the loſſe of his life, lands, and all? or what other hope could he have? and what meanes to double it out? The more is his conſtancie remarkable that never yeelded up that diſpoſition. As for his wiſedome, it is included in all theſe things, and doth ſhine in all his actions, which without it could not have beene performed. Likewiſe in that favour which was borne unto him by men, the cauſes of favour are employed, and ſuch qualities and vertues are apt to gaine and procure affection, to wit, gentleneſſe, meeknеſſe, ſoberneſſe, liberality, and the like; his generoſity and courteous humility in his ſpeech, which are the true and onely meanes of acquiring the good will and hearts of men: his generous minde and courteouſneſſe appeared in his ſpeech and carriage towards the Duke of Lancaſter, his juſtice in pacifying the Countrey, and purging out the theeves: a worthy cataſtrophe of ſo well an acted life.

Some may think him ambitious in ſtanding for the Crowne, but if he thought he had right, what could he doe leſſe? it was no ambition to ſeek what was his due. And there was as great appearance of right on his ſide, as might have deceived a better Lawer than he was. Yet let it be his ambition, and that he was not ſo ignorant but that he knew where the title was: have not many diſpenced with great duties in that caſe? And is it not thought halfe dutie, not to be over preciſe in dutie; and half juſtice, not to look too narrowly to juſtice? *Si violandum eſt jus, &c.* If law or lawfulneſſe ſhould be broken, where ſhould it rather be broken, then for a Kingdome? which is not ſo much the ſaying of one man, as the tacite opinion of almoſt all men, as appeares by the approbation of themſelves, and all others after they have gotten it. It were to be wiſhed that errour were away, and men ſaw as well the inward thornes, as the outward pearles of the Diademe, that they might let it lye at their foot, and not take it up, though they might have it for the lifting: but that will be called a Stoicall Philoſophy, and even the Stoicks are thought to have much adoe to keepe themſelves in that moderation. Neither doe men beleeve

beleeve them when they ſay they doe it in leſſer matters, where they may attaine them: and what they lack is thought to be for want of power and dexteritie to compaſſe and obtaine, not of judgement to contemne or neglect. What could the Earle *Douglas* then doe, who was not ſo well ſchool'd or skill'd? who had honour and glory for the great objects of his intentions, which is the objects of theſe great ſpirits, and many think it ſhould be ſo. So that in regard of this common opinion of men, and the inſtructions of that age, yea of all ages, even of this age almoſt, in ſuch military men, or politicke wiſe men, who are not pedants (as they call them) or Theologues (to give them the beſt name men terme them with) I thinke it not ſo ſtrange that he inſiſted, as I marvell that he deſiſted ſo ſoone, and eaſily: neither can I ſo much diſpraiſe his motion, as I have reaſon to commend his modeſtie. For his motion, belike, hath not beene immodeſtly moved, or too vehemently preſſed, that he gave it ſoone over; farre from the unbridledneſſe of turbulent mindes, that would rather have moved heaven and earth (as we ſay) to have come to their purpoſe, and have caſt themſelves, their Countrey, and all, into confuſed broillerie and into forraine hands and power: nay (which is more and worſe then meerely forraine) into Engliſh, our enemies, which would be flat ſlaverie, as both the *Balliols* (*John* and *Edward*) had done before him, and the laſt of them on no better, nay not ſo good a ground. Wherefore if we will needs call it ambition, yet certainly it hath not beene of the worſt ſort thereof, neither unruly, nor immoderate, but by the contrary, very ſober and temperate, and ſuch as may well fall, and often doth fall into the beſt and greateſt ſpirits, that are not brought up and deeply inſtructed in the inmoſt and profound points of humane and divine Philoſophie Of which ſort how few be there? and how meanly are they accounted of? Let us either think better of them, or finde the leſſe fault with him. Certainly, if he cannot be fully excuſed, yet can he not be over hardly cenſured, neither condemned: yea, no more condemned for the moving, then praiſed for his ſpeedy leaving off, and yeelding, truly acquieſcing, and ſincerely obeying in all times thereafter.

Of James, *the ſecond of that name, the eleventh Lord, and ſecond Earle of Douglas, ſlaine at Otterburne.*

UNto *William* the firſt Earle his ſon *James* did ſucceed, a man in all kinde of vertue worthy of ſo great a father, and honourable place; who was no whit inferiour to him either in courage or fortunateneſſe, unleſſe we account him leſſe fortunate for that he lived but few yeares: wherefore wee ſhall heare his owne judgement at his death.

His wife and children.

He had two wives, *Euphane* eldeſt daughter to the King (as we have ſaid) by his wife the Earle of Roſſes daughter: yet the genealogie of the Kings in the Acts of Parliament ſayes that ſhe was daughter to *Elizabeth Moore*, and not the Earle of Roſſes daughter. He had a ſon by her, who lived not halfe a yeare: he had alſo two baſe ſons, *William* (of whom

whom is deſcended the houſe of Drumlanrig, as evidents do witnes given by *Jacobus Douglas Comes de Douglas filio noſtro*) and *Archbald* of whom is come the houſe Cavers and Sheriffes of Tivedale, who if they had beene lawfull, had been ſonnes to the Kings daughter, and had ſucceeded to the Earledome before his brother *Archbald* the Grimme, who did ſucceed to him. But though they did not ſucceed, yet have they ſhewed themſelves very worthy, and amongſt the chief great men of the land. Of this *William* alſo are deſcended the houſes of Coſhogle, Pinyerie, Daveine, and others in Niddiſdale: for *Archbald Douglas* the firſt of Coſhogle, was ſecond ſonne to this *William* of Drumlanrigge, and was married to one *Pringle* of the houſe of Galaſheiles, who bore to him twelve ſonnes, and after his death ſhee was married to one *Carnel Wallace*, and bore twelve more to him alſo. The Originall of the houſes of Drumlanrig, and Cavers.

Touching Earle *James* his actions, which were done in his fathers daies, one thing we have ſpoken of them in his fathers life, as moſt proper: there is one thing more, beſides what hath been ſaid, recorded of him by ſome; that during his fathers life he was ſent into France, for renewing the ancient League with that Kingdome; in which Ambaſſage were joyned with him *Walter Wardlaw*, Cardinall and Biſhop of Glaſgow, and his Uncle *Archbald*, Lord of Galloway. This is ſaid to have been in the yeare 1381. which is the eleventh yeare of the reigne of *Robert Stuart*. The occaſion of it was a meſſage that came out of France from *Charles* the ſixth, who deſired to have it ſo. He goeth into France.

After his returne in September, hee recovered the towne of Berwick from the Engliſh; and entring England with a competent power, burnt and ſpoyled all the Countrey about as farre as Newcaſtle. He taketh Berwick.

About the time of his fathers deceaſe (in the yeare 1384.) there was a Truce concluded between France and England, to laſt a yeare, in which Scotland was alſo comprehended: This treatie was at Boloigne, or at Lillegham (as others write) and for intimation hereof, ſome French men were directed to come into Scotland: but while they prepare themſelves too negligently, the Earles of Northumberland and Nottingham, with ſuch as lay neareſt to the Scottiſh Marches, laying hold of this opportunitie to annoy Scotland, ſo that the Scots ſhould have no time to revenge it before the truce were proclaimed, entered Scotland with an Army of 20000. or (as others ſay) 10000. horſe, and 6000. Archers and Bowmen, and ſpoyled the Countrey farre and wide; eſpecially the lands pertaining to the *Douglaſſes*, and *Lindſayes*. The Scots who truſting to the brute of the truce dreamed of no ſuch thing, finding themſelves thus uſed, were greatly grieved with their owne ſloth, and no leſſe incenſed at the fraud and falſehood of England, and reſolved to avenge the ſame. In the mean time the report of the Engliſh incurſion coming to the eares of the French, who had the charge to intimate the aſſurance, admoniſhed them of their ſlowneſſe: wherefore to make amends (though ſomewhat too late) they haſten over to London in the very time that the Engliſh Army was in Scotland. There they were very chearefully received, and magnificently entertained with feaſting and banquetting, and under this colour cunningly detained, untill it was knowne that the Engliſh Army

was come home and diſmiſſed: then being ſuffered to depart, they came into Scotland, and ſhew their Commiſſion. The greateſt part of the Nobility, but chiefly the Earle of Douglas and ſuch as with him had received great loſſe by that expedition, cried out againſt the craft of the Engliſh, that this their fraud and manifeſt ludification was no way to be ſuffered. The King went about to pacifie them, and ſhewed plainly that hee meant to receive and keep the truce, which they perceiving, drew out the matter at length by reaſoning and arguing to and fro, untill ſuch time as they had gathered together quietly 15000. horſemen; then *Douglas*, *Dumbarre* and *Lindſay*, withdrew themſelves from Court without noiſe, at a day appointed; and joyning their companies at the place of rendevous, enter England with diſplayed banners, waſte and ſpoile Northumberland to Newcaſtle. Then they doe the like to the Earle of Nottinghams lands, and the *Mowbrayes*, and ſo returne home with a huge prey of men and cattell. Straight after their returne the truce was proclaimed meeting fraud, not with fraud, but with open force, by a juſt and honeſt recompence and retalliation. Neither were the Engliſh diſcontented for all this to accept the truce, acknowledging that the Scots had reaſon to doe what they did, or confeſſing their owne weakneſſe and want of ability to avenge it at this time, or both, by their ſitting ſtill and acceptation: for neither could right (though weake) have had patience in ſo great an injury, neither would force (if it had thought it ſelfe ſufficient) have been bridled with reaſon onely in ſo manifeſt an affront, and ſo great dammage. How ever it be, they ſtirred not, and ſo the truce was kept till it expired of it ſelfe.

15000. horſemen.

When it was runne out, *John de vienne* a Burgundian, a very valiant man, Admirall of France, and Earle of Valentinois, arrived in Scotland, and brought with him 2000. men, amongſt whom were 100. men at Armes. He brought alſo 400. Curiaſſes, and 400. halfe long ſwords to be diſtributed amongſt the Scots, and (as ſome write) 50000. Crownes. Before their coming *Iames* Earle of Douglas entred into England with a new Armie; and upon their arrival was called back to Court, where they attended his coming. Then having conſulted of their buſineſſe, and the Army being ready, they accompanied him into England, where they tooke in the Caſtles of Wark, Foord and Cornewall, and ſpoyled and burnt the Country between Berwick and Newcaſtle. But when they intended to goe on further, the continuall rain that fell in great abundance (being in Autumne) did ſo ſpoile the wayes, and raiſe the waters, and wet the Souldiers with their armour, that they were forced to retire home again into Scotland. In the mean time King *Richard* greatly moved that the Scots muſt bring in ſtrangers to waſte his Countrey, entereth Scotland with an Army of 60000. foot, and 8000. horſe, and uſed all ſort of Hoſtilitie in the Merſe and Lowthian, not ſparing the religious houſes and perſons, ſuch as Newbotle, Melroſſe and Dribrough, with the Monkes thereof. The French Admirall better remembring, and more carefull of his Maſters directions, then conſidering what was fit to bee done, dealt earneſtly with the Earle of Douglas to give him battell. But the Earle knowing better, and regarding more the good of his Countrey,

and

and weighing with judgement the Engliſh power and forces, would no wayes liſten to him: he told him it was not for want of affection to doe the King of France ſervice that he refuſed to fight, but in reſpect of the unequall number and appointment of the Armies at that time. And that he might the better ſee the Engliſh forces, he tooke him up to a hill, from whence they might have a reaſonable view of them as they paſſed by in order; which when the Admirall had ſeen, and conſidered thereof, hee eaſily yeelded to the Earles opinion. *Hollinſhed* ſetteth downe the oddes, ſaying, that the Scots and French were not above 8000. ſpeares, and 30000. of all other ſorts, and the moſt part of thoſe not well armed: where he reckoneth of Engliſh 6000. horſe, and 60000. Archers, which are 2000. horſes fewer then our Hiſtories do reckon. In this inequalitie therefore being no leſſe a wiſe Conductour, then a valiant Warriour, he reſolved not to hazard a battell, but determined to take another courſe, which he did, for he entered England on that quarter, which was furtheſt diſtant from the Engliſh Army, and waſted Cumberland and the adjacent Countrey neare to it. The King of England being advertiſed hereof, purpoſed to have followed him, and forced him to fight, but being better adviſed, and put in mind (no queſtion) of what had befallen his Grandfather (*Edward* the third) at Stanhope Parke againſt good Sir *James*, he altered his purpoſe, and marched the readieſt way home. And ſo both Armies having ſpoiled and waſted each others Countreyes, they returned without encountring or fight of other.

In the return the Earle *Douglas* perſwaded them to beſiege Roxbrough Caſtle, making full account that the King of England would not raiſe a new Army before the next Spring, and ſo they ſat downe before it; but it did not continue eight dayes ere they raiſed the ſiege. The cauſe was a reaſonleſſe demand of the Frenchmen, who would needs have the Caſtle to bee given to them, and to belong to the King of France, when it were wonne from the enemy. This demand did ſo offend the Scots, that they could by no means heare of it, and ſo the enterpriſe was deſerted upon this occaſion, but chiefly by the Frenchmens inſolent and licentious behaviour and carriage in the warres; who rob and ſteal, and uſe all manner of force and violence: there aroſe many times great ſtrife, and many quarrells between the Country people, and them: for the Country people watched them when they were alone, or but few together, and ſometimes robbed them of their horſes, ſometimes of their valiſes and luggage: ſometimes they hurt, and at other times ſlew of them. The French Commanders complained to the Kings Councell, and the common people anſwered, that they had received more loſſe and hurt by the French, who profeſſed themſelves to be friends, then they had done by the Engliſh, who were ſworne enemies. And therefore they ſaid it were reaſon that the French ſhould no wayes be ſuffered to goe home, untill they had ſatisfied for the wrongs they had done. The Earle *Douglas* in this hard caſe ſeeing they were ſtrangers that came to aide Scotland, was willing partly to bear with their faults, as proceeding from an evill cuſtome and form uſed at home in France, and therefore interpoſed himſelf to have mitigated the people, but could hardly pacifie them, yet at laſt with great inſtancy

ſtancy and entreatie, being greatly favoured, and generally well beloved and popular, hee obtained that the common Souldiers, and the Army ſhould be ſuffered to returne into France, and that their Captains and Commanders ſhould be retained ſtill untill ſatisfaction were made for the loſſe they had ſuſtained. And ſo the King of Frances deſire was ſatisfied, who had then ſent for them, and withall order taken with the dammage done by them.

This was the aide, and this was the ſucceſſe of the help received from France now the ſecond time. It was very ſmall before, and it is now to very little purpoſe: more hurtfull and troubleſome to the Countrey, then of importance againſt the enemy. After their embarking the Scots remained ſtill in England the ſpace of two moneths, and then the Engliſh having withdrawne and conveighed all the victuall out of the way, they returned into Scotland. And hereby they did ſhow clearly how little they leaned to forrain aid, without which there greater enterpriſes were ever performed: neither was there ever either by theſe, or by others before or ſince (though we looke over all Hiſtories) any great exploit atchieved. All the help they ever got was onely in the beſieging of ſome Townes at ſome happening times, and ſome ſuch trifles ſcarce worth the naming, in reſpect of the whole power of the body and ſtate of the Countrey which I remark again, and commend to the Reader to be truely conſidered for vindicating the valour and worth of the inhabitants, from that obloquie and unequall judgement of ſuch as diminiſh and impair it: who cannot but know that it was never forraine forces (as is wrongfully ſurmiſed) but the vertue and valour of their Predeceſſours that hath preſerved the honour and liberty of their Countrey, all manner of wayes: and that any one man amongſt diverſe of the name of *Douglas* hath done more in that cauſe, then the force of France (if it were put all together) did ever to this houre.

The yeare following, the Earle of Douglas with *Robert Stuart* Earle of Fife, and *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway his Uncle, entered into England with an Army of three thouſand men, paſſing the water of Solway ſo ſecretly, that they were at Cocket-mouth on ſuch a ſudden, that the people had no leaſure to convey their goods out of the way. Wherefore having for the ſpace of three dayes gathered together a rich bootie, they returned home through Cumberland, Weſtmerland, and Northumberland, into Scotland again without any encounter.

Occaſion of the battell of Otterburn.

Not long after *Archbald* Lord of Galloway in company of the ſame Earle of Fife, made a road into England, in revenge whereof the King of England ſent an Army into Scotland, which did great harm in the Merſe, and occaſioned that notable battell of Otterburn.

For the Scots irritated herewith boyled with deſire of revenge, being at that time very flouriſhing with ſtrong youth, and never better furniſhed with Commanders. But King *Robert* a man by nature given to quietneſſe, farre ſtricken in yeares (ſeaventy three yeares old) was become ſlacker, and ſeemed not to make ſo great account of the publique injuries. His eldeſt ſonne *John* was dull of nature, and having received a hurt by a ſtroake of a horſe, which pertained to *James Douglas* Lord of Dalkeith,

was

was thereby lame of a legge, and halted, and ſo unfit for the travell of warre. Therefore they have their recourſe to the Kings next ſonne the Earle of Fife, and do eaſily agree with him, reſolving to avenge the hurt and dammage they had lately received. So every man promiſing his beſt endeavour, appointment is made to conveen in Auguſt, or (as ſome ſay) in July, but ſo covertly, as it ſhould not come to the knowledge of either of the two Kings, leſt the King of Scotland ſhould hinder them, or the King of England prevent them: yet when they had uſed all the expedition and ſecreſie they could: The Engliſh had notice of it, and were informed of both the day and place of their meeting. Wherefore that they might entrap them and take them at unawares, they advertiſed one another, and the Noblemen commanded the Commons to be in a readineſe againſt the next advertiſement, without appointing any certain day, for feare that the Scots ſhould heare of it. Theſe things thus ordered when they heard that the Scots were conveened in Tivedale not farre from the March to the number of 30000. or (as *Froyſard* ſaith) 40000. men, not daring to joyne battell with ſuch a multitude, they concluded not to ſtir or appeare before the coming of the enemy, but that every man ſhould ramain in his owne bounds, till they ſaw on what coaſt and quarter the tempeſt would light, and then to take the beſt courſe they could according as occaſion ſhould offer, and if they could doe no more, to invade Scotland on another hand farre from the enemy, as the Scots had done to them the yeare before, and ſo to recompenſe loſſe with loſſe: In the mean time they ſent a ſpie to the Scots camp, who might bring them more certain report of all things, deſirous to know not onely their intention, but even their particular ſpeeches and actions. Hee who was ſent (being nothing different from the reſt in language, apparell, or armour, did eaſily paſſe for a Scot, and by that mean having been in the company undiſcovered, and having obſerved ſufficiently all that was needfull to be knowne) as he returned to his horſe to be gone, which he had bound to a tree, he found that he was taken away, whereupon taking him to his feet with his cloake, boots and ſpurres, and his other riding equipage, he was perceived, ſuſpected, taken and examined what he was, whence he came, and whither hee went: and being found to vary in his anſwers, hee was brought before the Generall of the Army, where being threatned with the rack, he confeſſed all, and revealed the Engliſh mens intentions, and purpoſes. Upon this the Scots altered their purpoſe, and whereas they were before minded to have gone all together in one Hoaſt, they now divided themſelves in two; ſo that the greateſt part of the Army ſhould paſſe in at Carlile, led by the Kings two ſonnes, the Earles of Fife and Stratherne, together with *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway, Uncle to the Earle. The other part of the Army was committed to the Earle of Douglas, and with him *George* and *John Dumbars* Earles of March and Murray (his Uncles) *William* or *James Lindſay* Earle of Crawford, the Earle of Arolle Conſtable, the Lord *Montgomry*, and *Patrick Hepburn* of Hales with his ſonne: the number of his company is not agreed upon. Some ſay that he had the halfe of the Army, 15000. others but 2000. foote, and 300. horſe, with as many foote men waiting on the horſe men,

who

who were lightly armed and able to fight, and almoſt equalling the horſe men in ſpeedy expedition. Some ſay they were foure thouſand choſen horſemen in all, which is moſt apparent by the great diligence and haſte he made: with his company he entred England on the Eaſt hand, and croſſing the river of Tine with great celerity, hee was paſt Durham, before ever the enemy was advertiſed or knew of his coming, till he himſelfe made it knowne by fire and ſmoake, in burning the Countrey.

The Earle of Northumberland hearing of him, himſelfe being a man of great yeares, ſent his two ſonnes *Henrie* and *Ralph* (hardy and valiant young men) to Newcaſtle, commanding the reſt of the Countrey alſo to reſort thither, that they might intercept the Earle of Douglas in his returne: but hee having ſpoyled the Countrey about Durham, and gotten a great bootie, paſſeth Tine again, about three miles above Newcaſtle; and being deſirous of glory, and encouraged by this ſucceſſe, eſteeming it but ſmall honour for him to ſpoil the villages, and not to dare to looke upon the townes, marched towards Newcaſtle, and did make offer to have aſſaulted it, and (as ſome write) did aſſault it, having firſt filled the ditches with hay and faggots, hoping thereby to have drawne out the enemy to the open fields, having ſtayed there two dayes; there paſſed ſome light skirmiſhes amongſt them every day: And at laſt, *Henrie Percie* eldeſt ſonne to the Earle of Northumberland (called *Hotſpurre*) being deſirous to trie his valour, either provoking the Earle *Douglas*, or provoked by him; the combate was offered, and accepted betwixt them. They mounted on two faire ſteeds, and ran together with ſharp ground ſpears at outrance; in which encounter the Earle *Douglas* bore *Percie* out of his ſaddle. But the Engliſh that were by did reſcue him ſo that hee could not come at himſelf, but he ſnatched away his ſpear with his guiddon or witter; and holding it aloft, and ſhaking it, he cried out aloud, that hee would carry that into Scotland as his ſpoil. *Hollinſhed* ſaith (out of *Froyſard*) that they did not runne on horſeback, but that in an aſſault at the Barriers without the gate, *Douglas* by chance being matched hand to hand with *Percie*, by force pluckt his Pennon from him, and holding it up on high, ſaid, he would carry it for his ſake into Scotland.

A combat betwixt *Percie* and *Douglas*.

There was then at Newcaſtle a great number of people, for beſides the indwellers, there were all the choice men from York to the borders, as the Writers relate. Wherefore Earle *Douglas* (in reſpect of his ſmall number) cauſed keep ſtrait watch; and on the morrow removing his Camp, he marched toward Scotland a ſlow pace, being loden with bootie. Then ſending it away before, hee aſſaulted, tooke, and demoliſhed a certain Caſtle and Towne, that was in their way, called Pouclane, whereof Sir *Aymer* of Alpholl was Lord, whom he tooke within the Caſtle and made him a priſoner. Then marching forward, they came to a place called Otterburn, about twelve miles from Newcaſtle, where they pitched downe their tents, that the Souldiers might take ſome reſt, and refreſh themſelves after their great travell, as not having reſted that day, nor the night before, nor much any where ſince their entrie into England. There they conſulted about the reſt of their journey, and the moſt part adviſed to march toward Carlile, that they might joyne with the other Army,

that

that ſo they might obſerve the order given them, which was not to fight at all, till both Hoaſts were joyned together. But the Earle *Douglas* thought beſt to ſtay there ſome three or four daies that they might refell the *Percies* bragging, who had affirmed that they ſhould not carry his ſpeare into Scotland, and that the Souldiers might not be idle the while, they might be taking in the Caſtles, and Gentlemens houſes about, that lay neare. To this opinion the others did yeeld for his ſake, howſoever it ſeemed not to be the moſt expedient: ſo they fortified and ſtrengthned their Camp as well as they could on that ſide where it was weake, being fenſed with Mariſhes on the other ſide: they went and beſieged a certain Caſtle, called Combure. *Percie* would fain have followed them preſently upon their retreat, but he was hindered by the better adviſed, for fear of an ambuſh: for they thought it was not likely, that the Scots being ſo fevv in number vvould have aſſaulted ſo ſtrong a Towne, unleſſe they had knovvne of ſome greater povver to ſuccour and aid them.

Having therefore ſearched diligently that day, and the next, and underſtanding that the other great Army wat not to bee feared, as being far from the Earle *Douglas*; *Percie* marched towards him with 10000. ſtrong, not ſtaying for the Biſhop of Durham, who was ſaid to be at Newcaſtle that ſame night, eſteeming his preſent forces ſufficient to overthrow his enemies, who were fewer in number by the one halfe at leaſt. The avantcurriers of the Engliſh Hoaſt were come in ſight, whileſt the Scots were ſome at ſupper, and others gone to reſt, being wearied with aſſaulting the Caſtle. Hereupon the alarum was given, and the Engliſh approaching, aſſail them fiercely, and were received valiantly by a part of the footemen, and the lackies, and the groomes; who having the advantage of the Fortification which had been made, ſuſtained the charge till the reſt were armed and ready. At their firſt encamping when they viewed the fields, they had eſpied a little hill which they meant to make uſe of if the enemy ſhould follow and aſſaile them, (as they did certainly expect) and now it ſtood the horſemen in very good ſtead: for whiles the Engliſh aſſaulted the entrie of the Camp, the horſe men fetching a compaſſe about this hill, charged them in flank at the farre ſide, in which charge many were ſlain, and the whole Army was filled with tumult and fears. But by the coming of freſh ſupplies, the Engliſh abounding in number, the battell was reſtored, and their ranks ordered as before: yet this profit it brought to the Scots, that the fight being ſlaked at the entrie of the Camp, they had ſpace to go forth, and to put their men in array. In the mean time night drew on, which was troubleſome, and unwelcome to both; but being ſhort (as in the Northern parts it uſeth to be in July) and the ſeaſon faire, the Moon light did ſerve them in ſtead of Day light, and the fight was continued very hard as amongſt noble men on both ſides, who did eſteem more of glory, then life. *Percie* ſtrove to repair the foil he had gotten at Newcaſtle, and the Earle *Douglas* did as much labour to keep the honour he had wonne: So in unequall number, but both equally eager in mind, they continued fighting a great part of the night. At laſt a Cloud covering the face of the Moone, not being able to diſcerne friend from foe, they tooke ſome reſpite for a while; but ſo ſoone as the Cloud was gone,

The battell of Otterburn.

gone, the Engliſh gave ſo hard a charge, that the Scots were put back in ſuch ſort, that the *Douglas* Standard was in great perill to have been loſt. This did ſo irritate him, that hee himſelfe in the one wing, and the two *Hepburnes* (father and ſonne) in the other, preſſing through the rankes of their owne men, and advancing to the place where the greateſt perill appeared, renewed a hard conflict, and by giving and receiving many wounds, they reſtored their men into the place from whence they had been beaten, and continued the fight untill the next day at noone. The Earle *Douglas* not being ſatisfied, nor contenting himſelfe with that, that he had renewed the battell, but himſelfe with two companions, *Robert Hart*, and *Simon Glendining*, ruſhed into the midſt of the enemies, and equalling the courage of his minde with the ſtrength of his body, whatſoever way he ſet himſelf he made great havock of the enemies. It was a wonder to ſee the great vaſſallage that he wrought: *Maior* in deſcribing them can make no end, nor ſatisfie himſelfe: his compariſons are high, like a Lion of Lybia: his deſcription of his body is, that it was faire and well compacted, his ſtrength huge, which hee yet amplifieth with greater hugeneſſe, ſaying that he fought with a Mace of iron, which two ordinary men were not able to lift, which notwithſtanding hee did weild eaſily, making a great lane round about him whereſoever hee went: his courage and confidence appeareth in his ſo valiant inſiſting, as though he would have ſlaine the whole Engliſh Army himſelfe alone: and ſeeking to finde *Henry Percie* amongſt the midſt of them, hee was entered farre within the rankes of the enemies. *Hollinſhed* confeſſeth, that with a great Mace in his hand he laid ſuch ſad ſtrokes about him, that none came within his reach but he went downe to the ground. And *Boetius* ſaith plainly hee fought with a maſe heavier then any man is able to beare in thoſe dayes, and that ruſhing into the midſt of his enemies, hee made ſuch a ſlaughter, that it was chiefly attributed to his vertue, that the Scots wan the field.

But whiles he is thus fighting in the midſt of them, before his friends could come at him, though they preſſed forward to have ſeconded and aſſiſted him with all the force and ſpeed that might be, they found him lying on the ground with three deadly wounds. There was lying dead by him *Robert Hart*; and the Prieſt called *Richard Lundie* (who was after made Arch Dean of Aberdene) that had ever ſtood faſt by his ſide, defended his fainting body with a halbert from injury: he being in this eſtate, his kinſmen *Iames Lindſay*, and *Iohn* and *Walter Sinclairs* came to him, and asked him how he did: I do well (ſaith he) dying as my Predeceſſours have done before; not in a bed of languiſhing ſickneſſe, but in the field. *Theſe things I require of you as my laſt Petitions, Firſt, that yee keep my death cloſe both from our owne folke, and from the enemy; then that ye ſuffer not my Standard to be loſt, or caſt downe; and laſt, that ye avenge my death, and bury me at Melroſſe with my Father. If I could hope for theſe things, I ſhould die with the greater contentment, for long ſince I heard a Propheſie that a dead man ſhould winne a field, and I hope in God it ſhall be I.* Hereupon they covered his body with a cloake that it might not bee knowne, and then hoiſeing aloft his Standard, and crying (as the manner is) a *Douglas*, a *Douglas*, moſt part repairing thither

Douglas ſlain.

thither from all quarters they began the fight afreſh; for not onely the common ſort of Souldiers came thither, but the Earle of Murray alſo came with great ſpeed, thinking that the battell went hard on that hand, for he had beaten thoſe that he had to deal with, and Sir *John Mackyrell* had taken the young *Percie* named *Ralph*, and delivered him to his Maſter the Earle of Murray, who had ſent him (being hurt) to the Camp to bee cured, as *Froyſard* ſaith. *Hollinſhed* and *Boetius* agree that it was *Keith* Marſhall that tooke him. By this means the ardour of the battell being relented on that hand, the fight was renewed, and the ſtrife redoubled on this ſide, and the Earle *Douglas* followers (who were gathered about his Enſigne) did at laſt ſcatter and defeat the Engliſh, weary with the former fight which had continued both day and night: And in this aſſault the Earle of Montgomery tooke *Henrie Percie* their Captain priſoner, whereupon the Army fled and turned their backs. There were ſlain in this batteil 1840. of the Engliſh, and 1040. taken priſoners, 1000. alſo were hurt. Of the Scots there were 100. ſlain, und 200. taken priſoners, whileſt they followed over raſhly (fewer following more) they turned and tooke thoſe that would have taken them.

This is the battell at Otterburn, memorable not onely for the magnanimity, courage, perſeverance, tolerance of travell, and (in victory) modeſtie of Souldiers and Captains, but alſo for the variable event, where the victor in high expectation of glory prevented by death, could not enjoy the fruit of his travels: the vanquiſhed, albeit his Army was defeated, and himſelfe made a priſoner, yet lived long after this battell with praiſe; for it was no reproach to him to be overcome, nor ſo great a blot to have been put to the worſe, as it was honourable to have ſo contended. The event of battells is uncertain, and onely in the hands of the higheſt: if men do there endeavour, what more can be required? It is not the leaſt part of the *Percies* honour that they did conteſt with the *Douglaſſes*, and did ſometimes overcome, and ſometimes were thus vanquiſhed: thought it were but ſeldome that the *Douglaſſes* got the worſe, when their forces were equall

Here there was great inequalitie, where notwithſtanding he wonne the honour through the loſſe of himſelfe: neither was it accounted diſhonour to his Army, though more in number, or to himſelfe to have been thus overcome: for they are recorded to have done their endeavours, and diſcharged the parts of valiant men, and were onely overmatched by excellency of valour as we have ſhowne, and as it may be ſeen by all Writers; not by hunger, or cold, ſteepneſſe of hills and mountains; which I ſpeake not to reproach any, but to make known the truth, and withall, not to cover vertue on either ſide, which was confeſſed of all in that age, neither was any man found of another minde: onely the Earle Marſhall of England being a little after ſent downe with a company to be Warden of the Borders during *Percies* captivitie (who did build for his ranſome the Caſtle of Penoun neare to Glaſgow) durſt extenuate the vertue of the Scots with the reproach of his owne Countrey-men, attributing the cauſe of this victory, not to the valour of the Scots, but to the cowardiſe of the Engliſh that fought againſt them, boaſting much of himſelfe, that if hee

had beene preſent, or if he ſhould happen to have occaſion to fight with the Scots, he ſhould doe great matters; but his brags were ſoone made to appeare but idle words: for moved by theſe his ſpeeches, the Governour of Scotland (*viz.* *Robert* Earle of Fife) having raiſed an Army, went into England with *Archbald* Earle of Douglas (called the Grimme) brother to this deceaſed Earle (and who did ſucceed him in the Earledome) and made directly toward the Earle Marſhall, and as ſoone as they came in ſight, offered him battell: and when they could not draw him out to fight, they ſent an Herauld to him to challenge him, and provoke him to fight, but all in vain, for neither did hee ſend back any anſwer, neither would hee come to an equall and even ground. Therefore they having ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey with fire and ſword in his ſight, and as it were under his noſe, returned home into Scotland, to the great contentment of the Scots, and no great diſcontentment of the Engliſh priſoners, who were not ſorry that his vanity was thus diſcovered. Certainly, the truth can hardly be belied, and if partiality will not, yet indifferency will beare witneſſe to it. *Froyſard* (a ſtranger, and favouring more the Engliſh) concludeth touching this battell, that in all Hiſtory, there is none ſo notable by the vertue of the Captains, and valour of the Souldiers, fought ſo long, ſo hardely, ſo variable, the victory enclining diverſly divers times, and at laſt obtained, not by the cowardiſe of the overcome, but by the valour of the overcomers: neither is that vertue of valour onely remarkable in this place, and marked by him, but their modeſtie when they had overcome, rare and wonderfull to him (as it is indeed to others) but common enough to the Scottiſh Nation, practiſed by them often in their victories, and almoſt ever where ſome great enormitie hath not irritated them, contrary to their nature and cuſtome; yet here very ſingularly: for in the heat of the conflict no men ever fought more fiercely, in the victory obtained none ever behaved themſelves more mercifully; taking priſoners, and having taken them, uſing them as their deareſt friends, with all humanitie, courteſie, gentleneſſe, tenderneſſe, curing their wounds, ſending them home, ſome free without ranſome, ſome on ſmall ranſome, almoſt all on, their ſimple word and promiſe to return at certaine times appointed, or when they ſhould be called upon. So that of 1000. priſoners ſcarce 400. were brought into Scotland, the reſt all remitted in that ſame manner, with *Ralph Percie*; and by his example, who becauſe of his words deſired this courteſie of the Earle of Murray, and obtained it, and was ſent to Newcaſte on his naked word to returne when hee ſhould be called for. But what courage and confidence was it, that they durſt adventure with ſo great perill to bee ſo courteous as they were? when the Biſhop of Durham approaching to invade them the next day, 10000. (as ſome ſay) with 7000. (as others) of freſh men, yet they would not kill their priſoners that were within their Campe, equall (almoſt) to the halfe of their owne number, but on their owne promiſes to remaine true priſoners (how ever the field went) and with a ſmall guard, having onely pinioned them together with ſmall cords, ſuffered them to live in the Campe, and went themſelves to encounter the Biſhop, full of confidence and ſcorn, that after the defeat of the flowre of Northumberland,

with

with there ſo worthy Leaders as the *Percies*, that a Prieſt (ſo they called the Biſhop, ſhould dare to ſet upon them, or but to abide them three marked ſtrokes, as their Leaders ſaid to them in his exhortation, as it came indeed to paſſe without any ſtrokes: for they affrighted him with the onely ſound of their hornes (as it ſeems *Major* would ſay) which they winding againſt him, and the hills redoubling the ſound thereof, hee was affraid and durſt not invade them, finding them ready and reſolved to fight, whom hee thought to have found weary, becauſe of their former travell, or negligent becauſe of their victory. And conſidering (ſaith *Froyſard*) there was more to be loſt, then to be wonne at their hands, the Captain diſtruſting his Hoaſt, and the Hoaſt their Captain, it was thought beſt not to give battell, and ſo he retired without aſſaulting them. Their Leader after the Earle *Douglas* death, was the Earle of Murray (ſaith *Buchanan*) but I ſhould rather take it to be the Earle of March, for hee was the elder brother; and *Major* ſaith it was March. However our Scottiſh mens courteſie and courage is exceeedingly to be commended, who notwithſtanding that they looked for nothing but to have fought with the Biſhop of Durham, yet did they ſpare their priſoners, which (and the like actions) when I conſider, I would gladly underſtand of ſuch as delight to reproach our Nation with all the calumnies they can invent, and amongſt the reſt, ſtile them barbarous, what it is they call barbarity? and if crueltie, and inhumanity bee not the ſpeciall points of it? whereof they ſhall never reade that any Nation were more free, or that ever hath been more courteous, humane, gentle, in peace and in warre, even at all times, and in all places. I wiſh all men would acknowledge the truth as it is: if they will not, yet ſhall it be truth, and truth ſhall never want a witneſſe. It will be acknowledged, and muſt prevail to their great reproach that ſeek to hide or to impaire it.

To return to our Hiſtory: when the newes of theſe things were brought to the other Campe, which was in Cumberland, they were ſtricken with extreme griefe, and were more ſorry for the death of the Earle of *Douglas*, then they were glad for the victory obtained; all their joy for that ſucceſſe being turned into grievous lamentation. So great was the affection of all the Army towards him, that not onely thoſe who followed him, but thoſe of the other Army alſo, retired home ſilent and ſad, as if they had been diſcomfited, and overcome. It increaſed the commiſeration of men, that he died in the flowre of his age, and that he alone ſhould be deprived of that victory which was obtained by his vertue and valour. And I think that the ſame affection doth continue in the hearts of the Readers of the Hiſtory, which is never mentioned without a tender compaſſion.

And for my ſelfe ſo often I call to mind his great worth, and ſhort life, I remember withall that of the Poet,

Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Eſſe ſinent, &c.

The fates ſhall make but of this youth a ſhow,
Such vertue muſt not tarry long below.

And with a great hyperbole, greater then Piety can well admit, if any ſuch ſpeeches can be over great, which doe not import what they ſpeak, but are onely brought to expreſſe the higheſt excellency that can be.

Nimium vobis Romana propago
Viſa potens, ſuperi, propria hæc ſi dona fuiſſent.

The Heavens had made the Roman race to be
Too bleſt, if this gift had held on with thee.

Change but the Countrey name, call it (*Scotana propago*) and you ſhall accommodate theſe verſes more fitly here to this man: but moſt of all in the ſimple ſenſe, that which followes,

——*Non illi quisquam ſe impune tuliſſet*
Obvius armato, ſeu cum pedes iret in hoſtem,
Seu ſpumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.

No man in Armes that durſt to him make head,
Did ſcape unfoild, on foot, or foaming ſteed.

Which he ſpeaking of *Marcellus*, if he had lived, is witneſſed of this Earle *Douglas*, even by the adverſary, whiles he yet lived. To which purpoſe I remember that worthy Sir *Philip Sidney* in his defence of Poeſie writeth of himſelf, that hee never heard the ſong of *Douglas* and *Percie*, but hee found his heart more moved therewith then with a Trumpet; whereof hee alledgeth the cauſe to bee the force and power of Poetrie: though it bee ſung (ſaith hee) by ſome rude crowder, and with no rougher voyce then a groſſe ſtile. What he ſaith of himſelfe I doubt not but others have found in themſelves: neither is it the muſick of that rough ſinger, that giveth it this force, farre leſſe the vertue of the groſſe rime: it is the matter that gives the efficacie, and the vertue of the man that begetteth a reſembling vertue in the heart; not by Poeſie, but by the rightly deſcribed Hiſtory. Indeed this is the man apparantly, who hath given ſubject to thoſe ſongs, being the firſt that encountred with *Percie* in ſuch a particular conflict: but that which is commonly ſung of the hunting of Chiviot ſeemeth indeed Poeticall, and a meer fiction (perhaps to ſtirre up vertue) yet a fiction, whereof there is no mention neither in the Scottiſh, nor Engliſh Chronicle: neither are the ſongs that are made of them both one, for the Scots ſong made of Otterburn telleth the time about Lammaſſe, and the occaſion to take preyes out of England, alſo the dividing of the Armies betwixt the Earles of Fife and *Douglas*, and their ſeverall journeys, almoſt as in the authentick Hiſtory: It beginneth thus:

It fell about the Lammas tide
When yeomen wonne their hay,
The doughtie Douglas *gan to ride,*
In England to take a prey.

Whereas

Whereas the other maketh another occaſion, and altogether different, yet it is not more effectuall to move vertue, then the true Hiſtory here ſet downe: nor indeed ſo effectuall as it. And therefore let it bee read, and read over again, by ſuch as delight in Military vertues; chiefly by thoſe to whom theſe examples are as hereditary, and domeſtick, which they muſt needs affect, as alſo all the other actions of the life, but none teſtifying a better mind, a better reſolution of the mind; more courage, more valour, with gifts of the body, ſtrength and activity, all ruled by reaſon, and guided by wiſedome, as is ſeen in his dealing with the French men, when they would have had him to fight with the King of England: which vertues of valour and wiſedome ſo joyned, are able to make a due harmony, acceptable to a right judgement, commendable to after ages, and profitable for the preſent.

Boetius writeth that hee died not in the field, but after the field in his owne Tent, and that the Earles of Crawford, Murray, and March, went into his Tent, and found him lying hurt with three great wounds, almoſt dead; at which ſight, each looked upon other with a ſilent aſtoniſhment, and then burſt forth into teares and weeping: which he beholding, ſaid unto them (with a weake and faint voyce which could ſcarcely be heard) *I beſeech you good friends leave your lamenting, and be glad of the preſent victorie which God of his goodneſſe hath granted to us: We expoſed our bodies to the enemies ſword, to obtain that which wee have obtained: Turne therefore your teares unto thanks, mindefull rather of the benefit, then ſorrowfull for that which is happened otherwayes then ye wiſhed. If yee regard my paines and my life, which for you I loſe, pray for my ſoul, and follow Vertue, and Armes, as ye doe, which you may imploy for the liberty of your Countrey, keeping concord amongſt your ſelves, with a kinde remembrance of me.*

Soone after theſe words were uttered, hee died in the armes of his friends. There are that ſay, that he was not ſlain by the enemy, but by one of his owne men, a Groome of his Chamber, whom he had ſtruck the day before with a truncheon in the ordering of the battell, becauſe hee ſaw him make ſomewhat ſlowly to: and they name this man *John Bickerton* of Luffeneſſe, who left a part of his armour behinde unfaſtned, and when hee was in the greateſt conflict, this ſervant of his came behinde his back, and ſlew him thereat: but this narration is not ſo probable. He was buried at Melroſſe beſides his father, with a Military pompe of the whole Army, and all the honour that could bee deviſed for him beſides by the Abbot, and Monks of that Convent, after the moſt ſolemne manner of thoſe times: Buried at Melroſſe.

Jacobus

Jacobus Duglaſſius *qui obiit ad Otterburnum Julii* 21. 1388. *Moriens.*

Quæritis ô quid agam? an animam jam ago, fata meorum
Hac ſequor. Innumero huc vulnere facta via eſt.
Neſciat hoc hoſtis, ſequitor quam quiſque ſecat ſpem:
Atque aliquis noſtri funeris ultor ades.
Finiit: Et ſubito redivivo funere ſurgens
Mars novus intonuit, victor & ultor obit.

Johnſt. Herees.

In Engliſh thus:

My friends you aske me how I do.
My ſoul is now prepar'd to go,
Where many wounds have made her way.
Conceal it, till you winne the day:
Purſue your hopes: this ſaid, he dy'd;
Then the whole rank's a *Douglas* cry'd,
And charg'd a freſh, that thou might'ſt have
Revenge and honour in the grave.

Before we proceed to ſpeake of the next Earle of Douglas, the order of the Hiſtory requireth that firſt wee ſpeake of *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway, brother to *William* the firſt Earle of Douglas, and of the ſaid *Archbalds* naturall ſonne *VVilliam* Lord of Nithiſdale. Of this *Archbald* we have mentioned what was remarkable in his brother Earle *VVilliams* life, for that was the time of his action. The firſt was after the battell of Penure, to bee revenged of the loſſe, whereof the Engliſh invaded Scotland with 50000. men (as they ſay that make them the feweſt) or 40000. (as others) conducted by the Lord *Talbot* a very valiant man: with this huge number when they had ſpoyled the Countrey farre and wide, as they retired towards England, they were aſſailed at a ſtrait paſſage by the Lord of Galloway, who had not above 5000. in his company: with theſe he diſcomfited his hoaſt, and recovered the whole bootie. There were ſlain of the enemies in the conflict. 400. and 200. taken priſoners, and many were drowned in the river Solway, as they fled unadviſedly. Some write that he ſet upon them in the night being incamped in a ſtrait valley, not farre from England, where the firſt that they met withall being ſlain, the reſt were affrighted and diſordered, and ſo overthrowne.

The next thing that we heare of him, is that he was with his brother the Earle at the conference with *John* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, concerning a truce, and that hee accompanied the ſaid Duke to Holyroodhouſe. The truce was made for three yeares.

And after theſe were expired, the Lord of Galloway being very much grieved

grieved that there ſhould be a Garriſon of Engliſh in the Caſtle of Lochmabane, which did daily ſpoil and rob the villages and townes of Galloway, and Annandale, raiſed a great power by the help of his brother the Earle *Douglas*, and the Earle of March, and beſieged the Caſtle for the ſpace of eleven dayes. There came ſome Engliſh companies to have raiſed the ſiege, and relieved the Caſtle, but he repulſed them. Thereafter having aſſaulted it very fiercely, the Captain thereof, Sir *William Ediſton*, yeelded it up unto him, lives and goods ſafe, and he having gotten it into his hands, razed it to the ground.

He taketh and razeth the Caſtle of Lochmabane.

It is written alſo of him that hee went into France with his Nephew *James* Earle of Douglas, when he was ſent to renew the ancient league with that Kingdome.

The laſt of his actions that we can finde is that hee was with his Nephew *James* Earle of Douglas, and the Earle of March, at the taking of Wark, Foord, and Cornhill, where he waſted and ſpoyled the Countrey betwixt Berwick and Newcaſtle with the Frenchmen. Theſe Frenchmen not contented herewith, but deſirous to doe ſome other exploit, joyning with *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, paſſed Solway ſands, and did wonderfull great hurt in Cumberland.

His death.

He founded the Hoſpitall of Holywood.

He is accounted by Writers, to have been a very ſufficient and valorous Gentleman, and that he died before the battell of Otterburn, in the yeare 1387. He founded the Hoſpitall of Holiwood, and to him ſucceded his Nephew *Archbald* (called the Grimme) in the Lordſhip of Galloway, who afterwards was both Earle of Douglas, and Lord of Galloway.

And here it is to be obſerved, that there were three *Archbald Douglaſſes* almoſt contemporary, which are to be diſtinguiſhed, that we miſtake not one for another. The firſt is this *Archbald*, brother to *William* the firſt Earle, who was Lord of Galloway, then when his brother lived, and who was father to the Lord Niddiſdale. The ſecond *Archbald* was ſon naturall to good Sir *James*, ſlain in Spain, who was made Captain of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, when it was taken by his brother the Lord of Liddeſdale, who is wrongfully named *William* in our Chronicles, in ſtead of *Archbald*. He was at the battell of Poytiers, and is reported to have married in France, and remained there till his death. The third is *Archbald* the *Grimme*, of whom we ſhall ſpeake hereafter. Our Writers through inadvertance doe divers times confound theſe three; taking one of them for another. As when they ſay *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, ſonne to ſir *James* ſlain in Spain, was taken at Poytiers, it is a manifeſt errour: for if he was Lord of Galloway, hee was not ſonne to Sir *James*; if he were ſonne to Sir *James*, then was hee not Lord of Galloway; for Galloway did never belong to Sir *James*, but to his brother *Archbald* ſlain at Halydoun hill, who obtained it by making the heire of Galloway (as hath been ſaid) and gave it to his ſecond ſonne this *Archbald*. Thus much I thought good to advertiſe the Reader in this place, for the better diſtinguiſhing of them.

of

Of William *Lord of Niddiſdale (ſonne naturall to this foreſaid* Archbald *Lord of Galloway) commonly called The black* DOUGLAS.

THis *William* Lord of Niddiſdale (ſonne naturall to *Archbald* Lord of Galloway) is (if any elſe) worthy, who ſhould be ſpoken of by himſelfe being highly commended by Writers, who ſay that he was the prime and principall of the youth of Scotland, that he was a man accompliſhed with all abilities of body and minde, ſtraight and tall of ſtature, not overcharged with fleſh, but big of bone, a mighty perſonage, valiant, courteous, amiable, merrie, faithfull and pleaſant in company and converſe, of ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that whomſoever he ſtrooke with Sword or Mace, he fell to the ground, were he never ſo well armed: he was alſo wiſe and ſober. At one time having but 800. in his company, he fought againſt 3000. Engliſh, of which he ſlew 200. and tooke 500. priſoners. This is he that is commonly called The blacke *Douglas*, becauſe he was of a blacke and ſwart complexion. His firſt vaſſallage of note was at the inroad made by *Robert* Earle of Fife, and *James* Earl *Douglas*, when they burnt Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Northumberland. In this expedition he is ſaid to have gained great reputation, for (beſide many other exploits not expreſſed) he with other two only made great havocke of the enemies at the burning of the Suburbs of Carlile (who offered to hinder him from paſſing the bridge) by ſlaying ſome, and turning over others into the river. Some ſay that he ſlew with his owne hands three of the moſt valiant of the Engliſh, of which one was a chiefe Commander: afterwards, when the ſame Towne was beſieged, the enemies having made a ſally, whileſt he repulſed them, and followed too eagerly, he was engaged too farre in the midſt of his enemies, and taken priſoner. As he was led along toward the Towne by foure men (having beene before diſarmed, and his weapons taken from him, he ſtrooke two of them to the ground with his fiſts, and the other two betaking themſelves to flight, he returned ſafe to his company. Hereupon his name was terrible to the Engliſh, eſpecially the common ſort, who did ordinarily affright and skare their children, when they would not be quiet, by ſaying, The blacke *Douglas* comes, the blacke *Douglas* will get thee.

He is called the blacke *Douglas.*

These his vertues moved *Robert* the ſecond to favour him ſo farre, as to beſtow his daughter on him, though he knew him to be a baſtard. The Ladies name was *Giles* (or *Egidia*) and ſhe was a mirrour of rare and ſingular beautie, ſo that whitherſoever ſhe went, ſhe drew the eyes of all men towards her with admiration. The chiefe noble youths of the land did ſute her in marriage, but the King preferred our *William* of Niddiſdale for his worth before them all. *Bocce* writeth that the King of France having heard of the fame of her beautie, ſent a painter into Scotland privately, who having drawne her portraiture truly, and ſhewed it to the King, he was ſo enamoured thereof, that incontinent he diſpatched Embaſſadours to deſire her in marriage; but all too late, for ſhe was married

He marries the Kings daughter *Egidia.*

ried (before their coming) to Niddiſdale. The King gave him and his heires to be begotten by him with his daughter, the Lordſhip of Niddiſdale, lying neareſt unto Galloway, with the Office of Warden of that Border, and Sheriffeſhip of Dumfrees, with the Office of Juſtice, and Chamberlaine, with a penſion of three hundred pound ſterling by yeare out of the great Cuſtomes of certaine Burrowes deſigned to that effect. He had by this Lady a daughter, who was married to *Henry Sinclaire* Earle of Orkney, who bare to him a ſonne called *William*, afterward Earle of Orkney. This daughter of his (married to Orkney) was named *Giles* (after her mother) as appeareth by a note that is extant of the deſcent of the *Sinclairs*. Her husband is called *Henry Sinclaire*, and his titles are, Knight of the Cockle, of the Garter, and Prince of Orkney. This note calleth *William Douglas*, Lord of Niddiſdale, Prince of Danskine, Duke of Spruce. Sir *William Sinclaire*, ſonne to *Henry* and *Giles*, is called Knight of the Golden Fleece, and of the Cockle, Prince of Orkney, Duke of Holdenburgh, Earle of Cathnes, Lord Sinclaire, Lord of Niddiſdale, with the valleyes of Neth, Sheriffe of Dumfrees, Great Admirall of Scotland, Warden of the Marches, Great Juſtice Generall, Baron of Erkfoord, Caverton, Cowſland, Roſſeline, Pentland, Harbarſhire, Diſart, Newbrough in Buchan; Titles to wearie a Spaniard: which I have ſet downe to recreate the Reader, either by ſeeing his greatneſſe, or to laugh at the vanitie of the Writer: and yet he hath forgotten one of his titles, which is, Chancellour of Scotland, as *Buchanan* calls him, and a confirmation given him by King *James* the ſecond in the yeare 1456. April 29. wherein he calls him his Chancellour and Couſin. This confirmation is of the Earledome of Cathnes united into one Baronie, and his lands of Orkney in compenſation of his claime and title to the Lordſhip of Niddiſdale, Offices and Penſions whatſoever that were given to *William Douglas* (his Grandfather by his Mother) by contract of marriage with *Giles Stuart* (daughter to K. *Robert* by his wife *Elizabeth Moore*) as is at length therein contained.

His daughter married to the Earle of Orkney.

About the time of the field at Otterburne, becauſe ſome Iriſhmen that adhered to England had roaved upon the coaſts of Galloway, and carried away ſtore of booty and ſpoile, the Lord of Niddiſdale to be revenged thereof, gathered together a competent number of men, by the aid of his brother-in-law *Robert* Earle of Fife, and by licence from the King providing himſelfe of Ships and veſſels, paſſed the ſeas into Ireland, and beſieged Carlinfoord, a rich Towne in thoſe parts. The Townesmen fearing their Towne ſhould be taken by aſſault, obtained a truce for certaine daves, promiſing to give him a ſumme of money to have their Towne ſaved. But in the meane time they aſſembled ſome 500. men through the help of a neighbour Towne called Dundalke, and joyning with them, they divided themſelves into two ſquadrons or companies: the one of which invaded *Robert Stuart* of Diſdier, who conducted the Earle of Fifes men, and was gone abroad to bring in ſome prey: the other aſſailed the Lord of Niddiſdale, who lay ſtill before the Towne. Notwithſtanding of this unexpected ſally, they were received with ſuch courage and valour, that at laſt they were put to flight; and immediately Niddiſdale

He goes into Ireland.

He takes and burnes Calinfoord.

gave an hard aſſault to the Towne, and carried it: having taken and rifled it ſufficiently, he ſet it on fire, and burnt it to aſhes. Others write, that at his firſt landing the Citizens hearing it was the Lord Niddiſdale (whoſe name was ſo fearfully ſpread over all thoſe quarters) not only rendred the Town to him, but alſo received him with great triumph, as if he had been their King or Prince; and that hereupon he uſed them courteouſly. But when his men were in great ſecurity, ſcattered and ſeparated, as fearing no hurt or danger, and ſome at their Ships, ſome ſent with *Robert Stuart* of Diſdier to ſpoile the Countrey about, which ſtood out againſt him, and to furniſh his ſhips and the towne; ſo that there remained not with the Lord Niddiſdale above 200. men when they ſet upon him, as before we have ſaid; and being beaten, the Towne was ſackt and burnt. Then they tooke 60. ſhips, which they found in divers Havens and Creeks, and laded 15. of them with ſuch ſpoile as they had gotten, and burnt the reſt. Then returning homeward, they ſpoiled the Iſle of Man, which lay in their way. He landed at Loch-rien, which divides a part of Galloway from Carrict, and hearing there of the roade into England, he haſted him hither with all diligence.

He returnes out of Ireland

But truce being made for certaine yeares with England, that he might not languiſh in idleneſſe, he paſſed into Spruce, from whence he heard that an Army was to be ſent againſt the Infidels. There hee gave ſuch proofe of his vertue and valour, that hee was choſen Admirall of the whole Fleet, which was very faire and great, eſteemed to conſiſt of 250. ſaile, and was there created Duke of Spruce, and Prince of Danskin. But there aroſe diſſention betwixt him and the Lord *Clifford* an Engliſhman, upon an old emulation, and preſent envie of his new preferment, at which *Clifford* grudged. Wherefore being challenged to the field by *Clifford*, he accepted it gladly: but the other weighing with himſelfe what a hazzard he was like to runne by fighting with ſuch a man of ſuch incomparable valour, found meanes (before the day of the combat came) to make him away by hired Aſſaſines and Brigands, who murthered him in the night on the bridge of Danskin. The Manuſcript ſeemeth to ſay that combat was not taken on there and then, but long before, while they were both at home; and that Niddiſdale before the day paſſing to Paris to provide armour fit for him (or on whatſoever occaſion elſe) *Clifford* gave it out that he had fled the combat; but when he ſaw that he was returned before the day appointed, fearing to match with his well knowne ſtrength and valour, would have ſhifted the fight with many frivolous excuſes. Now there being aſſembled and met together at that time brave Knights from all the parts of Chriſtendome, *Clifford* partly for envie of the honour conferred upon his adverſary, and partly remembring their old debates, but chiefly becauſe of this diſgrace and infamie, of being put to this neceſſitie of refuſing to fight with him, hee cauſed mercenarie cutthroats to lie in wait for him, who as he happened to walke through the ſtreets, and view the walls of the Towne, ſet upon him, and murdered him, not without great difficultie: by which loſſe that enterpriſe againſt the Infidels was diſturbed and daſhed.

He is made Admirall.

He is murthered by the Lord *Clifford*.

We told before how he is ſtiled Prince of Danskin, and Duke of Spruce,

in

in the Monuments of the *Sinclairs*, of whom one had married his daughter: ſure it is, by the report of many eye-witneſſes, that there was a gate in Danſick on which the Coat of the *Douglaſſes* was carved and graven in ſtone, which decaying, and being of late re-edified, this monument of him is periſhed. The common opinion is, that Danſick having beene taken by Infidels, was regained by Scottiſhmen, and therefore it is that the Scots have ſuch priviledges there: and there is a part of the Town which they call little Scotland, which is inhabited almoſt with Scottiſhmen. All which muſt be referred (moſt apparently) to the Lord Niddiſdale, and to this time, and doth teſtifie in ſome meaſure he hath ſurpaſſed the quality and condition of a private man, or of a ſtranger in thoſe parts, ſeeing he acquired the title of Prince and Duke, whereof we can affirme no more then hath beene ſaid. This fell out about the yeare 1389. or 1390. about the death of King *Robert* the ſecond.

Of Archbald *the ſecond, called The Grimme, the third Earle, and twelfth Lord of Douglas and Bothwell.*

UNto *James* (ſlaine at Otterburn) ſucceeded his brother *Archbald*, whom *Hollinſhed* wrongfully calleth his Couſin. Hee was married to the daughter of *Andrew Murray*, ſiſters ſonne to K. *David Bruce*, and Governour of Scotland: by her he got the Lordſhip of Bothwell, and many other lands; and ſhe bare to him two ſonnes, firſt *William*, who died a yeare before his father without children; and *Archbald*, who ſucceeded to his father: alſo a daughter named *Marjorie*, married to *David* Prince of Scotland. Concerning this *Archbald* the Grim, we finde not many particular acts of his recorded, beſides thoſe which he did in his fathers time, and in his brothers (of which we have already ſpoken) although certainly hee cannot but have done divers worthy of memorie, ſeeing he hath the name and reputation of a moſt worthy Captaine, being ſo ſterne and auſtere in carriage and countenance, that hee was termed, The Grimme *Douglas*, and by our Writers, *Archbald* the Grimme.

His marriage.

His children.

Now that we may the better underſtand the reaſons of the *Douglaſſes* proceedings and actions, let us (as our manner is) take a generall view of the eſtate of the Countrey at this time. His ſucceſsion to the Earledome by the death of his brother was (as we have ſaid) not long before the death of King *Robert* the ſecond, who died in the Caſtle of Dundonald in the yeare 1390. April 19. Before his death there was a Truce taken betweene England and France for the ſpace of ſeven yeares, wherein Scotland was alſo comprehended. By reaſon of this Truce partly, and partly for that his ſonne *John*, who was afterward called *Robert* the third, was lame both of body and minde, and ſo no wayes fit for warre, there is no mention of any exploit done by this man: onely it is ſaid of him, that when King *Robert* the third, in the year 1396. and the ſeventh of his reign, created divers Dukes, and would have made this *Archbald* one, he refuſed it as a noveltie and an empty title, not worthy of the accepting, ſeeing it

He refuſed to be Duke.

was neither beſtowed for merit, nor ſervice done, nor had any reall advantage in it, ſave an airy ſhow of appearing honour to pleaſe the humour of ambitious minds, of which he was none.

The next yeare following, *Richard* the ſecond of England, was depoſed, and the Duke of Lancaſter was made King in his roome, who was *Henry* the fourth: In the beginning of *Henries* reigne, the ſeeds of warre were ſowen upon this occaſion.

George Dumbarre, Earle of March had betrothed his daughter *Elizabeth* to *David* the Kings eldeſt ſonne, and had payed a great part of their portion before hand: But the Earle *Douglas*, alledging that the Kings private contracting of his ſonne without the conſent of the State, was not according to the cuſtome of the Kingdome, nor right and orderly done, cauſed the matter to be propounded by his Majeſtie to the Parliament, as former Kings had done, and as reaſon required, ſeeing the whole Kingdome hath intereſt in the matching of their Princes, and Kings children. There he handled the buſines ſo, that the contract with Marches daughter was declared void and null, and his owne daughter *Marjorie Douglas*, was contracted to the ſaid Prince *David* by conſent of the Parliament; having offered a greater portion with her, then the Earle March had done with his daughter. He obtained for her joynture, all the rents and revenewes which belonged to the King on the ſouth ſide of Forth. The way he tooke to bring this to paſſe, was by the means of the Kings brother *Robert* Earle of Fife, now made Duke of Albany, and Governour of the Countrey under the King, as he had been in their fathers time; who did alſo then even govern both King and Kingdome, and every thing as he liſted: and *Douglas* and he were inward, and deare friends, as his brother *James* (ſlain at Otterburn) and he had ever been: now whether the Earle *Douglas* had that reſpect indeed to have matters of ſuch importance to the Kingdome done by common advice of the Nobility chiefly, or if his chiefend were his owne particular, becauſe of the old emulation betwixt the Earles of March and Douglas, to hinder the growth of that houſe by this great advantage of aliance, or if hee had an eye to both, or to any thing elſe, I leave it to be judged of others.

His daughter *Marjory* contracted to Prince *David*.

1400. Their marriage.

The marriage was ſolemnized in the Church of Bothwel the yeare 1400. with greater haſte then good ſpeed, or any comfort to either party that we heare of. For neither came this *David* ever to bee King, which was the thing that was expected, that thereby the houſe of Douglas might have been greatned: Neither did this aliance of Prince *David* with the Earle of Douglas, ſtand him in any ſtead: in that hee was moſt miſerably handled by his Uncle the Governour, who aſpired himſelf to the Crowne, which makes me to wonder why hee did not rather hinder this marriage of his Nephew with the Earle Douglas, then thus further it; ſeeing in all likelyhood it might have been a great let and ſtrong hinderance to thoſe his ambitious deſignes: But ſo are the ſecrets of things hid from us, that wee cannot finde out the cauſes and reaſons of them by no means, being not obſerved, or not mentioned by the Writers of thoſe times; hovvever this marriage bred great contention and enmity betvveen the Earles of March and Douglas (though neare kinſemen) and

did

did alſo diſturb the peace and quietneſſe of the Kingdome: for March before the marriage was ſolemnized, did not ſtick to goe to the King, and upbraid him with breach of promiſe, which (he ſaid) was neither juſt, nor Princely; craving alſo importunately, and roughly the reſtitution of his mony which he had advanced for his daughters portion. The King having not anſwered him according to his mind, hee ſpared not to threaten that he ſhould be avenged on that ruſle and diſgrace that he had put upon him and his daughter. And ſo retiring from Court, he fortefies his Caſtle of Dumbarre, and gives it in keeping to his Nephew *Robert Metellan*, he himſelfe (having received leave of King *Henry*) went into England; whereupon the Caſtle of Dumbarre was ſummoned in the Kings name by an Herauld of Armes, and was ſurrendered by the Captain thereof *Robert Metellan* into the hands of the Earle *Douglas*. The Earle of March returned into Scotland, but being excluded out of his Caſtle at Dumbarre, went back again into England, taking his Lady and children along with him, together with the neareſt of his kinſmen, and his chief friends accompanying him. There he joyned with *Henry Percie* (called hote ſpurre) a perpetuall enemy of the houſe of Douglas, and truſting to the favour and good will borne him by theſe who dwelt on the Eaſt Border or March of Scotland, moſt of which were his vaſſalls and dependers, many of them his kinſmen, and all of them tied to him by ſome relation, or obligation, he troubled the Merſe chiefly and the Earle *Douglas* lands with frequent incurſions and inroades. The King hereupon cauſed proclaime him rebell, and yet notwithſtanding, ſent to him a Herauld of Armes, with profer of pardon, and reſtitution, upon condition that hee would returne and live peaceablely at home; and that he ſhould receive all ſuch ſatisfaction for any wrong he could juſtly complain of, as he deſired. But when hee refuſed to embrace this offer, the Herauld paſſed on to King *Henrie*, and complained of the Earle of March, craving that hee might bee delivered according to the Articles of the truce. But hee was anſwered by the King, that hee had given him his word, and could not breake it.

In the mean time *Percie*, and the Earle of March, being emboldned with divers ſucceſſefull attempts upon the Borders, adventured with 2000. men to come into Lowthian, where they waſted the Countrey near unto Hadington, aſſaulted the Caſtle of Hales twice but in vain: burnt the townes of Hales, Trapren, Markill, and other adjacent villages. And while they encamped at Linton upon Tine, hearing of the Earle *Douglaſſes* approach, who had raiſed ſufficient forces, and was marching towards them, and was come as farre as Penkrake, they aroſe and fled in great haſte, leaving behind them all their booty, together with their owne luggage and carriage. The manuſcript and black booke of Scone ſay clearly that the Earle *Douglas* followed them ſo quickly, that he overtooke them or they got to Berwick, and killed divers, having wreſted an enſigne out of the hands of Sir *Thomas Colbouth* which he brought into Scotland with him. *Boetius* relates it not much otherwiſe. Other Hiſtories make no mention hereof, but onely ſay, that the Earle returned to Edinburgh with great congratulation and joy of all men.

He

His death. He died not long after of a burning fever the ſame yeare 1400, in the beginning of February: very unſeaſonably for his Countrey; which was deſtitute of able Commanders in warre, having loſt divers others of good note not long before. He was buried in Bothwell with his Ladie. He was a man nothing inferiour to any of his Predeceſſours, or Succeſſours of his houſe and name, in any kind of vertue, and in ſpeciall of true and reall kindneſſe to his friends and followers, as appeareth by a letter of his to the Earle of March in favour of the Laird of Ridpeth, a Gentleman in Lammermoore who was his follower, and was wronged by the Earle of March in the poſſeſſion of ſome lands: but more in Marches refuſall to right him; he aſſembleth his forces, and diſpoſſeſſeth the Earle of Marches ſonne, and reponed Ridpeth in his right, and maintained him therein ever after, which his ſucceſſours doe enjoy at this day. As for his valour and conduct in warre, hee is termed the beſt Captain of his time, and that in his perſon the ſplendour and glory of warrefare both ſtood and fell.

Others ſay that hee left behinde him an honourable memory of high Proweſſe, and noble valour, ſhewed in many enterpriſes by him happily atchieved for the good of his Countrey. In Piety hee was ſingular through his whole life, and moſt religious according to thoſe times. He did very much honour and reverence all religious perſons; for whoſe uſe he founded the Colledge of Bothwell. Out of his zeal and ſincerity he expelled the Nuns of the Abbacie of Lincloudon, and changed it into a Colledge of Clerks, becauſe the Nuns (ſaith *Boetius*) kept not their inſtitution of their order: and *Major* ſaith it is to be preſumed, that they kept not their Chaſtitie, otherwiſe he could never have thruſt them out. And in this he commendeth him, as having an eye to Religion, and a ſpeciall care of the pure and ſincere worſhip of God, as his onely end and intention. As for his prudence and providence, it appeareth that he did greatly encreaſe his Revenues, and enlarge his Dominions: hee was truſty and faithfull in his promiſes, and carried a minde free from all ambition, and vain glory: All vertues greatly to bee accounted of, and imitated of all.

He founded the Colledge of Bothwell.

Of Archbald *the third of that Name and thirteenth Lord, the fourth Earle of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway and Annandale, firſt Duke of Turrane, Lord of Longe-ville, and Marſhall of France.*

UNto *Archbald* (the Grimme) ſucceeded his ſecond ſonne, named alſo *Archbald*; he was married to *Margaret* daughter to King *Robert* the third, and ſecond of the *Stuarts*. She lieth buried in the Church of Linclouden, with this inſcription on her Tombe,

Hic jacet Margarita *Scotiæ regis filia, Comitiſſa de Douglas, vallis Anandiæ, & Gallovidiæ Domina.*

Here lies *Margaret* daughter to the King, Counteſſe of Douglas, Lady of Annandale and Galloway.

He

He had by her two ſonnes, *Archbald*, to whom *Thomas Flemine* Earle of Wigton reſignes the Earledome of Wigton, and he is entitled (during his fathers life time) *Archbald* Earle of Wigton: his other ſonne was *James*, Lord Abercorne, called groſſe *James*. Hee had alſo two daughters, *Margaret*, married to Sir *William Sinclair* Earle of Orkney who was fifth in line from the Earle of Saint Clarences ſecond ſonne, that came firſt out of France, and was ſonne to *Giles* (or *Egidia*) *Douglas*, daughter to the Earle of Niddiſdale. *Elizabeth* was the other, who was married to *John Stuart* Earle of Buchan, ſecond ſonne to *Robert* the Governour, afterward Conſtable of France: her dowry or portion given with her in marriage, were the lands of Stuarton, Ormeſhugh, Dunlope, Trabuyage (in Carrict) by reſignation. His children.

This *Archbald* is hee who was called Tine-man, for his unfortunate and hard ſucceſſe he had, in that he tint (or loſt) almoſt all his men, and all the battels that hee fought. This nick-name, or cognomination in the old manuſcript (of Sir *Richard Metellan* of Lithington) giveth to *Archbald* ſlain at Halidoun hill, and calleth this, *Archbald* one eye, for diſtinction, becauſe of the loſſe of his eye in a battell againſt *Percie*. But that ſurname of Tyne man cannot bee given ſo conveniently to the former *Archbald*, who loſt onely one field, and himſelf in it; whereas this man ever loſt his men, himſelf eſcaping often: hee is diſtinguiſhed alſo from others by the Title of Duke of Turrane: But however he be named, it is true, that no man was leſſe fortunate, and it is no leſſe true, that no man was more valorous, as will appeare by the Hiſtory. Or Tine man.

At his beginning to bee Earle, a little after the deceaſe of his father in Auguſt 1409. *Henry* the fourth of England entered Scotland with an Army, and came to Edinburgh, where he beſieged the Caſtle, in the which the Duke of Rothſay (Prince of Scotland) and with him the Earle of Douglas, were. The Governour of Scotland raiſed an Army to have given him battell, and was come to Calder-more, but went no further, and there diſbanded his Army. The Engliſh Hiſtories ſay, that the Governour ſent word to the King of England, that if he would ſtay for him but ſixe dayes onely he would give him battell, and that the Herauld got a ſilke gowne, and a gold chain for his newes from the King; but the King having ſtayed twice ſixe could heare nothing of his coming. The cauſe of the Governours ſlackneſſe is given out by ſome to have been the deſire that he had that the Duke of Rothſay might periſh, and be taken out of the way, that he himſelf might come to the Crown. Now as all do agree, that he had theſe ambitious thoughts, ſo *Major* ſheweth that there was alſo ſome other particular between them, whereof he relateth the occaſion to have been this. There was one *John Remorgeny*, who firſt laboured to perſwade the Duke of Rothſay to cauſe ſlay the Governour, and then (when he could not prevail with him to wrong his Uncle) he dealt with the Governour to cut off the Duke his Nephew, as one that would ruine him, if ever he ſhould come to be King. This *Remorgeny* was ſeconded by *Lindſay*, who was upon the plot with him, and helped it forward upon malice againſt Rothſay, who had betrothed his ſiſter, and rejected her, as he had done to the Earle of Marches eldeſt daughter. This ſeemeth not

to

to be unlikely, and giveth ſome further light to the Hiſtory, as containing the cauſe of the Governours not releeving the Caſtle of Edinburgh. It is alſo a remarkable example of crafty Counſellours, who are to be noted and avoided. And I marvell much how it hath eſcaped the diligence of our beſt Writers. I thought it not to be omitted in this place, as an inſtance of feare concurring with ambition in the Governour: and indeed theſe two are commonly joyned together, and take matter each of other. Ambition bringeth feare with it, and feare ſpurreth forward ambition toward that it aimes at; as being not onely honourable, but neceſſary, and the onely meane to ſecure a mans ſelfe: eſpecially where it lighteth upon ſuch Counſellours, as theſe were, to blow the fire, whereof Princes had need to be aware, and ſtop the entrie to the firſt motions thereof.

The blacke booke of Scone ſaith that *Henry* the fourth acknowledged himſelfe to be (*ſemi Scotus de ſanguine Cumini*) halfe a Scot of the bloud of the *Cummins*, and that he tooke the moſt High to witneſſe, that he was not come to hurt the Countrey, but onely to have reaſon of ſome of the Nobilitie, who had written to the King of France that he was a Traitour in the ſuperlative degree (which letters his men had intercepted) and to trie if the Authours of theſe letters durſt fight it with him. The Manuſcript ſaith that he was diſappointed of his purpoſe notwithſtanding: for he thought to have taken the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and to have made Scotland ſubject to him thereafter; but it being valiantly defended by the Earle *Douglas*, he was conſtrained to riſe from before it with great loſſe and diſcontentment, and no great credit; eſpecially for that the winter drew on apace, having ſat downe before it about the end of September. I am not ignorant that our Writers give this *Henry* the commendation of great modeſtie in this journey, as being mindfull of the courteſie ſhowne to his father the Duke of Lancaſter in Scotland, and that they ſay that he uſed the priſoners not cruelly but courteouſly, and that when he paſſed by the Caſtles and Forts of the Countrey, he did onely require of the Captaines and Keepers of them, that his Enſignes might be ſet on the top of the wall, as a token of their ſubmiſſion, and that they were in his will: but ſeeing their owne Authors deny him this honour, and ſay that he burnt the Towns, Villages, and Caſtles, even a great part of Edinburgh and Leith, we have ſmall reaſon to contend with them for it; and ſo we accept of it, and follow the Scottiſh Manuſcript.

Edinburgh Caſtle defended by *Douglas* againſt King *Henry* the fourth.

Upon *Henries* departure, becauſe the Earle of March troubled the Countrey with frequent rather then with great incurſions, the Earle *Douglas* (who had the government of Lowthian, and the Caſtle of Dumbar) went with an Army into Northumberland, and waſted the Countrey with great havock. At his returne he gave order that the Barons and Gentlemen ſhould chooſe ſome of their number to be Captaines, and allot unto them a competent number to follow them, who might by turnes wait and be in readineſſe, either to reſiſt the enemie, or to make an inroad upon him in his owne Countrey, as they ſhould find occaſion. The firſt turne fell to *Thomas Haliburton* Lord of Dirleton, who having entred England, and gotten a great bootie neere unto Bambrugh, returned home ſafe.

ſafe. But *Patrick Hepburne* of Hailes (the younger) had not the like ſucceſſe: for he going upon the like adventure, had indeed taken a rich bootie, but having ſtayed a day longer then he ſhould (and had beene adviſed by his friends) in the enemies bounds, they gathered themſelves together, and following him, overtooke him at Weſt Nisbet in the Merſe. There, after a ſharp encounter, the Scots had gotten the better of the Engliſh, and well nigh the victorie, till *George Dumbarre*, the Earle of Marches eldeſt ſonne, coming in with an hundred freſh horſe, regained the victorie to the Engliſh, and ſlew the flowre of the youth of Lowthian, together with their Captaine *Patrick Hepburne*. The fight happened the 22. of June 1401. the place whereof is yet called, The Slaughter Hill.

This *Patricke Hepburne* was entirely beloved of the Earle *Douglas*, and as deare to him as his owne ſelfe: for he it was that fought ſo valiantly at Otterburne, and therefore he was filled with griefe and indignation for his death, being ſo brave a Captain, and ſo deare a friend to his houſe, and to himſelfe. His honour alſo, and the credit of his Countrey ſtirred him up alſo to ſeeke a revenge of the Authors thereof. Whereupon having obtained leave of the Governour, he gathered together about ſome 10000. men, amongſt whom were many of the chiefe Nobility of the land, even the Governours eldeſt ſonne *Murdock* (who ſucceeded to his father in the Government) *George* Earle of Angus (his owne Uncle) *Thomas* Earle of Murray, and *John Dumbarre* brother to the Earle of March, one that had married the Kings ſiſter. With this company he entered England as farre as Newcaſtle upon Tine, and having gotten a great bootie, was retiring homeward. In his returning, neare unto Milfield, *Henry Hotſpurre* and *George* Earle of March lay in his way with a farre greater power then he had. Wherefore the Earle *Douglas* tooke a ground of advantage, which was a little hill beſides Homildon, a Village in Northumberland. *Percie* would have marched ſtraight towards him to have aſſailed him, but the Earle of March (being very skilfull in warre, and more calme and adviſed) ſtayed him, and gave him counſell firſt to ſend a flight of arrowes amongſt them, and to give them a volee of their fielding pieces, which was done accordingly, and did greatly annoy the Scots, and ſlew many of them. *Douglas* perceiving that he could not brooke that place with ſafety, thought it better to hazzard the battell in plaine field, then to ſtand ſtill and ſee his men ſlaine about him by the enemies ſhot, while they ſtood ſafe, and came not within ſtroake of their ſwords, and long weapons. And ſo (though farre inferiour in number) downe the hill he goes, and gave a fierce aſſault upon the enemie. But the Vauntguard being brangled, and giving backe (being much troubled and ſore wounded by the Archers) though they were ſharply rebooked by *Adam* Lord Gordon, and Sir *John Swinton*, and brought on againe, yet were they not able to ſuſtaine and abide the ſhot of the enemie, but were defeated every man. The reſt that were behind, being exhorted by their Captaines to revenge the death of their fellowes ſlaine before their eyes, did acquit themſelves bravely, but being overwhelmed with the greater number, were alſo overthrowne at laſt. There were many ſlaine, amongſt whom were the forenamed *Adam* Lord Gordon (who had beene at variance

Occaſion of the battell of Homildon, neere Milfield

with the Earle *Douglas*, but in this expedition hee had been reconciled to him, and Knighted by him) and Sir *John Swinſton*, two that gained greater reputation of valour and courage that day, and fought ſo valorouſly, that if the reſt had followed their example, that field had not been ſo loſt. There were alſo divers others of note; ſuch as *John Livinſton* of Calender, *Alexander Ramſay* of Dalhouſie, with a number of common ſouldiers. Many were taken of quality, *Murdock* the Governours ſon, *George* Earle of Angus, *Thomas* Earle of Murray, *Robert Ereskine* of Alloway, *James Douglas* eldeſt ſon to the Lord Dalkeith, and his two brothers, *John* and *William*; *George Leſly* of Rothes, *Patrick Dumbar* of Beell.

In the black Booke of Scone is ſet downe the death of the foreſaid *George* Earle of Angus, how hee died in England of the plague being a priſoner (with many others) and *Alexander Hume* of Dunglas alſo, as the ſame Booke doth witneſſe. The Earle *Douglas* himſelfe was taken alſo, having loſt one eye in the fight. This battell was fought on the Holy Rood-day in Harveſt, or (as others) the 5. of May 1401. or 1402. rather as appeareth by the former Hiſtory.

The battell loſt, and *Douglas* taken.

Whileſt the Earle *Douglas* was priſoner in England, the Duke of Rothſay became ſo riotous, and inſolently unruly, that his father not being able to governe him by his owne authority, did commit him to his brother, the Governours tuition, to be corrected and tamed by him. Hee made uſe of this occaſion for compaſſing his owne ambitious ends, or to be rid of the feare hee had of him, ſhut him up in Falkland, and ſtarved him to death. The blacke Booke of Scone ſaith, that the Earle *Douglas* was with the Governour, when hee brought the Duke from Saint Andrewes to Falkland. But it ſhould rather ſeem that he hath been a priſoner in England, when the Duke was thus uſed: for if hee had been at home, in all likelihood he would have reclamed the Duke (being his brother in law) and have brought him out of his wild courſes; or by his credit with the Governour would have ſaved him, and prevented ſuch extremity, unleſſe he had proceeded ſo farre as to caſt off the Earles ſiſter, whereof we heare nothing. And even in that caſe, ſeeing there is alwayes ſome hope of reconcilement between man and wife, and therefore ſuch fallings out are often born with, in Princes upon that hope; it is likely he would have uſed his care and credit to have compoſed things in ſome better ſort: however, whether through his abſence or negligence, or that having ſmall hope of amendment, he would not meddle in it: the Duke perſiſts in his lewd wayes, and growes rather worſe then better. Wee reade of no help or aſſiſtance that the *Douglas* made unto him, as hee was bound by ſo neare alliance. Neither do we heare how he carried himſelf toward the Earles ſiſter his wife; or whether ſhee had any children by him or not, though they had been married at that time ſome foure or five yeares, and hee was a man of twenty three or twenty foure years of age at the leaſt, having been eighteen when hee was enſtalled Duke in the 1396. yeare, which is a great neglect and overſight in our Writers. This is clear that neither party had any contentment, or comfortable ſucces from this match which they ſo much affected & brought to paſſe with ſo great trouble, diſquiet, and miſchiefe in the Kingdome: a notable leſſon for

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men to moderate their deſires of any thing, and not to ſeeke it over eagerly (though it ſeem never ſo advantagious) in reſpect of the uncertainty of the ſequell and event of all humane things.

But to returne to our priſoner: wee ſee him hurt, defeated, a captive, but neither diſgraced, nor diſcouraged; no nor any whit leſſe eſteemed of by his friends, or enemies: who indeed needed not to bee over proud of this victory, which was obtained rather by the multitude of men, then meer valour, neither were they yet quit with the houſe of Douglas, for what they had received of them before: however theſe viciſſitudes of fortune in the emulation of theſe two houſes (*Douglas* and *Percie*) were matter rather of ſharpning then diſcouraging, and dejecting their ſpirits, and bred not hatred, but an higher (though emulous) eſteem of each towards other. This overthrow and loſſe of the Earle *Douglas* did not diminiſh, but rather increaſe his praiſe and glory, and that even in the opinion of the Conqueror. It became alſo the occaſion of ſhewing his worth in a more conſpicuous and publike Theatre, and on a more eminent ſubject, and powerfull enemy: for not long after, the Earle of Northumberland (whether for envie of King *Henries* good ſucceſſe, to whom he had been a great friend in the beginning; or for that *Henry* uſurped the Kingdome contrary to his oath and promiſe; or for his neglecting to relieve *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of March, taken priſoner in his ſervice againſt *Owen Glendour* by the ſaid *Owen*, or out of indignation againſt him for craving to have his priſoners from him, which hee had taken at Weſt Nisbet, and at Homildon, of whom onely they had ſent *Murdock Stuart* to the King; or for what ever other cauſe) the ſaid Earle entered into league with *Edmond*, *Owen*, and ſome other Lords, againſt the King, with ſuch confidence, that they made a tripartite Indenture, wherein they divided all England into three parts, to each of them a third: whereupon *Percie*, eſteeming highly of the *Douglas* valour, having had good proofe thereof at Homildon, offered if hee would take part with him in this enterpriſe, and ſhew himſelf as valiant on his ſide, as hee had done againſt him, that he ſhould not onely be let goe without ranſome, but alſo (if they prevailed) he ſhould have Berwick, and a part of Northumberland for his reward.

Occaſion of the battell of Shrewsbury.

Douglas, who was no wayes ſlack to embrace any good occaſion againſt England, gladly accepted the condition, and getting leave to come home, returned again at the time appointed, well accompanied with many of his friends and followers. The leading of the vantguard was committed to him, which place he diſcharged bravely, and behaved himſelf ſo, as no man ever did more valiantly and admirably by all mens confeſſion: for after the Scots (who were led by him) had made a fierce onſet upon the Kings foreward (conducted by the Earle of Stafford) and forced them to give back, having almoſt broken their ranks, the King came to their aid with his freſh troupes, and renewed the fight more fiercely then before. *Douglas* and *Percie*, perceiving the King to be there in perſon, bent their whole forces towards him with ſuch violence, that if *George Dumbarre*, Earle of March (who had of late betaken himſelf to the Kings ſide) had not warned the K. to withdraw himſelf from that place, *Douglas* had

certainly ſlain him, for hee made ſo hard an onſet on the Kings Standard, that he bore all down before him, and ſlew the Earle of Stafford with his owne hands, who had been made Conſtable of England that ſame day: as alſo three more, who were apparelled like the King: and when the K. reſtored the battell again, and had broken the rankes of thoſe that ſtood againſt him, *Douglas* ſeeing him the fourth man in royall apparell, hee ſaid aloud in great choler and indignation, where the Devil were all theſe Kings borne? and withall running fiercely at him, beat him from his horſe, and at the ſame inſtant ſlew Sir *Thomas Blunt*, the Kings Standard-bearer, and overthrew the Standard. But the K. was reſcued, and mounted again by thoſe that were about him, eſpecially by his owne ſonne (afterward *Henrie* the fifth) and ſo eſcaped. At laſt the victory fell to the Kings ſide, who had behaved himſelf moſt valorouſly, and is reckoned to have ſlain with his owne hands thirty ſix of the enemies. So that the victory is aſcribed chiefly unto him, who did both by word and example encourage his Souldiers, that they renewed the fight, ſlew the Lord *Percie*, and with him diſcomfited the whole Hoaſt.

Walter.

Douglas taken

The Earle *Douglas* was taken priſoner, and brought to the King, who would on no wiſe conſent to have him put to death (though divers perſwaded him to it) but commended his faithfulneſſe to his friend, and praiſed his valour, which he honoured much; in regard whereof he both cauſed cure his wounds, and ſent him rich preſents. Some write that being asked by thoſe of the Kings ſide, why hee did joyne with ſuch traitours againſt the King, his reply was onely this; It ſeemeth (ſaith hee) that the King is yet alive, though divers Kings have been killed to day. This anſwer being ſo full of reſolution, and courage, and void of all fear, did move the King to regard him ſo much the more. They tell alſo that being hurt in his privie members, when after the battell every man was reckoning his wounds, and complaining; hee ſaid at laſt when hee had hard them all, *They ſit full ſtill that have a riven breike.* The ſpeach continueth ſtill in Scotland, and is paſt into a Proverb which is uſed, to deſigne ſuch as have ſome hidde and ſecret cauſe to complaine, and ſay but little.

Hollinſhed writeth, that in reſpect of his Noble parentage, and valour, he was tenderly cheriſhed by King *Henry*, and frankly and freely demitted without ranſome: and ſuch indeed is the cuſtome of generous minds to honour vertue even in the enemy. It is generally agreed upon by all, that he was highly honoured and eſteemed, ſo that the King (or ſome of his Nobles) cauſed draw his picture, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the privie Gallery at White Hall. But touching his delivery, ſome ſay that when he had ſtayed in England certain moneths, he was with difficulty ſet at liberty after he had payed a great ſumme of money. Others write, that he was detained eight or nine yeares at leaſt, but that ſeems to be too much for this battell (called Shrewesbury field) was in the yeare 1403. in the fourth yeare of King *Henry*, on Saint *Magdalins* day, and *Douglas* was ſet free at the death (or not long after) of K. *Robert* the third of Scotland, in the yeare 1406. When the Earle hard word of his death, he made ſhift to agree for his ranſome, and ſo returned with all ſpeed into Scotland.

1406.
He is ſet free.

land. It is ſaid, that *George* Earle of March did him very good Offices in England, and was a chief mean and inſtrument of his delivery, being reconciled to him during his impriſonment: wherefore the Earle *Douglas* at his return procured liberty for the Earle of March to come home into Scotland, and to be received a free Liege again; but upon condition that he ſhould ſuffer the Caſtles of Lochmaban and Dumbarre to remaine with the Earle *Douglas* and his heires, notwithſtanding of any agreement made between them to the contrary in England. And ſo in the yeare 1411 he was reſtored by the Governour, after hee had remained fifteen yeares in England, or thereby, having done great hurt to his Countrey, and much good ſervice to the Kings of England; but for all the ſervice hee did, hee could neither move the King to reſtore him, and repoſſeſſe him again in his owne, neither obtain competent means and allowance for his eſtate and quality. A notable example for Subjects, to learne hereby not to forſake their naturall King, and native Countrey in hope to be ſupported or ayded by forrain Princes: farre leſſe thus to hurt and endammage their owne Countrey, for the pleaſure and advantage of ſtrangers.

The black book of Scone aſcribeth the reſtitution of the Earle of March to *Walter Halyburton* ſonne in law to the Governour (*Gener Gubernatoris*) by marrying his daughter *Iſabell* (a widdow, and Counteſſe of Roſſe) for which he got from March a fourty pound land in Birgeam; and that the Earle *Douglas* got back Lochmaban, and the Lordſhip of Annandale: however it bee, a yeare or two after the Earle *Douglas* was returned, the Earle March was reſtored, whereunto *Hollinſhed* alſo ſeemeth to agree: for in another place after the death of King *Robert* (which hee ſetteth in the yeare 1408.) forgetting what hee had ſaid before (that the King dimitted *Douglas* frankly and freely) hee writeth thus. Archbald *Earle of Douglas, as yet remaining captive in England, after hee had knowledge of King* Roberts *death (to wit, five yeare after this at leaſt by his owne account) made ſhift to agree for his ranſome, and ſo being ſet at liberty, returned with all ſpeed now at length into Stotland.* Wherein he contradicts himſelf, and caſteth downe all that liberality, and magnanimity of his King (in diſmiſſing the *Douglas* freely) and with ſo much the more blemiſh, as in ſaying it was done, he acknowledged it ſhould have been done, as it had indeed been moſt honourable and Princely, and might (perhaps) have gained the heart of that worthy Nobleman. But we find but few actions in that kind of full beneficence practiſed towards the Scots: and it ſeems that his great worth hath extorted their admiration, and ſome Offices of courteſie, & common humanity, ſuch as were the preſervation of his life, and curing of his wounds; but the old grudge of Nationall quarrell remaining ſtill in vigour, did choake the fruit of true Princely dealing, and kept it that it came not to that full maturitie of beneficence, which the party deſerved, and was ſuteable for ſuch a King. Wherefore let him content himſelf with this honour, that his valour was acknowledged abundantly, and himſelf by the confeſſion of King *Henries* owne Heraulds, accounted one of the chief Chivaliers and Champions in Albion: and let him thanke his own proweſſe more then their kindneſſe for this teſtimony. Wee will alſo adde a witneſſe of theſe in our times, one of their owne Poets (*Samuell*

Da-

Daniell) who ſpeaking of King *Henries* ſon, who releeved his father in the battell of Shrewesbury from the Earle Douglas, he writeth thus:

Lib. 3. Stanza 113.

Hadſt thou not here lent preſent ſpeedie aid
To thy endangered father neerely tired,
From fierce encountring Douglas *overlaid,*
That day had there his troubled life expired.
Heroicall couragious Blunt *arrayed*
In habit like as was the King attired,
And deem'd for him, excus'd the fault of his,
For he had what his Lord did hardly miſſe.

Taking *Blunt* for one of thoſe that were apparelled like the King, whereas others account him to have been the Kings Standard-bearer. But in the warres between York and Lancaſter, it is more amply ſet downe in this ſort:

Lib. 4. Stanza 49.

Yet here had he not ſpeedy ſuccour lent
To his endangered Father, neare oppreſt,
That day had ſeen the full accompliſhment
Of all his travels, and his finall reſt:
For Mars-*like* Douglas *all his forces bent*
T' encounter and to grapple with the beſt;
As if diſdaining any other thing
To doe that day, but to ſubdue a King.

Stanza 50.

And there with fiery courage he aſſailes
Three all as Kings adorn'd in Royall wiſe,
And each ſucceſsive after other quails;
Stil wondring whence ſo many Kings ſhould riſe.
And doubting leaſt his hands or eye ſight fails,
With theſe confounded on the fourth he flies,
And him unhorſes too, whom had he ſped
He then all Kings in him had vanquiſhed.

Stanza 51.

For Henry *had divided as it were*
The perſon of himſelf into foure parts,
To be leſſe knowne, and yet known every where,
The more to animate his peoples hearts;
Who cheared by his preſence, would not ſpare
To execute their beſt and worthieſt parts:
By which two ſpeciall things effected are,
His ſafetie and his Subjects better care.

And

And in the 54. Stanza, ſpeaking of *Hotſpurre*,

But he as Douglas *with his fury led*
Ruſhing into the thickeſt woods of ſpeares,
And brooks of ſwords, ſtill laying at the head.

Then a little after in the 56. upon the killing of *Hotſpurre*

Which thus miſpent, thy Army preſently
As if it could not ſtand, when thou wert down,
Diſperſt in rout, betakes them all to flee:
And Douglas *faint with wounds, and overthrowne,*
Was taken; Who yet wanne the enemy
Which tooke him, by his noble vertue ſhowne
In that dayes mighty worke, and was preſerved,
With all the grace and honour he deſerved.

And that was all to be preſerved and reſpected, but not eaſily nor ſoon diſmiſſed: for (beſides what hath been ſaid of this point) there is an Indenture yet extant, which contains the agreement betwixt King *Henry*, and him. That whereas the ſaid Earle was lawfull priſoner to him, or to his ſonne, *John* of Lancaſter, he ſhould have free libertie to returne to his own Countrey of Scotland, upon his giving of twelve Noble Hoſtages for his reentry into the Caſtle of Durham, being then in the cuſtody of the ſaid *John* of Lancaſter. The Hoſtages were, 1. *Archbald Douglas*, his owne eldeſt ſon and heire: 2. *James* his brother: 3. *James* ſon and heire to *James* Lord Dalkeith: 4. Sir *John Mongomery*, Lord of Adderſon: 5. Sir *John Seiton*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Seiton*: 6. Sir *William Douglas*, of Drumlainrig: 7. Sir *William Sinclair* of Hermiſton: 8. Sir *Simon Glendining* ſonne and heire to Sir *Adam* of Glendining: 9. Sir *John Harris*, Lord of Terregles: 10. Sir *Harbert Maxwell*: 11. Sir *William Hay*: 12. Sir *William Borthwick*. The Condition beares that upon the Earles reentry of his perſon into the wards of the ſaid *John* of Lancaſter, the ſaid Hoſtages were to bee ſet free to repair with ſafe conduct into their own Countreyes, and that within fourty dayes after the Earles re-entry, or after his death. And that the Prince *Thomas*, and his ſaid brother *John*, and the Earle of Weſtmoorland ſhould be obliged by expreſſe commandment from the King to ſecure the ſaid Hoſtages, during the time of their abode, and reſidence in England. And if the Earle ſhould fail of his re-entry again, that the ſaid Hoſtages ſhould be at the Kings diſpoſing. And in caſe the ſaid Earle ſhould die, his eldeſt ſonne and heire was to abide priſoner with the King in his ſons keeping, and the reſt of the Hoſtages were to be ſet free immediately. And further it was conditioned, that the Earle ſhould do his uttermoſt to keep the truce that had been reated of between the King, his Counſell, and the ſaid Earle: and that he ſhould cauſe it to be ratified and confirmed by both the Realms of Scotland and England, for ſixteen yeares: and in caſe he could not obtain that, that then the ſaid Earle for himſelf, and his

his Countreyes betweene the Eaſt and Weſt ſeas, inhabited by any of his men and vaſſals, ſhould keepe truce with England from Paſch next, till Paſch thereafter. Theſe conditions were drawn up by the Kings Councell in forme of an Indenture, whereof each had a counterpane, ſigned, ſealed, and delivered reciprocally by the ſaid parties at London the fourteenth of March 1407.

During the time of his captivity in England, the Duke of Rothſay was famiſhed to death by his Uncle the Governour, who being accuſed thereof by the King his brother, made ſuch a ſlender purgation, that the King fearing he would doe the like to his other ſonne *James*, ſent him by ſea to France, where he might remain in ſafety while he were come to years. But being driven in by ſtorme of weather into the coaſts of England, he was detained as a priſoner by the King and State. Hereupon followed the death of the deſolate father, and the continuance of the Governour in his Office. And now *Douglas* being come home (in the yeare 1411.) hee kept good correſpondencie with the Earle of March ever after, for there had alwayes beene friendſhip betwixt the two Houſes (of March and Douglas) untill the match with the Duke of Rothſay did ſeparate them; and now that being away and digeſted, and March having furthered *Douglaſſes* delivery out of captivitie, and *Douglas* procured, or helped to procure Marches peace and reſtitution, they joyned ever thereafter in all common affaires. Some write that thoſe two did burne the towne of Roxbrough, but it ſeems to bee miſtaken; for that was done ere they came home, by *William Douglas* of Drumlanrig, and *Gawin* third ſonne to the Earle of March. After their return, there is no mention of any exploit of warre between Scotland and England for the ſpace of tenne yeares: whether it were that there hath been any truce, or that *Henry* the fourth dying, his ſonne *Henry* the fifth was ſo taken up with the warre with France, that he had no leaſure to looke toward Scotland; or that the Governour durſt not attempt any thing againſt him, for feare hee ſhould ſend home the rightfull heire to the Crowne of Scotland, whom he had in his power and cuſtody, and who (he doubted not) would finde favour enough in Scotland, both for his right, and out of commiſeration of his eſtate, and condition. So there was nothing done, except ſome ſlight and private inrodes, ſuch as when the Earle *Douglas* burnt Penmoore a towne in England at which the Earle March is alſo ſaid to have been in the yeare, 1414.

He burnes Penmoore.

In the yeare 1420. The Governour died, and his ſonne *Murdock* was made Governour in his place, having been relieved a little before by enterchange of a ſonne of the Earle of Northumberland. He was a man of a dull and heavy ſpirit, and of no authority, not ſo much as to governe his owne family, which made him to be little regarded: about this time the civil warre in France grew hot between, *Charles* the ſixth King of France, *Philip* Duke of Burgundie and *Henry* the fifth of England on the one part, and the *Daulphin* of France on the other, for *Philip* of Burgundie had perſwaded the King of France to diſ-inherrit his ſonne the *Daulphin*, and to give the Crowne with his daughter to *Henrie* of England. So that the *Daulphin*, (afterwards King *Charles* the ſeaventh) was redacted to that extremity, that his enemies called him in deriſion

deriſion, King of Bourg, becauſe his reſidence for the moſt part, was in Bourg in Berrie. Wherefore he being thus abandoned by his own Countrey men, and deſtitute of all forraign help, ſent (this yeare) the Earle of Vandoſme Ambaſſadour into Scotland to crave aid according to the ancient League, and made great promiſes to all the Scots that would aſſiſt him in this quarrell. It was willingly granted by the whole State, and ſeaven thouſand men agreed upon, as a competent number for that ſervice, which was ſoone made up of Volunteers: the youth of Scotland being now greatly multiplied by long peace with England. Their Generalls were *John* Earle of Buchan, and *Archbald* Earle of Wigton the one ſonne, the other ſonne in law to *Archbald* Earle of Douglas.

Whileſt they were buſied in France, the Earle *Douglas* was not idle at home, for the black booke of Scone beareth that hee went with an army to beſiege the Caſtle of Roxbrough, and with the Governour *Murdock*, againſt Berwick, but they returned both without effecting any thing, by reaſon of the treachery of ſome Scots; wherefore this was named the foule roade. We reade of *Douglas* alſo how hee was judge to a duell in Bothwell-haugh, between *John Hardy*, and *Thomas Smith*: this *Smith* had accuſed the other of treaſon, which *Hardy* denying, and the other not being able to prove it by witneſſes, the combat was appointed for triall of it, in which *Smith* (the accuſer) was ſlain. The ſame booke alſo ſaith that (in the yeare 1420. or 21.) the Earle *Douglas* entered England, and burnt the towne of Aewels. The foule road.

But here it will not be impertinent for us to ſtep over to France, and ſee what Buchan and Wigton are doing, ſeeing that this imployment gave Wigton occaſion to ſhow himſelf there, and did afterward alſo draw over his father (the Earle *Douglas*) thither: and the order of time doth alſo leade us to ſpeake of thoſe things in this place. We have told before how *John Stuart* Earle of Buchan, who was ſecond ſonne to the former Governour, and brother to *Murdock* preſent Governour of Scotland) and *Archbald Douglas* Earl of Wigton (whoſe ſiſter Buchan had married) were choſen to conduct the forces ſent into France, to aid the *Daulphin* againſt the King of England, and Duke of Burgundie. The chief Gentlemen of note and qualitie that went along with them were *Robert Stuart*, (another ſonne of the Governour) *Alexander Lindſay* (brother to the Earle of Crawford) and *John Swinton* Knights, being arrived in France, they were received of the *Daulphin* with great joy, and made heartily welcom; who gave them the Towne and Caſtle of Chaſtillion in Turrain for their rendezvous and place of retreat and reſort, being a fertile Countrey, and abounding in all things neceſſary; as alſo for that it lay neare unto the enemy, for the Duke of Clarence (King *Henries* brother and Lieutenant) was about to have ſpoyled the Countrey of Angiers, or as (*Hollinſhed*) had ſpoyled it already, and had retired into the towne of Beaufort in the Vallay, and was ready to aſſault a towne called Vielle Bauge (old Bauge) ſome two dayes before Paſche. The Scots expecting that (as the manner then was) he would have abſtained from all feats of armes, and have given himſelf to the devotion of the time: or having (as ſome others ſay) taken and given aſſurance for eight dayes, which is the ſpace of time His ſonne Wigton and Buchan in France.

commonly beſtowed upon that ſolemnitie, were ſomewhat remiſſe and negligent in their diſcipline. The Duke of Clarence having notice hereof by a Lombard called *Andrew Fregoſa* (as ſome ſay) or by ſome Scottiſh priſoner intercepted (as the Annals of France do beare) who diſcovered to him the government of their army, and the carriage of their Leaders and Captains, was very glad of ſo good occaſion (as hee deemed it) to take them at unawares, and defeat them. Wherefore he roſe preſently from dinner, and taking with him onely the horſemen, leaving the Archers under the conduct of the baſtard of Clarence, Sir *Thomas Beauford*, whom he had lately Knighted at Angiers, together with two Portugall Captains to aſſiſt him, he made ſtraight toward the enemy, ſaying, that he and the Nobles onely, would have the honour of that day. Hee went with great confidence to have ſurprized the enemy, carrying a faire Coronet of Gold on his head, and very magnificently apparrelled, as if hee had beene riding in triumph.

There was a Village called little Bauge, through which the Duke was to come, where a few Frenchmen of the *Daulphins* ſide lay. Theſe being terrified with the ſudden coming of the Engliſh, got up into a ſteeple for ſafety and ſanctuary: there while they make a halt, and aſſault the ſteeple, the cry riſeth, and the noiſe of their approach was carried to the reſt of the Army, whe preſently ran and took armes. While they were arming themſelves, Buchan and Wigton ſent 30. Archers to keep a certain bridge, by which it behoved the enemy to paſſe over a brooke which ran in the way. Theſe went as they were commanded, and as they were going *Hugh Kennedie* came out of a Church where he lay with an hundred men, but unarmed, or halfe armed, by reaſon of the great haſte, and joyned with them: while they defended and made good the bridge, and kept off the horſemen with ſhot of arrowes, the Duke with the principall of his company alighted from their horſe, and made ſuch an onſet upon them, that they were forced to leave the bridge and paſſage open for the enemy. Being paſt the bridge while the Duke mounteth again on horſeback, and the reſt of his folks are paſſing after him, Buchan and Wigton came upon him with two hundred horſe, and enter there into a ſharp conflict on both ſides, both parties being (moſt part) Noble men, who were deſirous of glory, and had a minde to give a proof of themſelves with equal courage, and hatred. The Scots were glad to have occaſion to ſhow the French what they could doe; and to confute their whiſperings, and ſurmiſes, wherein they reproached them, as fit onely to conſume victuals: and the Engliſh were moved with great indignation, that they ſhould bee thus perpetually troubled by the Scots not onely at home, but alſo abrode beyond the ſea in a forraine countrey.

The Duke of Clarence wounded by Sir *John Swinton.*

And none among the Engliſh fought with a greater courage and reſolution, then the Duke himſelfe: but Sir *John Swinton* eſpying him (being eaſily knowne by his Coronet ſhining with pretious ſtones, and his gliſtering armor) ran fiercely at him with a lance, and wounded him in the face: hee being hereby in a great fury, put forward his horſe to have charged the enemy, but was encountred by the Earle of Buchan,

who

who ran him through with a ſpeare, and ſo ſlew him; or (as others) felled him downe to the ground with a ſteell hammer. The reſt ſeeing him fall, ſome fled, and many were ſlain in their flight, being purſued till the night came on. This battell was fought on Paſch Eve, in the yeare 1420. or (as our Writers and the Engliſh) 1421, There were ſlain of the Engliſh 200. Nobles and Gentlemen: The Duke of Clarence, The Earle of Tankervill, The Lord Roſſe, Sir *Gilbert Wimfravill* (whom they call Earle of Angus) *John Lumlay*, Sir *Robert* the Earle of Summerſet, and his brother (whoſe ſiſter *James* the firſt did marry afterward) Suffolk and Perch, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *John Barcklay*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *Henry Engliſhes*, Sir *William Lanton*, Sir *Thomas Boroughes*, were taken priſoners. There were but few ſlain of the Scots and French, and thoſe meane and obſcure men. This is the moſt common report of the Duke of Clarence his death: but the booke of *Puſtardan* ſaith, that he was ſlain by *Alexander Macklellane*, a Knight in the Lennox, who alſo having taken the Coronet from off his head, ſold it to *John Stuart* of Darnelay, for 1000. angels.

Clarence ſlain by Buchan.

Paſche Eve.

This victory being obtained, moſt part by the vallour of the Scots, the *Daulphin* in recompenſe hereof made Buchan Conſtable of France, and morgaged the Dukedome of Turraine to Wigton, the revenue whereof at that time was vallued to 10000. crowns. The reverſion of this Dutchy he gave afterward to the Earle *Douglas* his father, who was created abſolute Duke of Turrain, and Lord of Longu-vill, and eſtabliſhed the ſame to his heires male, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. The French Writers ſay alſo that he made Wigton Marſhall of France.

The King of England upon the death of his brother, came into France in May, or about the beginning of June; and carried along with him the heire of the Crown of Scotland: (afterwards King *James* the firſt) thereby to divert the Scots from aſſiſting the *Daulphin*, or to have made the *Daulphin* to ſuſpect their fidelitie; but none of thoſe plots ſucceeded as he would have had them: for neither would they acknowledge him for their King being in anothers power: neither did the *Daulphin* conceive any ſiniſter opinion or jealouſie of them. Wherefore the ſame yeare (or the next, to wit, one thouſand foure hundreth and twentie one) the *Daulphin* cauſed beſiege the Towne of Coſme upon Loire. And *Henry* departed from Paris to have relieved it, but by the way hee was overtaken with ſickneſſe, and returned to *Bois-devincins*: yet he ſent the Duke of Bedford with a puiſſant Army to ſuccour it; and the Scots and French finding themſelves too weake to reſiſt, roſe and retired to a ſtrength, where the reſt of the Army had aſſembled with reſolution to abide the enemies comming. While as the Engliſh were preparing to fight, newes were brought them of their Kings death, which made them to alter their purpoſe of giving battell. The King died about the laſt of Auguſt, one thouſand foure hundred and twenty one, and his corps was carried into England, the two and twentieth of October. Not long after *Charles* King of France died alſo, which was the occaſion that Buchan, and Wigton, with many of the Gentlemen that accompanied them, returned into Scotland.

But it was not long ere the *Daulphin* had need of them, ſent his Chancellour *Rene de chartres*, and the Archbiſhop of Rheines into Scotland to recall his Conſtable, but the Earle of Wigton was ſo vehemently ſick that he could not poſſibly travell. Wherefore the Earle *Douglas* his father went in perſon himſelf, and being a Noble man greatly regarded far above any other Subject in Scotland: there went with him great ſtore of young Gentlemen, ſome to doe him honour, ſome to bee participant of his fortunes, and moſt to bee trained under him in diſcipline of warre. So beſides thoſe that went over with Buchan and Wigton, in the yeare 1420. there went at this time with the Earle *Douglas* 10000. more, as ſaith *Hollinſhed*. They landed at Rochell, and being to come to the *Daulphin*, were gladly welcomed and much made of, eſpecially the Earle *Douglas*, of whom he had heard much by report, that hee was both valiant and skilfull in warre: And therefore he enſtalled him in the Dutchie of Turrain, which he gave to him and his heires for ever; having onely engaged it before to his ſonne (upon reverſion) and moreover made him Marſhall of France.

The Earle *Douglas* goes into France.

Made D. of Turraine

This hath been (in all appearance) in the yeare 1423. at moſt, yet we do not finde any memorable thing done by them, or againſt them, untill the battell of Vernoill, (which if we reade our Hiſtories) one would think it had been fought immediately upon their landing, thought it be cleare, that it was not till after the death of King *Henry* the fifth, and in the ſecond yeare of his ſonnes reigne in the yeare of God 1424. The occaſion whereof was this: The Earle of Bedford having beſieged Ivery, the *Daulphin* to relieve it, ſendeth the Army under the Conduct of the Duke of Turrain (whom the French call Marſhall *Douglas*) of the Conſtable Buchans the Earle of Narbon and others. They not being able to force Bedfords camp, when they were come within two miles of him, returned towards Vernoill in Perch, which belonged to the King of England, and ſent word to the Garriſon there, that they had diſcomfited the Engliſh Army, and that Bedford with a ſmall number had ſaved himſelf by flight. The Garriſons giving credit thereto did open the gates, and received them with the whole Army into the towne, where having left a part of their Army, they came and encamped in the fields neare the towne. Bedford having gotten Ivery by compoſition, or ſurrender, followeth them, and ſent word to the Duke of Turrain by a Trumpet, that he would come and dine with him: The Duke bade him come, he ſhould be very welcome, for all was ready. Nevertheleſſe, when the point came to conſultation, his opinion was that they ſhould not fight at that time, becauſe hee thought it not fit to hazzard a battell, but in caſe of neceſſitie, and that they had no neceſſitie to fight at that time, in reſpect that they had Vernoill in their hands, and other two good townes beſides, whereby they might bee plentifully furniſhed with proviſion, which the Engliſh could not have, and thereby would bee conſtrained to retire: But the Earle of Narbon was earneſt to have them fight, and ſaid the Nobility of France ſhould not receive ſuch a bravade from the enemies, and if none would fight, he would do it alone; and ſo getting him haſtily out of the Counſell, he began to put his men in order.

The occaſion of the battell of Vernoill.

The

The Duke of Turraine tooke ſuch indignation hereat, that hee ſhould offer to fight without his leave, that hee determined not to have ſtirred at all, and it was long before hee would ſuffer his men to goe forth: yet at laſt, thinking that it would reflect upon him if he ſhould ſit ſtill, and ſee them overthrown in his ſight, he armed and went forth alſo. But then there aroſe ſome ſtrife for the vantguard betwixt them, which made things to be ſo confuſedly handled, that the Engliſh got the victory, ſlew the Duke, Buchan, Sir *Alexander Lindſay*, *Robert Stuart*, and Sir *John Swinton*, with above 2000. others of all ſorts. *Hollinſhed* in his Chronicles of England ſaith, (but upon what warrant wee know not) that the Earle Buchan (Conſtable) was not ſlain, but loſt an eye onely, and was taken priſoner: he reckoneth among the ſlain Sir *Alexander Hume*, whom our Writers doe not mention, yet it is true and knowne to them of that houſe: that Sir *Alexander Hume* of Douglas went thither in the Earle *Douglas* company, and was ſlain with him: for they tell how Sir *Alexander* being minded to ſend his brother *David Hume* of Wedderburn, went to accompany the Earle to his Ship, and when they were parting, *Douglas* embracing him kindly, ſaid to him, would I have beleeved Sir *Alexander* that ever you and I could have been ſeparated from one another: To whom hee replied, ſurely then my Lord, I ſhall not part; and ſo taking his brother *Davids* apparrell and furniture, and ſent *David* back: he went with him to take care for his houſe and children in his abſence, or in caſe of his death: which he alſo did with ſuch fidelity, and induſtry, after the death of his brother, that he greatly increaſed the eſtate, and purchaſed for a younger ſonne of his brothers, called *Thomas*, the lands of Tiningham: and for another (named *James*) the lands of Spot: hee is ſaid to have purchaſed Wedderburn for himſelf: but the truth is, he had it tenne yeares before, not by marriage, but by the gift of *Archbald*, Earle of Douglas, which muſt have beene the ſame Duke of Turrain, as the date of the evident doth clearly ſhow, being of the yeare 1413. His ſonne *Archbald* alſo entitling himſelf Earle of Wigton, and Lord of Longuevill, and Eskdale giveth to the ſame Sir *Alexander Hume* a bond of one thouſand Nobles, dated at Bothwell the 9. of February 1424. whom it deſigneth Sir *Alexander Hume* of that Ilke, which I mention the rather to ſhow what great freindſhip hath been between them.

A battell at Vernoil: *Douglas* ſlain.

Here again I cannot paſſe by the ſloath. and unattentiveneſſe of Writers ſloath, (Scottiſh and Engliſh) who reckon amongſt the ſlain, here a ſonne of the Earle *Douglas* (whom ſome call *James*) and make him his ſecond ſonne, nay, ſome doe even make him his eldeſt ſonne and heire, and call him Earle of Wigton. But thoſe are all miſtakings; for the Earle of Wigton (whoſe name was *Archbald*) was left ſick at home, and poſſeſſed the Earledome after his fathers death: Neither was it yet *James* his ſecond ſonne, who was Lord of Abercorn, and outlived his elder brother, and his children, that were put to death in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, to whom alſo he ſucceeded in the Earledom, as the ſame Writers themſelves (almoſt all of them) confeſſe. Wherefore the Reader had need even to reade the beſt Writers with judgement and attention, ſeeing ſuch eſcapes are incident ever to the moſt accurate, and carefull Hiſtorians.

Touch-

Touching this battell, this is the relation of it, by *Duſerres* in his inventarie whom I have choſen to follow, not becauſe I thinke it the fulleſt or faithfulleſt narration (for certainly the Frenſh Writers ſpeake ſlenderly enough of the actions of ſtrangers, as may bee inſtanced in the battell of Baugue, and other exploits done by the Scots in France, which they paſſe in ſilence) but becauſe his teſtimony cannot be rejected by the French, and may well bee admitted by the Engliſh, as being indifferent for his perſon, and no wayes partiall in his penne, at leaſt in ſetting forth this battell: but if we ſhall rely upon the writings or reports of our owne Countrey men. The loſſe of that field was cauſed for the envie and treachery of the Earle of Narban. We heard how *Douglas*, and he conteſted for the vantguard, each ſtriving who ſhould be firſt: *Douglas* being ready ſooner then he, or being quicker in his march led on before him, and charged the enemy firſt: whereupon he abandoned them, and would not ſecond them as he ſhould have done. And ſo it came to paſſe that they being deſtitute of his help, and not being able to make head againſt ſuch a multitude, were encompaſſed about by the Engliſh (who ſaw their backs left bare) and ſo overthrown, fighting valiantly, that they might die nobly. Some blame the Lombards (who were in the Army aſſiſting the French that were for the *Daulphin*) but tell not, why, nor wherefore, or wherein. Others ſay that there were 400. of them all horſemen, who being commanded to breake the rankes of the Engliſh, either in the flank or in the reare, did what they were appointed to doe: and having broken through the Engliſh Army, vvent to their carriage to pill and ſpoil, vvithout proſecuting their charge anyfurther: and ſo having got their prey, departed off the field, whereupon 2000. Engliſh Archers that were ſet to keep the carriage, and had now no more to doe, entered into the battell, and being freſh and unwearied, made ſuch an impreſſion, that they did caſt the ballance and gave the overthrow, whereas before they had fought for the ſpace of three houres ſo doubtfully, that no eye could gueſſe, which way the victory would goe.

Major alſo telleth us that there was ſome diſſention between the Duke of Turraine, and Buchan, for precedency, but that is not likely: for although Buchan had the honour to bee Conſtable, and was the chiefe Commander, ſo long as hee had no other Colleague but Wigton (his brother in lavv) yet the Earle *Douglas* being an old experimented Commander, and it being ever his due to leade the the vantguard at home, and being even there, for his vvell knovvne vvorth and ſufficiency made Duke and Marſhall upon his firſt arrivall. It carrieth no appearance that the other vvould ſtrive vvith him, eſpecially ſeeing hee vvas his ſonne in lavv (for he had married his daughter) and alſo the yonger ſouldier. And that the Engliſh did acknovvledge the Duke for Chiftane, it is evident: for Bedford ſent the Trumpet to him, and hee returned anſvver: It vvas he that reſolved they ſhould not fight, and tooke it ill at Narbons hands, that he vvould not follovv his concluſion, and obey his direction: So as I cannot be perſvvaded that their could, or vvould bee any difference betvveen them for that matter: And if there had beene any, they vvould have compoſed it, and agreed betvvixt themſelves before that time, to have

have reſiſted the common enemy. However, they both died in the field: And the Earle of Narbon wanted not his reward of his either treachery, or headineſſe and folly, for hee was taken and hanged as guilty of the death of the Duke of Burgundie. A notable example of the end of ſuch as carry themſelves after ſuch a manner.

Of thoſe that eſcaped at this defeate, *Charles* the *Daulphin* (afterwards King *Charles* the ſeventh) erected a company to continue a guard to himſelfe, and his ſucceſſours for ever, of the Scottiſh Nation. For he was not contented to reward their Nobles and Leaders with honours and dignities, but thought himſelfe alſo obliged to recompence even the inferiour ſort, and to reſpect the whole Nation, whoſe valour and fidelity hee had found to deſerve regarding: As alſo he ſaw their ſervice would be ſteadable to him, and therefore in wiſedome did thus obliege the whole Countrey, and ingage them to aſſiſt him in his warre with England. And ſo they did, as now, ſo often hereafter both within the Iſle, and in France: neither could they ever bee diverted by any loſſe or dammage whatſoever. They did ſtill cleave faſt unto the French, untill they were fully freed from the Engliſh: ſending over army after army, and Captain after Captain, without wearying or relenting, or the leaſt ſhrinking: and even after this battell wee reade of divers that ſpent their lives in the Frenches quarrell againſt the Engliſh, and that within three yeares, (notwithſtanding this great loſſe) who were men of quality, ſuch as *William Stuart* and his brother, and two *Douglaſſes* who were predeceſſours of the houſes of Drumlanrigge and Lochleven. There was alſo amongſt thoſe that eſcaped at this battell of Vernoill, one *John Carmichell* of the houſe of *Carmichell*, in Douglaſdale (who was Chaplain to the Duke of Turrain) a valiant and learned man, who remained in France, and was for his worth and good parts made Biſhop of Orleance: hee it was that during the ſiege thereof, did notably aſſiſt *Jane D'arc*, called the maiden of Orleance, The French Hiſtory calleth him *John de Saint Michael* (for *Carmichell*) *eveſque d' Orleance, eſcoſsois de nation.* Hee is mentioned in the particular Story of that Maiden, and in the *Annales, Eccleſiæ Aurelianenſis auctore Carolo Sanſeye Aureliano.* Wherefore in the principall Church in Orleance, called Saint Croix, there is Maſſe ſaid for the ſoules of the Scots dayly that were ſlain there. But to return.

The Scottiſh guard erected in France.

The Duke of Turraine being thus ſlain, was buried in the Church of Tours, called Saint Gratians, the 20. of Auguſt, in the yeare 1424. whoſe coat of armes was to bee ſeen long agoe upon the gates of Tours. Hee was a man no where branded for any vice, and of unqueſtioned valour, for ſo much as belonged to his own perſon, equall to any that were before him. Neither can I ſee any evident fault in his conduct and leading. It is true *Major* taxeth him as unskilfull and unfit for matters of warre, though hee gives him a large commendation of courage, and perſonall valour. But he ſeemeth to have grounded his cenſure more upon the ſucceſſe, then upon his actions, to which we will anſwer with the Poet, *Careat ſucceſſibus & quiſquis ab eventu, &c.* Or if that will not ſerve, we wil choke him with the French Proverb, *Le clerc aux armes*, he is not a fit judge of ſuch things. But we have to do with a more judicious indeed, who glanceth

at

at no leſſe for ſpeaking of his father *Archbald* the Grimme, he ſaith that Chivalry ſtood in him; as though hee would have ſaid, it fell alſo with him: which ſeemeth to prejudge this his ſonne (*Tine-man*) if not in his valour (which no man can call in queſtion) yet in his conduct, and leading, which is the chiefe propertie and qualitie of a Generall and Commander. Of which judgement queſtionleſſe, the ground is the ſame, his hard ſucceſſe in his interpriſes. And there is no reaſon that hee ſhould be thought ſo of for it, if there be no other cauſe of evill ſucceſſe. But if there may bee ſome other reaſon, and if many well guided Armies, and interpriſes have miſ-carried (which none will deeme, there is no neceſſity nor juſt cauſe why he ſhould be double burthened, both with ill luck, and the blame of it, unleſſe it be ſhewed where and how he erred, which neither hee, nor any other Hiſtorian doth. Wee muſt therefore abſolve him as free from this imputation, ſeeing they do not make it to appeare, that hee was guilty of any errour, or overſight either at Homildon, Shrewsberry, or Vernoill. On the contrary, his warineſſe and circumſpection may ſufficiently appeare to the attentive and judicious Reader. Let not then his praiſe be leſſened, or his glory eclipſed by his croſſe fortune, nor himſelfe eſteemed any whit inferiour to his Predeceſſours. Nay, hee deſerveth to have ſo much more praiſe, as that his worth doth ſhine through the thick cloud of the frownings of fortune, whereas their glory is increaſed, and luſtred with the beams of a proſperous iſſue in their exploits.

Archibaldus Duglaſſius *Dux Turronenſis*, *&* Johannes Stuartus, *Buchaniæ comes ad Vernolium cæſi.*

Gallia vos titulis; vos gallica regna trophæis
Auxiſtis, meritis utraque regna cluunt,
Tertia ſi invideant, quid mirum ingentia damna
Queis data, Saxonidum dum cecidere duces,
Deſine lingua procax verbis inceſſere Teſtis:
Gallus adeſt, ſervat tot monumenta ducum,
Et vos æternum memorabit Gallia cives
Grata ſuos, titulos quæ dedit, & tumulos.

Johan. Johnſton *Heroes.*

Archbald Douglas, Duke of Turraine, and *John Stuart* Earle of Buchan his ſon in law, Conſtable of France, killed at Vernoill.

France gave you Titles, you it Trophies gave;
Both Kingdomes, mutuall obligation have:
If the third envi'd it, their loſſe receiv'd
Might well excuſe them, being oft bereav'd

Of

Of their moſt ancient Leaders: no bold tongue
By baſe detraction can have power to wrong
Your merit, and the French will witnes beare,
To whom your memory ſhall ſtill be deare:
Their gracefull Monuments the ſame expreſſe,
As do the places you did there poſſeſſe.

Archbaldus *Dux Turonenſis &c.*

Bis victus, captuſque amiſſo milite; cæſus
Denique cum ſociis, Vernoliæ occubui:
Dura meis raro affulſit victoria ſignis:
Noſtra tamen nuſquam ſunt data terga fugæ.
Semper at ingentes hæc dextra liquit acervos,
Hoſtibus & ſemper maxima damna dedit.
Hinc fortis, magniſque ducis veracibus urnant
Me titulis; nec non hoſtis & ipſe colit.
In me virtutem videas, verumque laborem:
Fortunam proprio quis regat arbitrio?
Diſcite, ab eventu qui cenſes facta viroſque
Exemplo, non ſic eſſe notanda, meo.

Archbald Tine-man, Duke of Turraine.

Twice with my Armies rout I loſt the field;
Now with my friends, I am at Vernoil kill'd:
My labours hardly met with victory,
Yet did I never ſtay behinde, nor flie,
But kill'd my foes on heaps: my valiant arme
Did ever bring revenge, and equall harme.
Hence was I honoured, as moſt fit to be
A Leader, courted ev'n by th' enemy.
In me you may the hight of worth behold;
But ah, who in his power can Fortune hold?
O! you, who from th' event your cenſures take,
Diſprove your ſelves, and me the inſtance make.

Archbald *the fourth of that Name, the foureteenth Lord, and fifth Earle of Douglas, he was the firſt Earle of Wigton, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway and Annandale, the ſecond Duke of Turraine, Lord of Longe-ville, and Marſhall of France.*

UNto *Archbald Tine-man* ſucceeded his eldeſt ſon *Archbald*: he had to wife *Mauld Lindſay*, daughter to *David* Earle of Crawford: hee was married at Dundee with great ſolemnitie and pompe.

This alliance hath been the occaſion of Crawfords going with him into France (as wee told before) and the ground of that friendſhip that was betwixt Earle *William* (ſlain at Stirlin) and that Earle Crawford, whereof wee ſhall heare more of hereafter. It appeareth alſo, that there hath beene continuall friendſhip betwixt theſe houſes from the firſt Earle *Douglas* time, who procured a pardon for Crawford who had ſlain *John Lyon*. His children were *William*, *David*, and a daughter named *Beatrix*. The time that he poſſeſſed the Earledome of Douglas, from his fathers death in the yeare 1424. untill the year 1439. is fifteen yeares; all the time of King *James* the firſt, and about two yeares in the minority of King *James* the ſecond. So that the eſtate of the Countrey may eaſily bee knowne, if wee call to minde what hath beene ſaid of the death of King *Robert* the third, and of *Robert* the Governour, to whom his ſonne *Murdock* did ſucceed in the government before the King came home out of England.

This *Murdock*, when hee had governed, or rather miſgoverned ſome three yeares, or foure, being provoked by an inſolent fact of his eldeſt ſonne *Walter* (who to deſpight his father, had wrung off the necke of a Hawke which hee loved) determined in revenge hereof to ſend and fetch home the King out of England, and to poſſeſſe him of his Kingdome.

No other motive we reade of to induce him to this; whether it bee becauſe there were no other, or becauſe they have not beene carefull to ſet downe the true cauſe, I know not. But if this were indeed, it is ſo memorable, that it deſerveth not to bee paſſed over with a dry foot (as wee ſay) and without obſervation: For who can but wonder at ſo rare a fact betwixt a father and a ſon, as the like is not extant elſewhere in any Record or Hiſtory, and hath not beene heard of, I thinke, ſince the world ſtood: That a man to ſpite his ſonne ſhould quite a Kingdome, whereof hee was poſſeſt, and ſaw no other appearance but to enjoy it ſtill. I confeſſe there hath beene much unnaturall unkindeneſſe in the world, whereby they have procured the death and deſtruction of thoſe, whoſe ſafetie they were tied by the bonds of nature to maintain: but that hath beene for their owne honour and dignity, to obtain the place, or continue in it, which men doe ſo much aſpire unto: but that their unnaturall deſpight ſhould reach ſo farre, as to undoe themſelves, and to quite a Kingdome, for obtaining and retaining whereof, ambitious men turne the world upſide downe, onely to ſatisfie a paſſionate humour, or malice conceived againſt their owne childe; let him that can, parrellel it, and put this up in his note booke for a ſecond inſtance at leaſt. It was for love of his Couſin, for reſpect to equitie, out of duetie to God, and love of his Covntrey, which he ſaw hee himſelfe could not, and his ſon would not govern rightly, and therefore thought fitteſt to reſign it to him that both could and would doe it; it was a good, ſober, wiſe and worthy thought. But then our Writers doe him wrong, that never ſignifie that ſuch was his minde, no not in the leaſt word: and mention onely his owne anger, and the inſtigation of *Coline Campbell* a chiefe man in Argyle, who blew the coale out of a private ſpleene againſt *Walter*,

ter, who had done him ſome injury: but however it were, whether his ſpight moved him to do juſtice, or deſire to do juſtice cauſed deſpight, he threatned to do it to his ſonne, and performed what he threatned; for he ſent Ambaſſadours into England to have the King releaſed, of which this *Archbald* was chief, about the time of his very firſt coming to the Earledome. He with his two Colleagues, *William Hay* Conſtable, and *Henry Biſhop* of Aberdene, carried the matter ſo wiſely, that they brought it to a concluſion, which was the more eaſily effected, becauſe King *James* married a Lady of England without portion, which they thought would move him to forget any wrong he had received by their injuſt detention. The Ambaſſadors alſo condeſcended upon a ranſome to be payed, though none were due from him, who never was lawfull priſoner. So at laſt hee was releaſed, came home, and was crowned King the 22. of May 1424.

He is ſent Ambaſſadour into England.

Brings home the King.

We have heard hitherto the riſe of the houſe of Douglas, and the continuall increaſing thereof by their great deſerts, with the approbation and applauſe of all men, with the good will and liking of their Princes for the ſpace of many yeares: their Princes delighting to imploy them, and they endeavouring to ſerve their Princes, and their Countrie to the uttermoſt of their power, with a good harmony, and happy agreeing on all ſides. Let us now bee contented from henceforth to find the world to bee the ſelf ſtill; that is, rolling and tumbling by perpetuall viciſſitudes, and changes: for though this houſe ſhall yet grow up, and to a higher pitch then ever, yet this concordance ſhall not continue ſo full, but ſhall beginne to have ſome jarring; their Princes being jealous of them, they ſtanding in feare of their Princes, ſometimes in favour, ſometimes out of favour; ſometimes imployed, and ſometimes neglected: having mens affections ſometimes towards them, ſometimes averſe from them, liking and diſliking by turnes and fits.

They alſo for their parts were now well-contented, then malecontented: now dealing in affaires, then withdrawing from all medling in State buſineſſe, from whence did ſpring diſcords, impriſonments, baniſhments, ſlaughters: which things beginning in this mans time at his committing, ſtrangeneſſe and diſcontents continued in the next, and proceeded in his ſonnes time to his putting to death, and was transferred as hereditary to his ſucceſſours, with many interchangings of ſmilings and frownings of fortune and Court, which at laſt ended in that fearefull cataſtrophe of the finall ruine of this flouriſhing family, in the yeare 1483. which troubles continued the ſpace of 59. or 60. yeares, beginning at King *James* the firſts return into Scotland.

For the very firſt yeare of his reigne, this Earle *Douglas* is committed to ward, but is ſoone releaſed: and then within ſome few yeares, was committed again. For his firſt commitment, there is no cauſe thereof recorded, onely the time thereof doth furniſh ſome matter of conjecture, together with other circumſtances ſet downe. As for the time, it was when Duke *Murdocke*, and his ſonnes (*Walter* and *Alexander*) and their Mother, and her Father, *Duncane Stuart*, Earle of Lennox, were committed. The circumſtances are;

that he was not alone, but with him twenty foure Earls and Barons were committed likewiſe, amongſt whom there were ſome of the Kings owne ſpeciall friends, and kindred: as *William* Earle of Angus, who was the Kings ſiſters ſonne, and ſo Duke *Murdokes* Couſin. The Earle of Douglas was alſo allied with him: for *Robert* the Governours ſon, *John* Earle of Buchan had married *Douglas* ſiſter; and there had been cor-reſpondency, and friendſhip betwixt the Governour, and *Archbald* the Grimme, as alſo *Archbald Tyne-man* (this Earles Father and Grandfather) and Buchan and this Earle, had been fellowes in Armes together in France at Baugue: as alſo Buchan and *Archbald Tyne-man* were ſlain together at Vernoill. Likewiſe the Earle of March, who had been reſtored by Duke *Murdocks* Father, and had kept good friendſhip with him, and his ſonne after his reſtitution: *Robert Stuart* of Roth-houſe, *Stuart* of Dundonald: *John Stuart* of Carden, being alſo of the name of *Stuart*, and all in ſome neerneſſe of blood to *Murdock*, as the King himſelfe alſo was. The reſt *Hepburn* of Hailes, *Haye* of Yeſter, *Ramſay* of Dalhouſie, *Haliburtoun* of Dirleton, we finde to have beene dependers of the houſes of Douglas and March: and the reſt alſo, *Walter Ogilbe*, *Alexander Seiton*, or *Gordon*, *Haye* Arroll, *Scrimger* Conſtable of Dundee, have beene friends and followers of the houſe of Douglas, as wee find they did aſſiſt and accompany them in diverſe battells; and have alſo perhaps had ſome friendſhip with the Duke or his Father in law, as commonly the Nobilitie are allied, and of kinne one to another. Who therefore (thought they were willing, that their lawfull and rightfull Prince ſhould enjoy his owne place) would not agree ſo eaſily to the putting to death of thoſe, whom the King was reſolved to make out of the way. Now what it was that moved the King to this courſe, whether deſire to be revenged of the cruelty of *Robert* the Governour (their Father) toward *David* D. of Rothſay his elder brother, or for his miſ-demeanour and undutifulneſſe towards his Father (*Robert* the third) or for his neglecting himſelf in his captivity, or for that he eſteemed all that government (of *Robert* and *Murdock*) to be an uſurpation of the Crowne, and feared the like hereafter, or even perhaps found ſuch practiſings to his prejudice, is uncertain. However being reſolved to ridde himſelf of them, he thought it the ſafeſt way to make them faſt, who hee beleeved would not be ſo well contented with it, as he deſired. Hee did therefore commit them till he had tried their minds, and drawn them to his courſe, or at leaſt taken order with them to ſit quiet. And this was not long a doing: for we reade that the foreſaid priſoners were all ſhortly releeved, and ſome of them alſo put upon the others quree (or aſſiſe) as *Douglas*, March, Angus, Arrole: But by what means he hath conſtrained them to be content, or what remonſtrance or evidence hee hath given them, to let them ſee that thoſe men were guilty of death, or what crime they died for, (if any new conſpiracy, or what elſe) our Hiſtories tell us not, which is a great defect in them: *Major* thinketh it likely that there was ſome conſpiracy found againſt the King, otherwiſe they would never (ſaith hee) have condemned ſuch men to death (Princes of the blood as wee may call them) and their owne eſpeciall friends. And thus much of the Earle *Douglas* firſt committing, and the iſſue thereof.

For

For the ſecond *Hollinſhed* and *Boetius* doe agree, that the K. arreſt the Earle *Douglas*, and kept him long in priſon; till at laſt, by the mediation of the Queen and Prelats, he and the Earle of Roſſe were releaſed. *Boetius* calleth him *Archbald* Duke of Turraine plainly: but *Hollinſhed* is pleaſed (out of ſume partiall humour as ſhould ſeeme) to ſuppreſſe the Title of Duke of Turrain, and this is all the difference betwixt them. It was ſome yeares after his firſt committing, but what yeare? it is not condiſcended upon. Some ſay, it was in the yeare 1431. but impertinently, for the yeare 1430. is the yeare of his releaſing, except wee will thinke that hee hath been impriſoned thrice, which is not mentioned by any. And a little mention there is of the cauſe wherefore hee was warded, whereof *Major* complaineth ſaying, that our Annals tell not the cauſe of the *Stuarts* executions, and the incarcerating of the Earle *Douglas*, and *John* Lord of Kennedie, the Kings owne ſiſter ſonne; for both were committed, *Douglas* in Logh-leeven, and *Kennedy* in Stirling; for how ſhall it bee knowne whether it was done juſtly, or for matters of weight, or if for trifles onely, and for his owne pleaſure. Others inſinuate a cauſe, but doe but glance at it without ſetting it downe ſo clearely as to let men know, whether it were juſt or unjuſt, which is the light and life of Hiſtory, and the right end and uſe thereof: for they ſay no more, but that they had ſpoken ſiniſterly or raſhly, and ſomewhat more freely then became them, of the eſtate and government of the Countrey. What uſe can any man make of this generality? raſhneſſe may be a fault, yet perhaps none at all in them, of whom it is ſpoken, they being Privie Counſellers. Likewiſe the phraſe (*freelier than became*) is ſo generall, that the Reader remaineth unſatisfied: neither can poſteriry (either King or Subject) judge of this fact, whether it were right or wrong, or whether the example were ſuch as men ought to follow, or forbeare and avoid.

It ſhould have been expreſſely ſet downe what they ſpake, to whom, if to the King himſelfe, or to others: In what ſort, if by way of admonition, counſelling, or adviſing, or if by forme of cavilling, detracting, murmuring, mutining, and ſuch other circumſtances, whereon the judgeing of it chiefly dependeth: In this uncertainty wee can hardly condemne or abſolve, praiſe or cenſure them, In that the Lord *Kennedy* was of the ſame minde, and category with the Earle *Douglas*, apparently it hath not been ſpoken in malice, ſeeing the Kings neareſt and his beſt friends (ſuch as theſe *Kennedies* were) having approved thereof. And that Noblemen muſt not ſpeake their opinion freely of things to the King, or if the King (being without malice) is very hard: for how ſhall a King know, that will not heare? hee cannot know all by himſelf: And how ſhall he heare, if Noblemen have not leave to ſpeake freely: he cannot heare all by himſelf.

Such carriage as this hath often done Princes ill, and it may bee, hath done this ſame Prince no good. And what ever it was, that diſpleaſed the Earle *Douglas* in the government was either for the Countreyes ſake, or the Kings owne ſake, or for both: why might not the King thinke there might be errours? And why might hee not then have heard them? To have proceeded ſo vehemently (for their hath been great vehemency in it)

it) to have cut off his owne kinſmen, and leave none but himſelf for the Earle of Athole to aim at: it was moſt important, and worthy to be conſidered of, whether or not it were beſt for him (in policie) to do. Doubtleſſe his doing of it hath emboldned Athole to cut off the King himſelfe, when all the reſt were cut off firſt by the King. And was it nothing to loſe the Nobility, to alienate their hearts? to irritate them by impriſonments, forfeitures? hath it not done ill thinke you, and encouraged him to goe on in his intended treaſon? looking for the favour of the offended Nobility, or for neutrality, and ſlackneſſe to revenge the Kings death. We ſee the King himſelfe retreateth his taxations once or twice, when he ſaw the people grieved therewith. And wiſely, in that hee was carefull to keep the hearts of the people. But was there no care to bee taken for keeping the Nobility alſo ungrieved? was it enough that they would not, or durſt not (perhaps) or could not openly rebell? was it not ſomething to want their affections? to want the edge, and earneſtneſſe thereof? to relent them, to coole them? Certainly ſuch proceedings as theſe have encouraged his enemies in hope of impunitie (greater then they found) yet in hope of it to go on with their deſignes, and hath furthered and haſtned that dolorous concluſion which enſued.

What ever the cauſe were, he acknowledgeth the Earle *Douglas* mind not to have been of the worſt ſort, in that he releaſeth him, and in token of a full reconcilement, makes him a witneſſe to the Baptiſme of his two ſonnes (twinnes) which was in thoſe dayes no ſmall honour and ſignification of good will, and a pledge of intimate friendſhip. He made alſo his ſonne *William* (though but a childe of five yeares of age) the firſt knight of fiftie, who were dubbed at that ſolemnity, as the Manuſcript affirmeth. By which actions, as he honoured *Douglas*, ſo did he withall honour himſelf in the eyes of the people, and of forrainers, gracing his Court, and that ſo ſolemne action by the preſence of ſuch a Peere, farre more then if he had been onely accompanied by *Creighton* and *Levingſton*, and ſuch new men (who were but new and mean in regard of him) as then but growing under the Kings favour. And ſo it is indeed, the Prince honoureth his worthy Nobles by his favours to them, and they grace, adorn, and decore, and give a luſtre and ſplendour to him, and his Court, by their preſence, and attendance thereat. And it is wiſedome ſo to eſteem, and ſo to uſe them; and happy are they on both ſides, and happy is the Countrey where they thus agree and concurre. This was he in the yeare 1430. in October, releaſed out of priſon, and this ſolemnity being ended, hee paſt into France, and was inſtalled in his Dutchie of Turrain: whether he went thither for that onely, or if hee uſed that faireſt colour of his abſence, that he might not ſee the government, which hee diſliked, and in which hee had no employment, I leave it: yet his going thither gave others occaſion to grow great, and to be employed; eſpecially the houſe of Angus, which was at laſt the overthrow of his houſe. So as the honour and profit they had in France, may have been ſaid to have beene their wrack in Scotland: what by the envie of their greatneſſe, what by their abſence from home, as hath beene ſaid. So uncertain are the affaires of the world! neither is there extant any mention of his actions in France,

though

though at that time (from 1430. till 1437.) the warres were very hot there, King *Henry* the ſixth of England being brought over in perſon, and crowned in Paris. It is attributed to the Earle *Douglas*, that he moved the King of France to require King *James* his daughter (*Margaret*) in marriage to his ſonne (afterward *Lewis* the eleventh) and that he met her when ſhe landed at Rochel, and was preſent at her marriage.

He remaineth there untill the yeare 1437. in which, the 21. of February, King *James* was ſlaine at the Black friers in Saint Johnſtoun by *Patrick Grahame*, and *Robert Stuart*, at the inſtigation of *Walter Stuart* Earle of Athole, the Kings fathers brother by the Earle of Roſſes daughter, who pretended to be the rightfull heire to the Crowne; and that he was wronged, and defrauded by the ſonne of *Elizabeth Moore*, who was onely a Concubine, as he alledged.

This poſterity of *Elizabeth Moore* he had craftily cauſed to deſtroy one another; the Governour *Robert* to deſtroy *David* Duke of Rothſay, and now King *James* (*Davids* brother) to deſtroy the houſe of the Governour D. *Murdock*, and his children. And thus cauſing the King to ſpoile and weaken himſelfe by cutting off his friends, none being left alive but the King and his onely ſonne (a childe of ſix yeares) he was emboldened to put hands in the King alſo; ſo much the rather, becauſe he knew that many of the Nobility were diſcontented, what with being impriſoned, what with being endamaged in their goods, lands, and rents; what with putting to death of their friends. So that he hoped that they would be wel contented with the Kings death, at leaſt they would not take great care or paines to be revenged therof: which things if the Earl *Douglas* foreſaw, and being grieved therewith, admoniſhed the King thereof, or cauſed any other to warne him that theſe courſes were not for his good; this event ſheweth he did the part of a faithfull Subject, Friend, and Counſellour. However, it was not ſo well taken by the King at that time, as being contrary to his humour, and preſent diſpoſition. He did wiſely alſo to withdraw himſelfe, ſeeing he could not help things, as he would have gladly done. Now that the King was dead, he returns home, and was preſent (as ſome think) at the Coronation of his ſonne *James* the ſecond, who was crowned at Edinburgh the tenth of March 1437. not a moneth (or no more then a moneth) after the death of his father: where it is to be obſerved, that either the death of the King is not rightly ſaid to be in the yeare 1437. in February, in ſtead of 1436. or elſe they reckon the yeare from the firſt of January, which was not the cuſtome then. And yet *Buchanan* meanes ſo, for he ſayes he was ſlaine in the beginning of the yeare 1437. in February, which makes me think the Earle *Douglas* hath not come in time to the Coronation, ſeeing he could hardly have uſed ſuch diligence to have had notice of the Kings death, made himſelfe readie, and come home out of France in ſo ſhort a ſpace, though the winde had favoured him never ſo much. However, through his abſence, his adverſe partie and faction had gotten ſuch poſſeſſion of guiding State affaires in the late Kings time, and had ſo handled the matter, that he was no whit regarded, nor was there any account made of him. He was not admitted to the managing of any buſineſſe of the Common-wealth, or any publick place or

Office

Office therein. *Creighton* and *Levingſton* (the one made Protectour or Governour, the other Chancellour) did all according to their pleaſure.

Our Writers ſay that the reaſon hereof was, becauſe the Nobility envied the greatneſſe of *Douglas*, which was ſuſpected, and too much even for Kings. How pertinently either they write ſo, or the Parliament thought ſo, I referre it to be judged by the indifferent. He was farre from the Crowne, to which he never pretended title; his predeceſſours had quit all pretenſion, title, claime, or intereſt thereto, in the time of K. *Robert* the ſecond: he that did claime it, and gave over, and all his poſterity after him had ever behaved themſelves modeſtly, they had ſubmitted themſelves to all government, even to be ruled by them who were but Governours onely, and not Kings (*Robert* and *Murdock*) as obediently in every thing as any of the meaneſt of the Nobility, and had never given occaſion of any ſuſpition to any man, nor taken upon them any thing beyond or above the reſt, unleſſe it were they tooke greater paines in defence of the libertie of the Countrey, in which they ſpent their lives under their Kings. And this ſame man in the late Kings time had behaved himſelfe moſt humbly, going to priſon once or twice, and obeying his Soveraign in all things, without the leaſt ſhow of diſcontentedneſſe, farre leſſe of oppoſition. So that whatever hard opinion either the King had taken of him, or any man had put into the Kings head, hath beene without his deſerving; who if he had beene that way diſpoſed, how eaſily might he have troubled the Governour, and the whole Countrey? But ſuppoſe they did ſuſpect, and were jealous of his greatneſſe (though without a cauſe) what moved them to neglect and paſſe by the reſt of the ancient Nobilitie? was there none of them fit for thoſe places? where was the Earle of March, a valiant man, and of an ancient ſtocke? Where was the Earle of Angus, the Earle of Caſſils, and divers others? They will ſay that *Creighton* and *Levingſton* were wiſe men. But were they the onely wiſe men? were there no more wiſe men in the Countrey? Then if they were wiſe, were they good alſo? were they juſt? were they ſober, modeſt, and moderate? For without theſe vertues their wiſedome was not good, but dangerous, and even ill; chiefly when it is joyned with power, and is in authoritie. And I pray you what hath their wiſedome beene? or wherein did they ſhew under to the late King? They tell not, and I beleeve it, if it be tried, it ſhall be found that which made him to have ſo ſhort a life, that gave occaſion to his enemies to take courage againſt him; even their ſeeking of their own particular advancement, with offence, and vexing of the Nobilitie, without regarding the Kings good, or the good of the Countrey. And it muſt needs be ſo, if it were the ſame wiſedome they ſhow now after the Kings death. Therefore if we ſhall ſpeake in right termes of that matter, we ſhall ſay that *Alexander Levingſton*, and *William Creighton*, both ſmall Barons onely, and not of the ancient bloud of the Nobilitie; new men bent to ſeeke their owne profit onely, without regard to any other duty, had miſ-governed the State, and gotten the guiding of the late King, and drawn ſuch a faction, that *Douglas* being abſent in France, they had gotten all into their

their hands; *Levingſton* being made Governour, and *Creighton* Chancellour, who is the firſt Chancellour that wee reade of in our Chronicles.

The Earle *Douglas* tooke ſuch indignation at this, eſteeming it diſgracefull to the whole Nobility, and more eſpecially to himſelfe, that finding he could not bow his heart to acknowledge ſuch men, and yet not willing to oppoſe or impugne them who were cloathed with authority (which would move warre and trouble in the Countrey) he choſe, as the calmeſt and beſt courſe, to withdraw himſelfe, and not to meddle with any publick buſineſſe, or to take any care or ſhare in ruling the Countrey, which he left to them to whom it was committed, and to ſuch as had taken it upon them: with this reſolution he returned home to his owne houſe, without further troubling of them. But that he might keepe them from infringing his liberties, and priviledges granted to the houſe of Douglas of old by former Kings for their good ſervices, hee commanded ſuch as were his to containe themſelves within his regalitie, to anſwer to his courts, and to no other; profeſſing plainly that he would keepe his priviledges, and that if any man ſhould uſurp or encroach upon them, he ſhould be made ſenſible of his errour.

This was a bit caſt into the teeth of the new Governours, and did curb them very ſhort on the ſouth ſide of Forth, he having large lands and lordſhips in thoſe parts. And here their fooliſhneſſe was quickly ſeene, in that they would take upon them ſuch authority, and the unadviſedneſſe of thoſe who had given it them who were not able to execute it, but by the permiſsion of another. Hereupon alſo fell out great inconveniences, for the men of Annandale (accuſtomed to theft and robbery) ſeeing the Earle *Douglas* diſcontented, and retired (who was the onely man they ſtood in awe of, and was onely able to reſtraine them) they began to ſlight and contemne the authority of theſe Governours, and to moleſt and vexe their neighbouring Shires with driving away preyes and bootie by open force and violence, as if it had beene from the enemie. This the Governours not being able to repreſſe, the evill increaſed daily, as a canker, ſo that it overſpred the whole region (almoſt) on that ſide of Forth.

In the mean while theſe jolly Governours were ſo carefull of the common good of the Countrey, and the charge committed to them, that in ſtead of thinking how to pacifie and reſtraine thoſe Annandians, they fall at variance each with other, ſending out contrary Edicts and Proclamations: The Governour commanding that none ſhould acknowledge the Chancellour, and the Chancellour that none ſhould obey the Governor; ſo that when any came to the one to lament his eſtate, and ſeeke redreſſe, he was uſed by the other as an enemie, and both pretended the Kings authority. For the Chancellour had the King in his cuſtodie in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and the Governour had the name of authority, and was in Stirling with the Queene mother: at laſt ſhe under colour to viſit her ſonne, found meanes to convey him out of the Caſtle in a Cheſt to Stirling. And now the Governour having gotten the Kings perſon to countenance and ſtrengthen his authority, went with an Army to beſiege the

Variance betwixt the Governours.

Caſtle of Edinburgh where the Chancellour was.

The Chancellour to make himſelfe a party, ſendeth to the Earle *Douglas*, offers to come in his will, deſireth his protection, remonſtrates to him the cruelty, avarice, and ambition of the Governour, telling him that he was deceived, if he thought they would goe no further then to ſeeke to extinguiſh him, and that he would make him but a ſtep to overthrow the Nobility, and him with the firſt. *Douglas* returned anſwer, "That the "Governour and Chancellour were both alike falſe, covetous, and ambi- "tious, that their contentions were not of vertue, or for the good of their "Countrey, but onely for their owne particular quarrells, and private "commodity, in which contention there was no great matter which of "them overcame, and if both ſhould periſh, the Countrey were the bet- "ter: neither could there be a more pleaſant ſight for all honeſt men, then "to ſee ſuch a couple of Fencers yoked together. This anſwer was ſo true: that none can or doth contradict it. Their falſehood he hath known, and that is it which men call wiſedome in them by a faire name. It ſhow- eth it ſelf in their dealing with this Earles ſonne, and appeares alſo in their carriage one towards another, each ſtriving who ſhould deceive the other.

Their factiouſneſſe likewiſe, ever when they durſt for feare of a third, and that their contentions were but for particulars grounded upon ambi- tion and avarice, without any care of the common wealth, the world ſaw it then, and it may be ſeen as yet. And therefore it is moſt true that the Countrey had been better if it had been ridde of ſuch ambitious and ava- ritious Governours, ſeeking nothing but themſelves; and that it was not for any honeſt man to embroil himſelf in their ſo diſhoneſt debates, but a pleaſant ſhow and ſpectacle indeed, and to be deſired to ſee each of them (though unjuſtly) yet to doe juſtice upon the other. It was a free ſpeech alſo, no man can deny. But they ſay it was not wiſely ſpoken, for it made the two parties agree to his prejudice, and procured to him the hatred of both, at leaſt increaſed their hatred: for no doubt they hated him before, and now hee might have divided them by joyning with the Chancel- lour.

To this we anſwer, that ſeeing the Chancellour hated him, he would have done nothing, but ſerved himſelfe of him for his owne particular: either to have overthrovvne the Governour, that hee might have had all the prey and benefit alone; or perhaps made uſe of his helpe to agree vvith him on better termes, and eaſier conditions, as vvee ſee they did agree at laſt. It vvas for no common good of the Countrey, no nor for any good vvill to the Earle: vvhat could he doe then? vvhy ſhould hee have meddled vvith them? they ſay to have met vvith him in his ovvne craft, and to have uſed the one of them to overthrovv the other, that ſo both might have been overturned. Will men never leave theſe things? ſuch falſe tricks, ſuch baſtard and ſpurious vviſedome? and ſhall vve not thinke there is another vvay beſides it? there is a true honeſt vviſedome, that honeſt men may keepe vvithout faſhood, or any point, or tincture thereof, vvithout deceiving any, even the deceivers. What other anſvver did his requeſt deſerve? vvas it not fit that ſuch crafty companions, vvho

had

had abuſed the Countrey, ſhould heare the naked truth out of a Noblemans mouth? Should ſuch a Nobleman have gloſed with ſuch as they were, flattered and diſſembled, and ſtrooke cream in their mouth? Nay, it is a part of puniſhment to wickedneſſe, even to heare the owne name given to it: And it is very fit it ſhould have it. So that his anſwer cannot be juſtly taxed, but commended as true, juſt, magnanimous, and ſuch as became his place, houſe and birth, without fraud or diſſimulation, calling (as the Macedonian did) a ſpade, a ſpade; vice by the owne name: which as he did here, ſo perhaps had hee done before, when hee ſpake of the government in the late Kings time, whereby it would appeare that ſuch was his naturall diſpoſition, far from all frivolous flattery, or diſſimulation, either toward King or others. Indeed now theſe are crept in, and accounted wiſedome, to the prejudice of the ancient true generoſitie of theſe great ſpirits, farre better, and farre more worthy to bee adorned with the full and due praiſe, then to bee obliquely taxed and nipped by halfe words, as not being wiſely and profitably enough ſpoken, when there can be no juſt blame laid upon them. Neither ought it to be thought unprofitably ſaid, or dangerouſly, ſeeing (out of all queſtion) the ſame courage and magnanimity that moved him to ſpeake the truth, made him alſo now to deſpiſe their perſons, contemne their ſpleen, and ſlightly account of any power they had to doe him any harme, for all their joyning together. Neither is there any appearance, but that hee did it out of a right weighing of his owne and their power, and not out of any arrogancie, or idle confidence. And certainly, any indifferent man can thinke no leſſe, and that they durſt not attempt any thing againſt him or his ſucceſſour after him, but after a moſt treacherous manner as ever any was ſince the world ſtood. So that there was not any want of wiſedome in this ſpeech, nor in this ſame point of profit or harme.

His death followed not long after in the yeare 1438. at Raſtalrigge, of a burning feaver: very opportunely & in a good time (ſay our Writers) and ſo it was indeed for them, and ſuch as they were, who had now better opportunity to prey upon the Common-wealth, and ſpoil and uſe it for their beſt advantage. But it was unſeaſonably for the houſe of *Douglas*, which was left in the hands of a youth without experience; and therefore uncircumſpect, yea untimely for the Nobility, who became a prey to the avarice, and ambition of theſe two, and untimely for the Countrey, in that theſe two were now left free from the feare of him they ſtood moſt in awe of, and who might moſt have repreſſed their attempts, and bridled their appetites. His death.

This thing onely I can account worthy of reproofe in him, that he ſuffered Annandale to overcome the adjacent Countreyes, and did not hinder them from wronging the innocent people: hee ſhould not have thought that it did not belong to him to hinder them, becauſe he was no Magiſtrate. This if he had done, and kept juſtice within himſelf, it would have gotten him both favour and honour, and might have brought contempt upon the Governours, that could not keep peace in a more tractable and peaceable Countrey, nor amongſt themſelves: for how excellent a thing is it by good means to ſeeke honour. It would have taken away

the occaſion of the Calumnies of his enemies, who yet did much worſe themſelves: he was otherwiſe a valiant wiſe man, a lover of his Countrey, and of a free, plain, good and generous nature; his generous diſpoſition appeareth in his brave demeanour towards the Lord *Kennedie*. There being ſomething wherein the Lord *Kennedie* had wronged and offended him, he conceived ſuch high indignation thereat, that hee publiſhed his deſire of revenge to be ſuch, that whoſoever would bring the Lord *Kennedies* head, ſhould have the lands of Stuarton. This offer proceeded from ſo powerfull a man, and knowne to bee a man that would keepe his promiſe, the Lord *Kennedie* hearing of it, (fearing hee could hardly long eſcape his hands) reſolved by way of prevention to be himſelfe the preſenter of his owne head unto him, and accordingly (keeping his owne intention cloſe to himſelfe) hee came privately to Wigton, where finding the Earle *Douglas* at his devotion in Saint Ninians Church (a place famous in thoſe dayes for the frequent reſort of Pilgrimes thither) immediately after divine Service, offered his head to the Earle, as one who had deſerved the promiſed reward, and did crave it. The Earle ſeeing the reſolution and confident aſſurance of the man, who had put himſelfe in his power and mercy, forgave him all former faults, made him his friend, and withall gave him the reward he had promiſed, diſponing to him and his heires the lands of Stuarton, which his ſucceſſiours (the Earles of Caſſils) doe peaceably enjoy to this day.

He was buried in the Church of *Douglas*, called Saint Brides Church, with this inſcription.

Hic jacet Dominus Archbaldus Douglas, *Dux Turoniæ, comes de Douglas, & Longe-ville: Dominus Gallovidiæ, & Wigton, & Annandiæ, Locum tenens Regis Scotiæ. Obiit 26. die Menſis Junii, Anno Domini milleſimo quadringentiſimo triceſimo octavo.*

Of William *ſlain in Edinburgh Caſtle, the ſixth* William, *the ſixth Earle of Douglas, and third Duke of Turrain, &c.*

UNto *Archbald* Earle of Wigton, ſucceeded his ſonne *William*, a youth of no great age, of an high ſpirit, and of a ſweet, tractable, and meeke diſpoſition. And therefore we cannot but deteſt and execrate the wickedneſſe, and treachery of his enemies, who did ſo unworthily cut off ſuch a ſprig in the very budding; from whoſe bloſſomes none could but have expected paſſing good fruit, to the great good of the common-wealth, and Kingdome, if malice and envie had ſuffered it to come to maturity. Let us notwithſtanding reſt contented with his change begunne in his father by warding, and diſplacing from the roome of his Predeceſſours, from mannaging of affaires in the Kingdome, proſecuted againſt him in his life time, and now followed forth againſt his ſon. This viciſſi-

viciſſitude which befell this houſe, is to be found and ſeen in all humane affaires, and doth overturne all due and right order in the world, as farre as men can judge: for innocency is often overthrowne by cruelty; honeſty and uprightneſſe of heart by craft, falſhood and treachery: and yet let us reverence the Soveraigne cauſe, and Over-ruler of all things, who in this diſorder directeth all things certainly by a great wiſedome, and with good order doubtleſſe, things unſearchable by man. But as nothing hath ever been ſo enormous, which may not receive ſome colour, either of vertue to make it ſeem good, or at leaſt of ſome extenuation to make it ſeem not ſo ill, as it is: So this fact amongſt others I perceive to bee of the ſame kinde: by ſome thought to be good (but very ignorantly, or maliciouſly) by ſome excuſable, both in form and in fact, by a neceſſity, or pretext of the common good; by all that have written, more ſlenderly handled, and doubtingly, then ought to be. For they leave it almoſt uncertain what ought to be judged of it, whether it be good or ill: ſo that ſometimes you would thinke they condemne it, ſometimes they allow of it, and none of them deals with it ſo fully, as reaſon would they ſhould doe for the information of poſterity, and according to the right law of an Hiſtory: but as men do with nettles which they would gripe, they are affraid to handle them heartily and hardly.

Now that this ſo inſtant a fact may the better appeare in the owne colours, I will labour to waſh away the painting and plaiſter wherewith the Authours would ſo fain (but falſely) overlay it; or wherewith mens judgements (whereof many are but halfe wiſe, and perceive but the half of matters; not plumming and founding the depth and ground of things ſo well as were needfull) may be deceived by others, or may fancy to themſelves for excuſing of it, that we may learne to deteſt and abhorre ſo deteſtable and horrible facts with a true deteſtation and abhorring in earneſt and effect, that Poſterity may know and condemne, and avoid the like practices.

And for this purpoſe, before wee come to the narration of the fact it ſelfe, we will ſpeake ſomething of the Authours thereof, *Levingſton*, and *Creighton*, and their actions in the laſt Earle *Douglas* time.

We heard before (and wee muſt not forget it) how well theſe men guided the Countrey, what care they tooke of the Common-wealth; or to ſay better, how little care they tooke of it: how they cared for nothing ſave their owne particular, under colour of the Common-wealth: each ſtriving to diſgrace other by their private ſpeeches, and open Proclamations: ſo greedy and ambitious they were, that howbeit they had all the Countrey between them, yet it could not ſatisfie, or content them: they could not ſo much as agree between themſelves, to divide the ſpoil, and part the booty peaceably and quietly, which theeves and robbers, and Pirats are wont to doe without diſcord or injuſtice. But they had not ſo much modeſty, but fell at variance; ſpoyling, fighting and beſieging one another, till remembring themſelves that a third might come and take the bone from both, they were ſo wiſe as to agree for feare of him I meane the Earle *Douglas*: and that they did ſo, more in that regard, then for any good to their Countrey or love they bore one to another, it

ſoone

ſoone appeared after his death: for incontinent thereupon they returned to their old byas, and the agreeance that was made for feare of him, laſted no lónger then he lived: wherefore *Levingſton* being Governour, and having the King alſo in his cuſtody, being freed from the feare of the Earle *Douglas*, reſpected the Chancellour *Creighton* no longer, but began to deſpiſe him, and though now there was no band to binde him any longer to him, hee would give him no ſhare of his bootie and ſpoil of the Countrey, but would needs keep all to himſelf. This was his ambition, or avarice, or both; for ambition would be alone in all, and likes of no equall, no fellowſhip, no copartner. And avarice might alſo have moved him to this, for guiding all, he might take all: and if hee made the other partaker of the guiding, he behoved to make him partaker of the gain: and therefore hee would none of his aſſiſtance in the government. But let us ſee now how well he governed, hee impriſoneth the Nobles at his pleaſure, upon light grounds of ſuſpition onely, yea he caſteth them into fetters.

The third of Auguſt 1439. he warded the Lord *Lorne* and his brother Sir *James Stuart*, who had married the Queene Mother, upon ſuſpition onely for their dealing with the Earle *Douglas*, and did commit the Queen her ſelfe to bee kept in a cloſe chamber in Stirling Caſtle, of which hee himſelfe was Captain: ſo that ſhe could not get her ſelfe releaſed, untill there was kept a Convention of the Lords, then by the interceſſion of the Chancellour and ſome others, ſhe was diſmiſſed, having given Sir *Alexander Gourdon (alias Seton)* who was the firſt Earle of Huntly, ſurety and cautioner for her, that ſhe ſhould pay 4000. markes to the Governour. This was his iniquity, yea tyranny, and barbarous abuſing of Noblemen, and yet he gave remiſſions, and pardoned men guilty of great crimes, or paſſed them over by conniving.

The Chancellour therefore (who thought hee ſhould have his ſhare of the booty) ſeeing his life thus debouted by the Governour, and not being able to help it, nor to have patience, and ſit quiet, it being more then he could digeſt or beare with, retired him from Court to Edinburgh Caſtle, there to bee ſafe in his Fort, and lie in wait for the firſt opportunity that hee could finde to ſupplant *Levingſton*. Neither was he ſlow in coping of him: for before the yeare was ended, hee tooke occaſion of the Governours going to Perth, and knowing by intelligence the time and place of the Kings hunting in the fields about Stirling, thither hee rides, and bringeth him away to Edinburgh Caſtle. By this means the dice are changed, he had now gotten the durke (as our Proverb goes) he will divide the prey over again, he will have his large ſhare of all, and direct all now, as *Levingſton* had done before. The other finding himſelfe in this ſtrait, might lament his caſe, but could not helpe himſelfe: neceſſity hath no law. The Chancellour had yeelded to him before, when he (or the Queene for him) ſtole away the King. Now he hath gotten a meeting, he muſt yeeld to him again, and ſo he doth: Bowes his bonie heart, goes to Edinburgh, gets mediatours, brings on a meeting, and finally agrees by the mediation of *Henry Lighton*, Biſhop of Aberdene, and *John Inneſſe*, Biſhop of Murray.

But

But if you would ſee the right face of a ſtage play, deceivers, deceaving, diſſembling, and putting a faire outſide on their foule falſhood, and proceedings; reade me there harangues on both ſides, that you may either laugh or diſdain them. I cannot take leaſure to ſet them downe at length (as they are to bee found in our Hiſtories) but in a word, you ſhall finde nothing but pretexts of the Common-wealth, of the Publike peace, the good of the King, and the well being of all honeſt men, which is all joyned, and depends upon them, and their well being forſooth. " That " hath been ſtill their ſcope, that hath beene the aime of all their inten- " tions, no particular, no ambition, no avarice; onely love of thoſe " things which were common and profitable unto all; and becauſe in " them all did lie and ſubſiſt, in their ſtanding honeſt men did ſtand, and " by their ruine honeſt men did fall; nay, the King and Countrey were " ruined. For this cauſe and for no other, that the Countrey might bee " well, that wickedneſſe may bee bridled, they forgive one another, " avouching that their diſcords aroſe onely from diverſitie of opinion, " and judgement; while as both ſeeking the common good, one " thought one forme the beſt for it, and the other another form to bee " beſt for it, and the other another forme; which if it were true, let what hath been ſaid above beare witneſſe. It would make a man to loath ſpeaking vertuouſly, to ſee vertue by them ſo farre abuſed; yet the old Proverb might have warned them: (*Oportet mendacem eſſe memorem*) and ſometimes a liar will ſpeake truth is verified in them. They confeſſe their ambition, and ſtriving for honour and preheminence, they are aſhamed to ſay for goods and riches, but it was no leſſe true, and both were alike faulty, and they exhort one another, and promiſe to amend thereafter by a better ſtrife, who ſhould be moſt moderate and juſt. But they were as true in keeping that promiſe as they were in their diſcourſe what was paſt. *When the Foxe preacheth, take heed of the hens* (ſaith the Proverb:) we ſhall ſee notable moderation and juſtice, ſuch, as the world hath ſcarce ſeen the like example of treacherous tyranny.

This is the ſum of theſe jolly men harangues. The concluſion is a new friendſhip (if falſhood be friendſhip) or rather a conſpiracy againſt the Countrey, and directly againſt the Noblemen, who (their conſcience telleth them) hate them as new men, lifted up to the higheſt degree (as they grant themſelves) and that was reproach enough to the Nobility, and an argument of their unworthineſſe. But they might have ſaid as truely, that they were hated for abuſing the King and Countrey for their private advantage, under pretext of the common wealth, which whether the whole Nobility reſented or not, we cannot tell; for there is no mention, and it is a wonder if they did not, yet it would ſeem they did not: they had ſtouped and taken on an unworthy yoake of ſlavery. But what ever the reſt did, there was one that was a ſore thorne in their foot, and moate in their eye, it behoved to be pluckt out.

The Earle of Douglas was of the old ſpirit, of the ancient Nobilitie: he could not ſerve, nor obey but whom he ought, and the lawfull commanders, lawfully commanding for his honour and utility, whereof they were neither. Such a ſpirit is unſufferable, under theſe new conſpiring Ty-

rants:

rants: he will not acknowledge their authority, his father had told them their holy dayes name, himſelfe tooke them for his enemies. But how ſhall they doe with him? hee is not eaſily to bee dealt with; they muſt have muffles that would catch ſuch a cat. Indeed he behaved himſelfe as one that thought he would not be in their danger, hee entertained a great family, he rode ever well accompanied when he came in publike, 1000. or 2000. horſe, were his ordinary train. He had great friendſhip, and dependance of old, he had been carefull to keep them, and had alſo increaſed them, and conciliated many new followers and clients by his beneficence and liberality, and his magnificence, which was anſwerable to his place, ſuitable for an Earle of Douglas, and Duke of Turrain; which Dutchie he had obtained himſelf to be inveſted in, as heire to his father: having ſent *Malcolme* Lord Fleming, and Sir *John Lawder* of Baſſe, (or *Haton* as others ſay) into France for that purpoſe; and was well accepted of in remembrance of his father: and grandfather, he had all his affairs in ſingular good order: he had his ordinary Councell, and Counſellours for guiding his affaires: he dubbed Knights alſo, as he thought men worthy; which power and priviledge he did not uſurp out of pride, nor take upon him by imitation to counterfeit Kings (as ſome would inſinuate) but by vertue of both his dignities of Duke and Earle. And although he were but fourteen yeares of age at his fathers death (in the yeare 1438. or 39.) and was put to death in the yeare 1440. not having attained to fifteen or ſixteen, or little above at the fartheſt, yet in this his port and behaviour, did not onely appeare the ſparks of a great ſpirit, but alſo of ſuch wiſedome and providence as could ſcarce bee looked for from ſo young a man. This galled them ſo much the more to thinke if that fruit ſhould come to ripeneſſe at any time, how poyſonable, or rather, how great a counterpoyſon it would prove to their greatneſſe. But here the skinne of the Lion would not ſerve their turne (he was too hard for them to deale with by force) they doe there ſow that on that of the Fox.

The occaſion fell out thus: During the time of the jarres betwixt themſelves, the common affaires were neglected between ſtooles, and partly becauſe they could not (being but meane men of ſmall power) partly becauſe they cared not to prevent, or to amend things, many inſolencies were committed without redreſſe. The men of the Iſles had come into the main land, had put all to fire and ſword, men, women and children, young and old, farre and wide, omitting no kinde of example of avarice and cruelty: and that not onely on the Sea coaſt, but in the Lennox alſo: out of the Iſle of Loch-lomond (called Inch-mertin) they had made an appointment with a Gentleman, named *John Calhoon* (Laird of Luſſe) as if it had been to end ſome buſineſſe and ſlain him (the 23. of September) with many ſuch things, and many fowle facts had beene done in divers parts of the Countrey. Likewiſe Sir *Allane Stuart* of Darnelay was ſlain at Paſelay, by Sir *Thomas Boide*; and again, Sir *Thomas Boide* was ſlain by *Alexander Stuart* of Belmot (brother to the foreſaid Sir *Allane*) and his ſonnes, through which there aroſe great troubles in the weſt parts of the Countrey and Kingdome. The Borderers had not been idle, who living under the Earle *Douglas*, and being his followers,

or

or retainers, what they did was interpreted to be done by his allowance. And at a Convention in Edinburgh many complaints were given in againſt him, but never a word ſpoken of the taxe of Iſles men: never a word of *Levingſtons* and *Creightons* own doings, who had warred one upon another, not a word of any other ſlaughter or bloudſhed, but as though nothing were amiſſe in the Countrey, but what was done by the Earle *Douglas* dependers; they onely were complained of. Whether the cauſe was in his enemies, and that this proceeded from them, or was done by their inſtigations, our Hiſtories tell not, neither can we affirme it: yet it is ſtrange, that there being ſo many more, and more enormous faults (for the Iſle-mens were more hainous) none ſhould bee taken notice of but his mens. Theirs are exaggerated, multiplied, and made odious; and the envie thereof derived upon the Earle, as Authour of all: hereupon Sir *Alexander Levingſton*, (carrying malice in his heart, but diſſembling it for a time, with a falſe deceitfull minde) perſwaded the reſt, that the Earle *Douglas* was rather a man to be dealt with by fair means, then to be irritated by ſuſpicions: As one who had ſuch power, that if he ſhould oppoſe himſelf, he might fruſtrate all their concluſions & decrees. Wherefore he procured a letter to be written to him in an honorable manner in all their names, intreating him, that being mindful of his place, mindful of his Progenitours, whoſe good deeds and deſervings, moſt ample and notable towards his Countrey of Scotland, were ſtill extant, he would come to the Convention of the States, which could not be conveniently kept without him, & his friends. If he had taken offence at any thing, they would ſatisfie him ſo far as was poſſible. If there were any overſight committed by him, or any of his friends, they would remit it, and would forgive many things to his moſt noble houſe which had done ſo many good offices, and ſo much good ſervice to his Countrey. They would impute many things to the times, and conſider his youth, and the great hope and expectation they had of him. That hee ſhould come therefore, and take what part of the affairs of the common-wealth he beſt pleaſed, and as his Anceſtours had often delivered the Realme from dangers of warres by their armes and victories, ſo that he would be pleaſed now by his preſence to raiſe it, and eſtabliſh it almoſt ſunk, & overthrown with inteſtine diſcords.

This letter as it was honeſt in words, and very right, carrying that right courſe that ſhould have been uſed towards him, and the duety that all theſe reaſons contained, craved to have beene done to him, if it had been in ſincerity: ſo being in falſehood, and with a treacherous intention, uſed onely to entrap him, makes their ditty the clearer: for he (out of the honeſty of his owne heart) interpreting their meaning to be according to their words, and being of no ill diſpoſition, but of a ſweet and tractable nature, deſirous of glory by good means, that ſo hee might have followed the footſteps of his Predeceſſours in all good offices to his Countrey, not having ſo great malice in his minde, and therefore not thinking any could have ſo great in theirs againſt him, as to ſeeke his life, (for there had been no ſuch occaſion, their contentions with his father had not come to that hight and degree, but had been contained within the bounds of words onely) and therefore not imagining that ſo great villany

could have been harboured in their hearts, he willingly embraces the occaſion of making peace in the Country,& that he might contribute thereto his beſt endeavours, taketh his journey for Edinburgh. His friends are reported to have furthered him in this reſolution, in hope of their owne particular imployments and preferment, which (ſay they) blinded their eyes that they ſaw not the danger. But truely I cannot ſee how they could have ſeen any perill, unleſſe wee will ſay that they might have knowne that the Governour and Chancellour were treacherous men, and had given ſome proofe of as great diſloyalty before, which is not mentioned any where that we know of; for though they were knowne to be ſubject and inclinable to falſhood (as his father had objected to them before) yet it was ſo well covered, that it was not accounted falſhood, but wiſedome: for there are degrees, and there bee many who will diſpence with themſelves to ſtep ſomething aſide from the ſtrict rule of uprightneſſe (which is accounted ſimplicity) that will bee aſhamed of ſo high a degree of manifeſt treaſon, as this was. So that howbeit they knew their falſhood in ſome meaſure, yet could they not have looked for ſuch proditorious dealing: beſides it might have ſeemed to any man in diſcourſe of reaſon, that if they cared not to blot their names with the foulneſſe of the fact, yet they could not have great hope to gain or profit much by it: for what conld it avail them to cut him off, ſeeing another was to ſucceed in his place, as ill (perhaps) as he? ſo that by putting of him to death, all that they could gain would bee but an irreconcileable deadly feude with that houſe, which was too high a degree of enmity for any thing had yet been amongſt them, being nothing but grudges, and ſuch things as might have been eaſily taken away. So that (ſith the diſcourſe of man for ought we can judge, could never have reached ſo farre as to have ſuſpected what followed, but rather to have looked for the contrary) I ſee not how the Earle nor his friends can be blamed for credulity, or how it can be cenſured in him as a defect of his youth, and proceeding from want of experience: for what otherwiſe could he have done, if his experience had been never ſo great? or himſelfe never ſo old? neither is there ſufficient ground to tax his friends as if their hopes had blinded them ſo that they could not ſee any perill which no diſcourſe of reaſon could ſee, or apprehend. It is true, men ought to be circumſpect, but it is a fault alſo, and proceeds of an ill nature to be ſuſpitious, as he might well have ſeemed to bee, if hee had refuſed to come. The event ſhowes there was cauſe to ſuſpect the worſt: but I deny that reaſon could foreſee that event, or any, conſidering of the circumſtances, could have made one to have looked for it: neither can any man ſave himſelfe from ſuch treaſon, neither can it bee reputed as ſimplicitie to the ſufferer, but as a monſtrous enormity to the doer.

To returne to our purpoſe, their diſloyall practice ſtayed not in this ſmooth letter: they double fraud upon fraud: for ſo ſoone as *Creighton* knew he was on his journey, he came many miles to meet him, and inviting him to his Caſtle of Creighton (which was neare the way he was to go) he feaſted him, hee cheriſheth him, hee entertaineth him friendly, cheerfully, and magnificently: and that not for one day, but two dayes, kindly, with all the tokens and demonſtrations of a friendly minde that could

could be given. And to remove all ſuſpition of unfriendlineſſe, and the more circumvein him, he admoniſhed him familiarly, that hee would remember the royall dignity of his Prince, and his owne duty towards him. " That he would acknowledge him for his Lord and Soveraigne, whom " the condition of his birth, the lawes of the Countrey, and the conſent " of the eſtates had placed at the rudder of the Common-wealth: that he " would labour to tranſmit his ſo great Patrimony acquired by the vertue " of his Anceſtours, and with ſpending of their bloud to his Poſterity, " even ſo as he had received it: that hee would be carefull to keepe the " name of *Douglas*, which was no leſſe illuſtrious and renowned for their " faithfulneſſe, then their deeds of armes, not onely from the foule blot " of treaſon, but even from all ſtain of ſuſpition, or aſperſion thereof: " that hee himſelfe would abſtain, and cauſe his men to abſtaine, " from wronging the poore people: that hee would put from about " him theeves and robbers: finally, that in time to come he would " ſet himſelfe to maintaine juſtice, that if hee had offended any " thing in times paſt, it might be imputed not to his naturall diſpoſition, " but to ill counſell, and that infirmity of his youth, penitency would be " admitted, and accepted as innocency. Venemous Viper that could hide ſo deadly poyſon under ſo faire ſhowes! unworthy tongue, unleſſe to be cut out for example to all ages! Let not the Poets bee thought fabulous, who have transformed men into beaſts; loe a beaſt compoſed of many beaſts: a Lion, a Tiger, for cruelty of heart: a Waſpe, a Spider, a Viper, for ſpight & malicious poyſonableneſſe: a Foxe and Camelion, for falſehood and doubleneſſe: a Cockatrice and Crokodile, and whatſoever nature hath brought forth, that is deceitfull and hurtfull, a ſweet ſinging Ciren, enchanting the outward ſences to the deſtruction of the liſtner, ſo much the more odious, that it was in the ſhape of a man; and the more deteſtable, that it durſt ſo pollute the image of God, ſo abuſe the glory of man: the ſpeech of the tongue therefore given him (beyond the beaſt) that he might imploy it well to informe aright, to ſpeake truth, and to do good to others. The honeſt heart of the hearer that knew what he ſpake was right, and intended to follow ſo good counſell, taketh all in good part, beleeveth the ſpeech for the truthes ſake, the man for his ſpeeches ſake. And who could have done otherwayes? who would not have thought that he who knew ſo well what was right, would have had ſome regard to doe right? ſhall we account it childiſhneſſe, that he accounted ſo of them, and ſuffered him to be ſo deceived? nay, hee could not keep himſelfe undeceived. Good men, and wiſe men have often been deceived both in ſacred and prophane Hiſtories. We muſt not impute it to childiſhneſſe in *Abner*, that *Joab* ſtabbed him under truſt, but eſteeme it vile treachery in *Joab*, of whom *David* ſayes, *Hee dieth not as a foole dieth*, howbeit his hands were not bound, but as a good man falleth before a wicked man, that is by treaſon, which no man can eſchew.

It is ſaid that his friends ſeeing ſo extraordinary entertainment, ſo faire language above meaſure, ſo humble behaviour, and withall ſo many meſſages (at every ſtep almoſt) betwixt the Governour and the Chancellour, tooke ſome ſuſpition of ill meaning, and that there aroſe firſt a ſtill mur-

mure through the whole company; thereafter ſome began to admoniſh him, that if he would perſiſt to goe on, he would ſend back his brother *David*, being mindefull of a precept of his fathers, *That they ſhould not come both together into one place where themſelves were not maſters, leſt they ſhould endanger their whole family at once.* The unwary youth (unwary indeed; but what warineſſe could he have poore innocent?) and very well inclined, even angry with his friends, ſtayed thoſe murmures by a plain commandment, and aſſured his friends thus: That he knew well it was a perpetuall peſt of great houſes that they had ever about them ſome men that were impatient of peace, who made gain of the perils, travels, and miſeries of their Lords and Patriarkes: and becauſe in peace they were reſtrained by the bridle of the law, they were ever ſtirring up ſtrife and ſedition, that in troubled times they might have greater ſcope and liberty to their wickedneſſe. As for himſelf, hee repoſed more upon the known wiſedome and prudencie of the Governor and Chancellour, then to give eare to their ſuſpicious ſurmiſes.

This ſpeech thus uttered, teſtifying both an acknowledging of the evill paſt, and a reſolution to amend, was it not ſufficient to have purged whatſoever errour had been, or might have been thought to have eſcaped him before? And certainly it would, if theſe men had regarded Juſtice, or the good of the Common-wealth, and had deſired to reclaim him from his errours, and winne him to his Countrey. But his ſo full confidence thus repoſing on their credit, was it not enough to have tied them to have kept their credit? If there had been any ſpark of humanity or nature of man left in them: and if they had not beene worſe then ſavage beaſts. Truſt deſerveth that we ſhould prove worthy of that truſt, and credit procures keeping of credit; where all humane nature is not extinct, and even ſimplicity deſerveth favour and pitie. Neither can a man that is not altogether given over, and hath not ſold himſelfe to wickednes chooſe but favour it, and have compaſſion of it; yea though he had been otherwiſe diſpoſed in the beginning, it would even move any mans heart (that were indeed a man, and not changed into a beaſt) to favour and commiſerate, and would have tamed and calmed any former diſcontentment, and have wrung from them any evill intention which they might (perhaps) have conceived before. However, this noble youth goeth on in the innocency of his heart, and that the more quickely, to cut off all occaſion of ſuch ſpeeches, and with his brother, and with a few other principall friends goeth directly to the Caſtle, (being led as it were and drawne by a fatall deſtiny) and both enter, and ſo come in the power of thoſe their deadly enemies and fained friends. At the very inſtant comes the Governour (as was before appointed betwixt them) to play his part of the Tragedy, that both might bee alike embarked in the action, and beare the envie of ſo ugly a fact, that the weight thereof might not lie on one alone: yet to play out their treacherous parts, they welcome him moſt courteouſly, ſet him to dinner with the King at the ſame table, feaſt him royally, intertain him chearfully, and that for a long time. At laſt about the end of dinner, they compaſſe him about with armed men, and cauſe preſent a bulls head before him on the boord: the bulls head was

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in thoſe dayes a token of death (ſay our Hiſtories) but how it hath come in uſe ſo to bee taken, and ſignifie, neither doe they, nor any elſe tell us, neither is it to be found (that I remember) any where in any Hiſtory, ſave in this one place: neither can wee conjecture what affinity it can have therewith, unleſſe to exprobrate groſſeneſſe, according to the French, and our owne reproaching dull, and groſſe wits, by calling him Calves-head (*teſte de Veau*) but not Bulls head. So that by this they did inſult over that innocencie which they had ſnared, and applaud their owne wiſedome that had ſo circumvented him: a brave commendation indeed, and an honeſt! yet I wonder what they meant by entertaining him ſo well at that time, there was ſome reaſon for it why they ſhould have done it by the way, that they might worke out their treaſon, untill he were within their thongs: but being now within the Caſtle, and fully in their power, I wonder what it ſhould mean to make him ſo faire a welcome, to feaſt him ſo liberally and ſolemnely at the Kings table, and from thence to bring him to the ſhambles: what could have beene their intention? might they not have conveyed him to ſome private chamber? might they not have carried him to the place of execution? what needed all this proceſſe? what needed they to have let him ſee the King at all? It would ſeem as if they had not been fully reſolved upon the buſineſſe before; and that their intentions and purpoſes were not treaſonable, but that they tooke occaſion to be treaſonable from the facility to atchieve it: but our Writers are cleare againſt that, and ſay onely it was pre-concluded, when he was written for. It might ſeeme alſo that they did this to communicate the matter, or to transferre it altogether upon the King: but he was too young, and purges himſelfe by diſproving of it. So that I can ſee no other reaſon of it, but as the Lion with his prey, or (to uſe a more baſe, yet a more familiar example, and the baſer the fitter for them) as the cat with the mouſe, which ſhe might devoure immediately, yet it pleaſeth her to play a little with it: So they for their greater ſatisfaction, and contentment, delight to play out their Sceane; ſo ſtrangely (notwithſtanding) that ſuch proceſſe and uncouth formes of doing might ſeem to import ſome myſtery, and deeper reach then ordinary: which I confeſſe is ſo profound and deep a folly, and miſchantneſſe, that I can no wiſe ſound it, unleſſe it were that the Noblemans place, and his worth forced their wicked hearts to acknowledge it notwithſtanding their wickedneſſe: And although the acknowledging could not prevaile ſo farre, as to make them leave off the enterpriſe, yet did it in ſome ſort brangle their reſolution, and wrung out this confeſſion of his worth: as all the actions of wickedneſſe, and all wickedneſſe in the acting, are full of contradictions, as this ſame is moſt clearly: for if this Nobleman was guilty of death, why is he brought into the Kings preſence? why is he ſet at his table? If he was not guilty, why was he put to death? So difficult a thing it is in a lie to keep conformity, either in a lie of actions (ſo to ſpeake) or in a lie of words! In words it is difficult ſo to ſpeake that the attentive hearer ſhall not perceive contrariety: In actions it is impoſſible that they can be diſſembled. This action is a lie, for it ſaith he is guilty of death; but their welcomming of him, their ſetting of him at the table with the King, and their feaſting,

ſayes,

ſayes, he is an innocent, Noble, worthy man; Indeed onely truth in word and action can accord with it ſelfe: as it is uniforme, it floweth from unitie, tendeth to it, and endeth in it, and keepeth the taſte of the fountain from which it cometh. So they having given this confeſſion of his worth, and again, (by that ominous ſigne) contradicted their confeſſion, muſt needs be falſe witneſſes however it go. The young Nobleman either underſtanding the ſigne as an ordinary thing, or aſtoniſhed with it as an uncouth thing, upon the ſight of the Buls head offering to riſe, was laid hold of by their armed men in the Kings preſence at the Kings table, which ſhould have beene a Sanctuary to him. And ſo without regard of King, or any duty, and without any further proceſſe, without order, aſſiſe (or jurie) without law, no crime objected, he not being convicted at all; a young man of that age that was not liable to the law in regard of his youth, a Nobleman of that place, a worthy young Gentleman of ſuch expectation, a gueſt of that acceptation, one who had repoſed upon their credit, who had committed himſelfe to them, a friend in mind, who looked for friendſhip, to whom all friendſhip was promiſed; againſt dutie, law, friendſhip, faith, honeſty, humanitie, hoſpitalitie; againſt nature, againſt humane ſociety, againſt Gods Law, againſt mans law, and the law of nature, is cruelly executed, and put to death: They, (in deſpight as it were) ſpitting in the face of all duty and honeſty, proclaiming (as farre as lay in them) there was no dutie to God nor man to bee regarded. And that the meaſure of their wickedneſſe thus heaped and ſhaken, and preſt downe might alſo runne over; all this was done (as it ſhould ſeem) without the conſent, nay, againſt the will of their King and Soveraigne, who wept at their execution, and forbad them to meddle with his Couſin: the ſhameleſſe men chid him for weeping at the death of his enemy (as they call him) during whoſe life (ſay they) hee needed never to looke for peace, whereas they themſelves were his chiefeſt enemies, and greateſt traitours to him, and beſides him to God and nature, and to the office of Juſtice which they bore; bringing a blot on the one, and the other, and bloud-guiltineſſe upon his Crowne, ſo farre as lay in them.

This is that deteſtable fact never enough to be extracted, which I have laboured indeed to ſet forth in the owne ſimple colours, ſtripping it naked of all farding (though I confeſſe no words can equall the wickedneſſe of it) that men may learn to deteſt ſuch things wherein may bee ſeen what reſpect they have carried either to juſtice, to equity, to common peace, or Common-wealth; that thought it better to root out ſuch a plant, then to dreſſe and to cheriſh it; to ruine ſuch a houſe rather then to gain it, which they never would have done, if their private pride and avarice had not had the greateſt ſway with them. I thinke all honeſt minds ſhould diſdain to reade what they gave out before of their love to the publike good, having here ſo terribly belied it: neither ſhould any man ſpeake of it indifferently without a note of deteſtation; neither extenuate it by the Earles ſimplicity, which ſeemes to diminiſh and leſſen this execrable perfidie, and cruelty. If this were the wiſedome, whereof they had purchaſed an opinion and name under the former King *James* the firſt, and if they had

practiſed

practiſed ſuch things as this, it hath been a bitter root, and hath brought forth a very bitter fruit, and hath, in all appearance been no ſmall part of the cauſe of haſtening his death, and the emboldning of his enemies unto it, as indeed I finde ſome of our Writers inclined to ſay; for ſuch new men goe commonly about to perſwade Princes, that ancient Noblemen are enemies to them, and barres to their abſoluteneſſe, which is it that theſe men here mean, in ſaying that the Earle *Douglas* was an enemy to the King. Not that he bare any ill will to the Kings perſon (for that they could no wayes make appeare) but becauſe he was ſo great a man: According to that generall rule, that greatneſſe in the Nobility is dangerous for the Prince, and as if to be a great man were by infallible conſequence to be an enemy to the King. Which maxime I feare they have beaten into his head afterwards, not ſo much to ſtrengthen and provide for his ſecurity, as to draw him to their party for ſtrengthening of themſelves: for we ſee all their intentions aime but at their owne particulars; and ſo in this they intend nothing elſe; onely they colour their particulars with the Pretext of the Kings ſervice, as they doe this wicked fact alſo.

David Douglas the younger brother was alſo put to death with him, and *Malcolme Fleming* of Cumbernald his ſpeciall Counſellour. They were all three beheaded in the back Court of the Caſtle, that lieth to the Weſt. This augments yet their wickedneſſe, that they execute his brother alſo, whoſe age behoved to be leſſe then his owne, who was but very young too, as wee have ſaid. Theſe were good Tutors and bringers up of a young Prince, thus as it were to bait him with the bloud of his Nobility, and to imprint ſuch a leſſon in his tender minde that they were his enemies. But for concluſion of this matter, concerning theſe young men, as there was no law laid againſt them, ſo is there no Hiſtory that beareth witneſſe that they were guilty of any capitall crime. And *Major* ſaith expreſly, *Apud Annales legi, quod viri illi non erant rei mortis, ſed conſilio & dolo* Gulielmi Crighton, *Scotiæ Cancellarii hæc perpetrata ſunt:* That is, I reade in our Annales that theſe men were not guilty of death, but this matter was atchieved by the counſell and fraud of *Crighton* Chancellour. It is ſure the people did abhorre it, execrating the very place where it was done, in deteſtation of the fact: of which the memory remaineth yet to our dayes in theſe words.

Edinburgh Caſtle, Towne and Tower,
God grant thou ſinke for ſinne;
And that even for the black dinner
Earle Douglas *got therein.*

Now ſith theſe youths were not guiltie, whereof were they not guilty that put them to death? and with what note of infamy to bee branded? Though ſome ſeeme to blame this innocent young man (as they cannot deny him to have beene) with halfe words, as guided by flattery, given to inſolency, preſumptuous in his Port, yet is there no effect, or affection brought importing either his being addicted to flattery, or that hee was more inſolent, preſumptuous or arrogant, then became a man of his ranke.

ranke. But contrary, that he was of a gentle nature, a repulſer of flatterie (now as hee grew in age) and of due magnificence, ſuch as well became him. Let us therefore account of him ſo, as one that was ſingular in reſpect of his yeares. And let the blame lie fully on his enemies, who ſhall finde ſome meeting hereafter from their Couſin; that they may finde all the houſe periſhed not with him, though indeed the puniſhment was not proportionated to that which they deſerved.

In Gulielm. *&* David. *fratres in Arce Edinburgena trucidatos.*

Veſtra Sophocleo cædes eſt digna cothurno,
Veſtra Thyeſtea cœna cruenta magis,
Vos ſcelere atque dolis, vos proditione necati,
Inſontes, puerique & patriæ procere:
Regius & veſtro eſt fœdatus funere vultus:
Qui fertur ſiccas non tenuiſſe genas.
Hæccine (Rectores) veſtra eſt prudentia tanta?
Hæccine laudatur juſtitia? hæcne fides?
Exemplum æternis nunquam delebile faſtis
Perſtat fraudis atræ, perfidiæque trucis.

In Engliſh thus,

Your murther may deſerve a tragick Muſe,
Your horrid dinner juſtly might excuſe
Thyeſtes feaſt, by a more treacherous train
Drawn to the axe, more barbarouſly ſlain
Then was his ſonne: your Princes guiltleſſe eye
Stain'd with the ſight, wept at the cruelty.
Is this theſe Rulers wiſedome? this their love
To Juſtice? this the prudence men approve
So much? O! blacke example fit to be
Mark't in eternall ſcroules of infamy.

Of James (*called Groſſe* James) *the third* James, *ſixteenth Lord, and ſeventh Earle of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Abercorne, and Annandale, the fourth Duke of Turraine, and Lord of Longe-ville.*

UNto *William* ſucceeded his fathers brother, *Iames* Lord of Abercorne, in all the lands that were intailed, but *Beatrix*, ſiſter to the ſaid *William*, fell here to the reſt that were not entailed, which were many (ſay our Writers) ſpecially Galloway, Wigton, Balvein, Ormund, Annandale. This *Iames* was called groſſe *Iames*, becauſe hee was a corpulent man of body: he had to wife *Beatrix Sinclair* daughter to the Earle of Orknay, but which Earle it is not expreſſed. To finde it, wee muſt conſider, that from 1 *William Sinclair* (the firſt that came out of France, and married *Agnes Dumbarre*, daughter to *Patrick* firſt Earle of March) 2 the next was *Henry* his ſonne, who was married to *Katherine* daughter to the Earle of Stratherne. 3 His ſonne called *Henry*, alſo married *Margaret Gratcnay*, daughter to the Earle of Marre. 4 This *Henries* ſonne, Sir *William* paſſed into Spain, with good Sir *James Douglas*, who carried the *Bruces* heart to Jeruſalem; hee was married to *Elizabeth Speire* daughter to the Earle of Orknay and Shetland, and ſo by her became the firſt Earle of Orknay of the *Sinclaires*. The ſecond Earle was 5 *William* alſo, who married *Florentina* daughter to the King of Denmark, the ſixth perſon, and third Earle was (his ſon) *Henry* who married *Giles* (or *Egidia*) daughter to the Lord of Niddiſdale. The ſeventh perſon and fourth Earle is Sir *William*, who married *Elizabeth Douglas* daughter to *Archbald Tine-man* (the firſt Duke of Turrain) and ſiſter to this *Iames* the groſſe. Now this *Iames* his wife cannot have been this laſt Sir *Williams* daughter, for then ſhe ſhould have been his owne ſiſters daughter. And therefore ſhe hath been either *Henries* (that married *Giles Douglas*) or elſe Sir *Williams*, who married *Florentina*; which of the two I leave it to conjecture; her great ſpirit, and high ambition would ſeem to argue that ſhee was come of Kings, and near to them: but the Monument in *Douglas* calleth her daughter to *Henry*.

She bare to this Earle *Iames* ſeven ſonnes, and foure daughters. The name of the eldeſt was *William*, and the ſecond *Iames*, who were Earles of Douglas, both of them by ſucceſſion, as we ſhall heare. The third, was *Archbald*, who married the daughter of *John Dumbarre* Earle of Murray, brother to *George* Earle of March, by which means he got the Earledome of Murray. The fourth, named *Hugh*, was made Earle of Ormond, and had ſundry lands given him by the King in Tividale and Roſſe. The fifth *John* was made Lord of Balvenie. The ſixth *Henry* was Biſhop of Duncalden. *George*, the ſeventh, died before he was fifteen yeares of age, as our Chronicles do witneſſe; but there is no mention of him in the monuments at Douglas, where the reſt are ſet downe by name. As for his foure daughters, 1 *Margaret* the eldeſt was married to the Lord *Dalkeith*:

2 *Beairix* the ſecond, to *John Stuart* Duke of Albanie, Conſtable of Scotland, and Captain of fifty men at armes in France. The third was named *Jennat*, and was married to the Lord *Flemine* of Cumbernauld. *Elizabeth* (who was the fourth) died unmarried. This Groſſe *Iames* his eldeſt ſonne *William*, partly to hold up the greatneſſe of his houſe, partly by the Ladies owne deſire, (who directly refuſed to marry any other of the name of *Douglas*) married *Beatrix Douglas* his Couſin: She was called the faire maiden of Galloway: and ſo by this match the eſtate of *Douglas* was preſerved intire, and thoſe lands which ſhee would have been heire to, and divided from it, were kept in their owne hands. This match was made farre againſt the opinion of the reſt of the name of *Douglas*, who thought it better that ſhe ſhould have been married to ſome of the houſe of Angus or Dalkeith, alledging that the houſe of Douglas was too great already, and that their greatneſſe would be the ruine of the houſe, which maxime although it proveth often true, that too great Dominions under Princes, as alſo Princes themſelves having ſo large extent of territories, and other republicks, and Common-wealths, when they come to that hugeneſſe that they cannot eaſily be governed, do fall, and are overthrown by their owne weight: and the conſpiracies and combinations of neighbouring Princes, or States (who feare, and are jealous of their exceſſive greatneſſe) or by their Subjects within, either through the Princes jealouſie (who ſuſpects them) or others envie, who ſtirre jealouſie in the Prince, and draw him to ſuſpect them. And therefore all, both Lordſhips and Empires, are to be reſtrained and kept within a mediocritie, and that as well Princes, and Common-wealths, as ſubjects; which all men will confeſſe: but what this mediocritie is, they declare not, neither will they confeſſe, or doe they ever thinke that they are come to that fulneſſe, that there is any danger of exceeding ſo farre, as to procure their overthrow, or breed any perill. It is ſaid of *Auguſtus Ceſar* that he intended ſome moderation of the Empire, and had reſolved to have propagate it no further: yet it was doubted upon what ground it was that hee thus reſolved; whether out of prudencie, or of envie toward his ſucceſſours, that none might goe beyond him, or adde any more to it then he had. And it is indeed a hard matter to perſwade men, and perhaps no leſſe difficult to prove, for all agree that theſe inferiour things (even all of them) are in a perpetuall fluxe and motion, and that they cannot ſtand long at a ſtay, without going either forward or backward, increaſing or decreaſing. If therefore they goe not forward, they muſt goe backe; if they doe not increaſe, they muſt decreaſe: which if it be true, it were better to ſeek to increaſe ſo long as men may, then to take them to a ſtanding, from which they muſt decreaſe, if they doe not increaſe.

But whether out of that diſcourſe of reaſon, his friends of the name of *Douglas* would thus have perſwaded him not to become too great, for feare of falling, or for any particular of their owne, or whether he for this other reaſon, or rather for the common diſpoſition of men to preſſe ever forward, I know not, but hee choſe to bee great, and take his hazzard. And becauſe the two parties were within the degrees prohibited by the Romane Church (Brothers children) he ſent to Rome for a diſpenſation, which

which being long in coming, and he fearing leaſt the King, and the reſt of the name of *Douglas* would caſt all the impediments they could in the way to hinder the match (which was alſo reported, and not without ground) cauſed haſten the marriage before the diſpenſation came, and that in Lent too, a time forbidden alſo, and which is more, on the friday before Paſch, called commonly Good-friday. This was thought ominous, and the unhappy event confirmed this opinion. They were married in the Church of Douglas. Some write that this marriage was procured and made by the young man himſelfe, after the deceaſe of his father. However, this was a ſpeciall cauſe of diſſention, and diviſion amongſt thoſe of the name of *Douglas*.

For the actions of this groſſe *James*, wee have no particulars recorded in Hiſtories, either in his brothers time, or his nephewes time, or now when he cometh to be Earle himſelfe. There is no mention at all made of him, whether he did any thing for to revenge the murther of his nephewes by *Creighton* and *Levingſton*: belike as he hath been corpulent, ſo hath his corpulenſie cauſed a dulneſſe of ſpirit, as commonly it doth. Some write that he was Warden of all the Marches, and his Monument at Douglas agreeth with them, and ſayes that hee was a great juſticiary. Others write that he was no ill man, that hee entertained no diſordered wicked men, but yet he did not repreſſe them ſharply enough, and therefore was ſuſpected by the King, and diſliked by many: hee died in Abercorne within two yeares, or not three (ſayes the manuſcript) after the marriage of his ſonne, which hath not been long in the making. Wee may gheſſe it moſt probably to have beene not fully three yeares, and ſo that he died in the yeare 1443. Hee was buried in Douglas, where on his Tombe he is called (*Magnus Princeps*) and amongſt other Titles, Lord of Liddiſdale, and Jedward Forreſt: his wife is ſtyled *Domina Aveniæ*, Lady of Avendale. His Epitaph there is yet to be ſeen thus,

Hic jacet magnus & potens Princeps, Dominus Jacobus *de Douglas, Comes de Douglas, Dominus Annandiæ, & Gallovidiæ, Liddaliæ, & Jedburg-Forreſtiæ, & Dominus de Balveniâ, magnus Wardanus Regni Scotiæ verſus Angliam, &c. Qui obiit viceſimo quarto die menſis Martii, Anno Domini milleſimo quadringenteſimo quadrageſimo tertio.* 1443.

His Wives is thus:

Hic jacet Domina Beatrix *de* Sinclaire, (*filia Domini* Henrici *Comitis Orcadum, Domini de* Sinclaire,) *Comitiſſa de Douglas, & Aveniæ, Domina Gallovidiæ.*

His Childrens thus:

Hæ ſunt proles inter prædictos Dominum, & Dominam generatæ. 1 *Dominus* Gulielmus *primò genitus, & hæres prædicti Domini* Jacobi, *qui ſucceſſit ad totam hæreditatem prædictam.* 2 Jacobus *ſecundò genitus, Magiſter de Douglas.* 3 Archibaldus *tertiò genitus, Co-*

mes Murray. 4 Hugo *quarto genitus, comes Ormundiæ.* 5 Johannes *quinto genitus, Dominus Balveniæ.* 6 Henricus *ſexto genitus.* Margarita *uxor Domini de Dalkeith:* Beatrix *uxor Domini de Aubignia.* Joneta *uxor Domini de Biggar, & Cumbernauld.* Elizabetha *de Douglas, quarta filia erat.*

In Engliſh thus,

Here lies a great and powerfull Prince, Lord *Iames Douglas*, Earle of Douglas, Lord of Annandale, and Galloway, Liddeſdale and Jedbrough-Forreſt, and Lord of Balveny, great Warden of the Kingdome of Scotland towards England, &c. Hee died the 24. day of March, in the yeare 1443.

His Wives is thus,

Here lies the Lady *Beatrix Sinclair*, daughter of *Henry* Lord of the Iſles, Lord *Sinclair*, Counteſſe of Douglas and Evendale, Lady Galloway.

Their Children.

Theſe are the children betwixt the ſaid Lord and Lady: 1 Lord *William* his eldeſt ſonne, and heire to the ſaid Lord *Iames*, who ſucceeded to all the foreſaids lands. 2 *Iames* the ſecond ſonne, Maſter of Douglas. 3 *Archbald*, the third ſonne, Earle of Murray. 4 *Hugh*, the fourth ſonne, Earle of Ormund. 5 *John* the fifth ſonne, Lord of Balvenie. 6 *Henry*, the ſixth ſonne. *Margaret*, wife to the Lord of Dalkeith: *Beatrix*, wife to the Lord Aubignie: *Jenet*, wife to the Lord of Biggar and Cumbernald: *Elizabeth Douglas* was the fourth daughter.

Iacobus Craſſus,

Duglaſii *craſsique mihi cognomina ſoli,*
Conveniunt: O quam nomina juncta male.

Iames the groſſe.

To be a *Douglas*, and be groſſe withall,
You ſhall not finde another 'mongſt them all.

Of

Of William *ſlain in Stirling Caſtle, the ſeventh* William, *and eighth Earle of Douglas, the ſixteenth Lord, and fifth Duke of Turrain, &c.*

UNto *James* ſucceeded his ſonne *William*, a man of another mettall, and reſembling more his Grandfather, and Couſin, (who was put to death in Edinburgh Caſtle) then his father, who did remember, and imitate more his Couſins diligence, then his fathers negligence, for hee endeavoured by all means to entertaine and augment the grandure of the houſe by bonds, friendſhip, and dependances; retaining, renewing, and increaſing them: and therefore his marriage of his Couſin *Beatrix* is attributed to him, and is thought to be his owne doing, and not his fathers. Upon his firſt coming to be Earle, his firſt care was to eſtabliſh ſome certain order for his affaires: for which purpoſe hee conveened his whole friends at Dumfreis, made choice of his Counſellours, createth his Officers for his rents and caſualties, and ſettleth a conſtant order in his houſe. Great was that houſe (as hath been ſaid) and doubtleſſe it was nothing diminiſhed by him, but rather increaſed by the acceſſion of his fathers eſtate (which he had ere he was Earle) and his wife: which being added unto the old Patrimony of the houſe, made it to ſurpaſſe all others that were but Subjects: for it had beene ever growing from hand to hand, ſince the time of Lord *James* ſlain in Spaine, continually, who had the Lordſhip of Douglas onely at the firſt. To it was added the Lordſhip of Galloway by *Archbald*, ſlain at Halidoun-hill. By *Archbald* the *Grimme*, the Lordſhip of Bothwell. By *Archbald* the third (called *Tineman*) the Dutchie of Turrain, and Lordſhip of Longe-ville. Annandale, and the Earledome of Wigton, by *Archbald* the fourth: and now the Lordſhip of Abercorn, by Groſſe *James*. So that his revenue hath beene huge at this time, as appeares alſo by the ranke hee ever carried, as ſecond in the Kingdome.

His dependance and following may bee judged by theſe his Lordſhips, and eſtate, and for his other friendſhip, there were divers houſes of the *Douglaſſes*; as Angus, Morton, Drumlanrigge. By his alliance he had Aubigny, and the Lord *Fleming* of Cumbernauld, who had married his ſiſter. By his mother, the Earle of Orknay by his wife, at (*Beatrix*) the houſe of Crawford, of which her mother was a daughter, beſide the old friendſhip that was ever betwixt them. And this may be ſeen by Hiſtory, who liſt to obſerve it, whereof more may be found by a more accurate diſquiſition. Thus enriched, thus waited on, thus followed, thus ſerved, thus underpropped, and ſuſtained by wealth, friendſhip, dependance, alliance, and kindred, his power and greatneſſe was ſuch, as was not matched under the Prince by any in this Kingdome.

But here is the maleheure, the Principalls of his owne name (Angus and Morton) aſſiſted him not, but divided themſelves from him; and either were not his friends, or even became enemies, as wee ſhall heare hereafter. What the occaſion thereof was, is not directly mentioned: ſome thinke

thinke it was the diſcontentment they had conceived at his marriage, either becauſe they accounted it unlawfull, or becauſe ſome of them would have had her to themſelves, which is the more likely, or in reſpect of their kindred with the King, who was indeed induced (though not yet) to think hardly of him; or out of emulation of his greatneſſe, as an hinderance to their growth, which was Biſhop *Kennedies* opinion to his brother, the Earle of Angus: and ſo it falleth out often, where a decay is to come upon a houſe, it firſt divides from, and within it ſelfe, yet that was but an inſenſible point at this time; his owne greatneſſe being ſuch as would ſcarce ſuffer him to finde the loſſe; ſtanding as it were not by any friendſhip, but meerely of himſelfe, and upon his bottome.

At the very firſt, when hee entred to the Earledome, he entred alſo (as hereditary) to the enmitie of the two grand guiders of the time *Levingſton* and *Creighton*, with whom the hatred tooke beginning in his Uncles time, and was thereafter traiterouſly, and cruelly proſecuted by them, on his two Couſins: it continued, though coldly, in his fathers time, and was now quickned and revived by himſelfe. They would needs lay the blame of whatſoever diſorder happened in the Countrey upon him; not onely of what fell out in the borders (where hee commanded, and might command indeed) but even in the Highlands alſo, that which *John Gorme* of Athole did (who fought with the Laird of Ruthven, and would have reſcued a thiefe out of his hands (being apprehended by him as Sheriffe) if hee had not beene defeated, and thirtie of his men ſlain by Ruthven) they would have it to bee thought that the Earle Douglas forſooth had an hand in it. But it is well that our Writers ſay, it was but thought ſo: and thought it had beene ſaid ſo by his enemies, there is no neceſſitie to beleeve it was ſo, for they had done him more wrong, and dealt more treacherouſly with him, then to make ſuch a report for me, it ſoundeth not in my eares, that it had ſo long a foote, or that *John Gorme* could not doe ſuch a thing without the Earle of Douglas, or that the Earle Douglas would meddle with ſuch a matter. This I thinke, that in his owne bounds he would ſuffer none to acknowledge the Governours, which was his Uncles courſe, as we heard, ſeeing he was himſelfe to bee anſwerable for them. It was his fathers way alſo (though more coldly according to his naturall diſpoſition) as may bee gathered of that which is ſaid, that he repreſſed not theeves, though he entertained them not: which is as much as to ſay, as he was not Authour, or occaſion of their theft, yet, he being no Magiſtrate himſelfe, and others having taken the government upon them, he would let them beare the weight of their owne charge in executing thereof, and would not help them therein by reſtraining any. And that ſo much the rather, becauſe having murthered his Nephew, he could not with credit employ himſelfe to eaſe them of their burthen by his aſſiſtance: he did them no hurt, he could not with honour do them any good. So hee lets them alone, doing to them neither ill nor good, then which I thinke he could not do leſſe. And where juſt cauſe of enmity was, how could it be more modeſtly uſed? Except they would have had him (after ſuch a vilanous fact) to go creeping under their feet (as we ſay) which the meaneſt man will not doe after the ſmalleſt injurie. And even

where

where there is no injury, unleſſe men reape ſome benefit, they will ſuffer others to do their owne part, and not help them, where they have no intereſt either as belonging to their charge, or from whence they may gather ſome profit.

It is true, he onely could doe that ſervice, and there was no ability in them that had the charge, but he was not obliged to ſupply their inability: and why ſhould they have taken on them? or why ſhould the States (which I thinke did not, but that it was done by faction) have laid it upon them, that were not able to diſcharge it? This was not wiſely done, and it is the very point of the errour in the Eſtates (ſo called) and the ground of all the inconveniences that fell out, for they choſe men that had not power to diſcharge the Office, and ſuch as had, did let them do it alone; and withall (perhaps) diſdained their preferment, as being without merit, for wee ſee no merit in them by true vertue: hereon aroſe diſcontents, then grudges, then croſſings, then blamings, and reproaching in words and deeds, growing at laſt to an open enmitie. Of ſuch great importance is it, to make right choice of men for employments. And ſuch wiſedome is requiſite in the chooſers (bee it Eſtates, be it Princes) not to follow affection, but to conſider worth and ability rightly, and to employ accordingly: which if it be not done, it carrieth with it infinite inconveniences, & hath troubled many Eſtates, yea, ruined them; and it muſt needs be ſo. Happy State, happy Prince, yea, happy he whoſoever, that having a neceſſity to imploy others (as who hath not) imployeth according to reaſon, and not affection, or hath his affections ruled by reaſon! which if hee doe not, it ſhall diſgrace the imployer, breed diſdain to him that is imployed, and bring contempt upon both, which will burſt out with occaſion, and not long be curbed, and kept in, thought it lurke for a time.

It may bee this Earle of Douglas hath gone further then his father in ſhowing his contempt of theſe juſtice-bearers. It may be hee hath borne with the Bordermen, and been more ſlack in repreſſing of them, (for his father repreſſed them, though not enough) becauſe hee had intention to imploy them; being more ſenſible of the wrong done to his Couſins, & had a greater eye to revenge it, and therefore was loth to controule theſe men of ſervice, further then the mere neceſſity of his place did require at his hands, whereof the rule (in the eyes of the people) was to ſave all men from that miſery as farre as he could: in his owne eyes, the rule which he propounded to himſelfe, it was to protect his friends and dependers; and for his adverſaries, to rejoyce perhaps at their ſmart, if not to procure it: as for neutralls, to leave it to the Magiſtrate to redreſſe what is amiſſe, not perceiving by that mean, he doth more hurt the Countrey, then his enemies, and wounds his owne credit more then their reputation: and therefore he loſt more by furniſhing them with ſome ground of obloquie, offending the people and honeſt men, then he gained by the hurt of his adverſaries, or favour of broken men. Nothing is more popular, yea nothing is more profitable then juſtice, (ſay all Writers) not to mean and private men onely, who incurre the danger of law by injuſtice, but even to great men, even to Princes, who if they incurre not the danger of lawes, being placed above the reach thereof, yet doe they loſe the moſt profitable inſtrument

ſtrument of all their actions, by which they muſt needs worke, and without which they cannot, the hearts of men: It feareth me, too many think it enough to have their hands, to have their bodies at command, but let no man thinke he can have their bodies, if hee have not their hearts: neither their heart, if hee have it not indeed, in a high meaſure of affection. Who hath no meaſure of affection, can have no action of the body to any purpoſe, and a ſlacke affection produceth but a ſlack action, as it hath ever proved. So that in effect, policy hath that chiefe object to worke on the affections of men, and that not to deceive, or force them (for neither of theſe can worke well and long.) Neither is it ſufficient that a man ſee not a preſent evill, as a Prince a preſent inſurrection, a great man a preſent loſſe of his followers, and favourers (which falleth out ſometime, but not alwayes.) Oftentimes it is like a canker, working by peece-meale, inſenſibly, from degree to degree upon the affections, til it hath conſummated the worke of diſgrace of the party it ſeazeth on, and winded their favours out of the hearts of men. As commonly mens actions that procure it are of the ſame ſort, not all in an inſtant, or at one time, but one ungratious fact cometh after another, and another again upon the necke of that, and ſo forth. This therefore is ſo much the more diligently to be taken heed of, and eſchewed in the beginning; or if any errour eſcape, to be taken up and recompenſed by amendment, or ſome other gratefull action importing as much favour, as the errour did diſdain: neither muſt the affections of men be ſuffered to coole, languiſh, and to bee eaten up at unawares, till at laſt they utterly decay and periſh.

Thus (we may ſee here) he hath not been well advertiſed by thoſe of his houſe of Douglas, which before were the moſt eſteemed, the beſt beloved, and favoured univerſally almoſt by the whole Countrey. But now, while as they would trouble the Governours, and let their inability bee ſeen, and for that end either beare with theeves, or ſuffer them, they are not aware, that by this mean they ſuffer an ill opinion of themſelves to creep into mens minds, and that love of the people to diminiſh by peece-meal, for the ſpace now of three or foure mens lives. And whereas they were wont with their heritage to ſucceed to a generall favour of the people, now on the contrary, they ſucceed to a grudge, and ill opinion, and ſo an univerſall diſlike, which at laſt hath done away all that wonted love, and turned it into hatred; which did greatly advance and further the plots of their enemies againſt them, and made that their greatneſſe odious, that was accuſtomed to be favoured. It is very true, that the men againſt whom he ſet himſelfe, had uſed no good means, abuſed there Offices, abuſed their Countrey, and the name of the King, and Common-wealth for their owne particular; yet he ſhould not have uſed ill means, no not againſt ill men; and the bare name of authority is of weight in the eyes of men, as the name of theft odious; from any countenancing whereof, Noblemen ſhould be farre, as alſo from ſeeming to riſe againſt any manner of Authority, though Authority bee put even in mean mens hands, as theſe were; chiefly when the oppoſers of Authority can make no other end appeare, but their own private, and that blotted with the enormities of broken men: yet what ſhall be given to a juſt anger? what unto the time? what unto youth?

youth? all theſe plead pardon, if not approbation; The rather for that he taketh up himſelf from that ſort of doing, ſo ſoone as hee can get a right King, to whom he might have acceſſe, and to whom he might yeeld with honour which was ere long.

The next yeare, 1444. the King taketh the government on himſelfe directly. Thither immediately the Earle Douglas concludeth to addreſſe himſelfe, and by all good means to obtain his favour; to ſatisfie the people, to ſatisfie all men that were offended, and fully to change that courſe he had before followed. Certainly repentance is worth miſdeed: and it may bee ſeen, that the force of enmity hath driven him into theſe faults, which as ſoone as he can, he layeth aſide. So coming with a great company to Stirlin, he deales with the King by the interceſſion of ſuch as were about him; and finding that he was appeaſed, goeth on, and puts himſelf and his eſtate in his Princes will, partly purging himſelfe of the crimes paſt, partly confeſſing them ingeniouſly; and telling him, that what ever eſtate he ſhould have from that time forth, hee would owe it to the Kings clemency, and not aſcribe it to his owne innocency: That if the King would be contented to be ſatisfied by good Offices, hee would endeavour not to be ſhort of any in fidelitie, obſervance, diligence, and good will towards him: That in repreſſing and puniſhing of theeves (whoſe actions his enemies laid upon him) there ſhould no man bee more ſevere, nor more carefull: That he was come of a houſe that was growne up, not by doing injuries to the weaker, but by defending the weaker and common people of Scotland by arms. Certainly a true concluſion, & undeniable by his greateſt enemies. But I have thought good to ſet downe all as it was conceived: for whether there was any fault or not, his ſubmiſſion was great, and his repentance ſufficient to purge it whatſoever it were. Such is his reſpect to his ſoveraigne Prince; and ſuch the force of authority rightly placed in the due owner thereof. And ſuch was alſo the force of truth in his ſpeech, that the King, underſtanding that it was true in his predeceſſour, and hoping it would be true in himſelfe, moved alſo by the private commendation of his Courtiers, not onely paſſed by, and forgave what ever had been amiſſe in his life before, but alſo received him into his moſt inward familiarity, and did communicate unto him the ſecrets of his counſell: Neither was the Earle unworthy thereof for his part, but behaved himſelfe ſo well, that within a ſhort time hee acquired the favour of the King by obedience; of his Courtiers, and ſervants, by liberalitie, and of all men by gentleneſſe, courteſie, and modeſtie, and put the people in hope that he would prove a meeke and ſober-minded man.

The wiſer ſort doubted (ſay our Writers) whither ſo ſudden a change would turne. But why ſhould wee thinke it a change? or if it were a change, it was very caſuall, very apparant, and nothing to be wondred at: for it is this in effect: he had been untoward to baſe men, why ſhould he not yeeld to his King? hee had ſlighted the ſhadow of authority in them, why ſhould he not acknowledge and reverence the beames of it in his Prince? he had beene froward to his enemies, why not gentle to his friends? he had ſought to make them ſmart that wronged him, why not cheriſh thoſe that did him good offices? he had warred on them, that had

warred againſt him: why ſhould hee not keep friendſhip with thoſe who kept friendſhip with him? certainly, theſe are not changes, neither of nature, nor of manners, but are commonly (wee ſee) in one and the ſame nature, and proceed from one and the ſame cauſe, which is greatneſſe of courage, and regard of due honour. The greater deſpiſer of baſeneſſe, the greater reverence of true greatneſſe, the greater repiner againſt compulſion: the gentler and calmer being uſed courteouſly: the harder enemy, the faithfuller and ſweeter friend: ſo that wee may ſuſpect theſe mens wiſedome, that did ſo farre miſtake his true courage, and accounted that a change, which was but a continuation of his inbred diſpoſition.

Two men are deſigned to have taken fray at the matter, whoſe conſciences were guilty of what they had deſerved: *Alexander Levingſton*, and *William Creighton*, not for the change of his manners, but for the change of his credit. They had traiterouſly ſlain three innocent Noblemen, his two Couſins, and *Malcolme Fleming*. They had kept himſelf back from his Prince, and his Prince from him, and were ſory that ever they ſhould have met in a friendly ſort. They would have been glad to have blowne the bellowes of diſſention, to have irritated the one, and miſinformed the other, made their owne quarrell the Kings, and ſo have cauſed the King and Countrey to eſteem of it. They were now diſappointed of that, and the Earle had acceſſe to informe the King of their miſdemeanour in their Office, and to move him to call them in queſtion for it. They knew hee would remember the wrong done to his Couſins: they knew how unable they were to anſwer for many of their facts, and therefore they retire themſelves from Court: *Levingſton* to his owne houſe *Creighton* to the Caſtle of Edinburgh which hee had ſtill in his keeping. Neither was the Earle Douglas negligent in this occaſion, that was thus offered to ſeeke juſtice by law and by juſtice, to be avenged of his enemies for the wrong done by them againſt law. Wherefore he diligently informed the King from point to point, of their misbehaviour in their Office: how they had abuſed him, abuſed his rents to their owne private uſe, and moved him to call them to an account thereof, whereupon being ſummoned to a certain day, they durſt not compeir; but to ſet a faire face on the matter, they anſwered by Procuratours, or by letters: "That they were ready to give an account of "their government, that they had beene very carefull of the King and "Countrey, deſired nothing ſo much as to give an account thereof before "equall Judges. But for the preſent, when the minds of men were pre-"occupied with the favour of their enemies, and all acceſſe cloſed with "armed men, the King behoved to pardon, that they did eſchew not to "come to judgement, but to come in the danger of their deadly enemies, "and keep their lives for better times: when the Captain of theeves, be-"ing removed from the Kings ſide (which they had of times done be-"fore) they would approve their innocency to the King and all honeſt "men.

Theſe reproaches, and brags touched, and were meant of the Earle Douglas. Him it was they called Captain of theeves, becauſe of the border men, of whom many were his followers. That they removed him often

before

before was idle boaſting: for he had abſtained to come to the King, ſo long as the King was in their cuſtody, ſo long as he was in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, where they might have murthered him, as they did his Couſins: That he was their enemy, he denied not, and had juſt cauſe ſo to be: but to take that excuſe from them, he gave them aſſurance he ſhould not proceed againſt them any wayes, but by order of law; and offered for that purpoſe to goe from Court, till they ſhould come to it in ſafetie. And to meet their reproach (of captain of theeves) and their boaſting of the juſt adminiſtration of their Offices, hee was ready to prove that they themſelves were theeves, that they had ſtollen the Kings revenues, and diſtributed to their friends, and converted them to their owne particular uſe, and that they had traiterouſly againſt juſtice murthered his Couſins, whereof he beſought the King to grant him juſtice; and ſo a new charge was given out, and another day appointed for them to compeir. Which being come, and they not compeiring, they were denounced rebells, in a Convention kept at Stirlin the fourth of November, and their goods and moveables confiſcated.

Thereafter *John Forreſter* of Corſtorphin (a depender of the Earle Douglas) is ſent with a power of men, to intromet with their goods; who having received their houſes, ſome he razed, ſome he manned with new forces, and proviſion: and ſo without reſiſtance he returned, laden with great ſpoil. Hee was ſcarce retired, when *Creighton* aſſembled his friends and followers ſo ſuddenly as none could imagine, furrowed the lands of Corſtorphin, together with the lands of Strabrock, Abercorn, and Black-neſſe, and amongſt other goods, he drave away a race of mares, that the Earle Douglas had brought from Flanders, and were kept in Abercorn, doing more harme then he had received. This may ſeem ſtrange to any man; neither do our Hiſtories ſufficiently cleare it, either where he got theſe forces, or whither he carried the goods. They inſinuate, that he was aided and aſſiſted under-hand by Biſhop *Kennedie*, and the Earle of Angus and Morton. Angus was the Kings Couſin germain, ſonne to his fathers ſiſter, and by her, brother to the Biſhop: Morton had married the Kings owne ſiſter. But of theſe, the Biſhops power lay beyond Forth; (for he was Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes) and the Earle of Angus further (beyond Tay): ſo it is hard to conceive, either how they could ſuddenly aſſemble to their folks, or that they could conveene many (except ſuch as *Angus* had on the South ſide of Forth in Liddiſdale, Jedward Forreſt, and Bonkle; likewiſe *Mortons* lands and friends were (moſt part) on the ſame ſide of Forth) to make aſſiſtance againſt the Earle *Douglas*. But how ever apparantly, they did it not openly; and this, it was againſt order, againſt authority, and againſt Law: and if the Earle *Douglas* had done it, it would aſſuredly have been called an open Rebellion againſt the King, theft, oppreſſion, preſumption, arrogancie, inſolencie, and faction, as we heard it was before, when he contemned the Governours onely, and as it will be called (perhaps) hereafter. If men alledge, that the King was guided with the Earle *Douglas* counſell, and his name uſed to a particular onely: tell me (I pray you) was there ever any thing more formally than this againſt Creighton? And if the

Earle *Douglas* his particular was in it, what then? how many actions of juſtice are otherwiſe done without inſtigations of private men? without the mixture of their cauſe? without their particular ſuiting? and particular inſiſting? and if it be lawfull to any to ſeek juſtice for his own particular, the Earle *Douglas* his particular was ſuch, as very well became him to inſiſt in: the wrong ſo manifeſt, the murther ſo vile and traiterous. And if that which is done againſt the lawes ſhall not be accompted wrong, nor eſteemed to touch the King, becauſe parties have their particular in that law, none or few things ſhall be accounted to be done againſt the king, or againſt law; for there is almoſt ever ſome particular joyned: and the ſame hath been and wil be the Earle *Douglas* his caſe. This therefore cannot be accounted innocencie; yea no leſſe then open violence, and plaine rebellion, and preſumption againſt the Earle, clad now with juſtice and lawes, and againſt the king as protector, and Patron of juſtice. No marvell then if the Earle *Douglas* was offended herewith, both for his own cauſe, whom the loſſe touched ſo neere, and for ſuch manifeſt contempt of the King, and if therefore he ſeeke to be avenged thereof.

But there was a different forme to be uſed, according to the different actours; of which we ſee there are two ſorts, Creighton and Levingſton were open enemies, open actours; they themſelves obnoxious to the law; againſt them the law will ſtrike, and ſo he proceeded with them: he beſieges openly Creighton in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and no queſtion he had taken from him before whatſoever was without it. The others, not open enemies, and actours themſelves, they were but ſecret ſtirrers up, abetters, and aſſiſters of his enemies; and among them Biſhop *Kennedie* was the chiefe plotter and deviſer; the law could not well be had againſt him; he muſt be met with in his owne way, he had done beſides the law, he muſt be met with beſides the law: he had done diſadvowedly, he muſt be met with diſadvowedly. Therefore he writes to the Earle of *Crawford*, who with *Alexander Oglebee* of Innerwharitie gathered a great hoaſt, entred, life, and without reſiſtance ſpoiled the Biſhops lands, either becauſe they could not get himſelf, or becauſe they had a greater minde to the bootie, then to the quarrell. The Biſhop uſing his own weapons, curſeth them; but they made ſmall reckoning of his curſes. Nevertheleſſe ſhortly after there fell variance between *Crawfords* eldeſt ſonne (the maſter of *Crawford*) and the *Oglebees* about the Bailliarie of Arbroth: for the Monks had given it from the Maſter to Innerwharitie, and hereupon having aſſembled their forces on both ſides, they were readie to fight it out. But the Earle of *Crawford* (having gotten advertiſement) came into the field to have compoſed the buſines, and truſted they would have reſpected him, and not have offered him any violence, he entred in between the two parties; where having ſtayed his ſonnes companie; he was going over to ſpeak with the *Oglebees* to have brought matters to a parlee, and treatie. In the meane time one that neither knew what he was, nor what his intent was, runnes at him with a ſpear and ſlayes him: hereupon the battells joyning the victorie fell to the Maſter of Crawford, there being 500. ſlaine of the *Oglebees* ſide, *Alexander Oglebee* taken, and the Earle of *Huntly* eſcaping on horsback. This victorie was obtained chiefly

chiefly by the valour of the Cliddiſdale men, of whom the Earle *Douglas* had ſent about 100 to aſſiſt the Maſter of Crawford. This Maſter of Crawford was now Earle (his father being ſlaine) and was called Earle *Beardie*, of whom there will be mention made hereafter, he being that Earl with whom *Douglas* is ſaid to have entred into league; though we ſee there was friendſhip betwixt them now, the Earles Ladie *Beatrix* being a ſiſter daughter of the houſe of *Crawford*, beſides the old friendſhip that had been (ever ſince the firſt Earles time) betwixt the two houſes.

In the mean time the ſiege of the Caſtle of Edinburgh (where Creighton was ſhut up) had now continued ſome ſix or ſeven moneths, from the midſt of July (as appeareth) unto the beginning of February in the next year: for there being a Parliament called, to be held at Perth, it was removed to Edinburgh, that the ſiege might not be interrupted, and ſate down in the beginning of February 1445. The ſiege laſted two or three moneths after, which makes in all ſome nine moneths, or thereby: at laſt both parties (the beſieger and the beſieged) being wearied, the Caſtle was ſurrendred to the King, on condition that *Creighton* ſhould be pardoned for all his offences which he had committed againſt the King, and ſhould be ſuffered to depart life ſafe, which was granted unto him: Our Writers term them the offences which he was ſaid to have committed againſt the King: As if they ſhould ſay, There was no offence indeed done to the King: And more plainly a little after, as in all contention, he who is moſt ſtrong would ſeem to be moſt innocent: which ſayings are to be judiciouſly conſidered, and accurately weighed, whereof we have ſpoken before: But if they will needs have it ſo, we will not be contentious. Thus *Creighton*, not ſo much hurt, as terrified, eſcaped due puniſhment by meanes of the Caſtle, which could not eaſily be taken, but by compoſition. Whether this was through the impatience of the Earle *Douglas*, that would not take leaſure to wait on the ſiege, untill they ſhould have been forced to yeeld for want of victuals; Or whether *Creighton* hath had ſome ſecret friends at Court, who did make uſe of this occaſion to work his ſafetie, there is no mention. But *Levingſtone* leapt not ſo dry-ſhod, being no leſſe guilty of his Couſins murther. The Earle had bent his juſt indignation againſt him alſo, and cauſed ſummon him to the Parliament of Edinburgh, together with his ſons, *James* and *Robert Levingſtons* (this *Robert* had been Theſaurer) and *David Levingſton* his Couſin: His friends alſo, *Robert Bruce* of Arth, with *James* and *Robert Dundaſſes*. The Lord *Levingſton* himſelf, with the two *Dundaſſes*, were convict, forfeited, and condemned to perpetuall priſon in the Caſtle of Dumbarton. The other three, *James*, and *Robert* his ſons, and *David* his Couſin, and *Bruce* alſo, were execute: What the crimes were that were laid to their charge, whereof this difference of puniſhment did ariſe, it is not written, either by the old or late Hiſtorians. This appears, that it hath been no particular of the Earle *Douglas* (of which the father was moſt guiltie) and that their Proceſſe hath not been guided and ruled by him, nor framed according to his ſpleen, which would have aimed moſt at the old man, as acceſſary to the death of his Couſins, whereas we ſee he eſcapes with impriſonment onely: His ſons are hardlier uſed,

being

being put to death: So that it muſt needs have been for ſome other crime, whereof the acts of Parliament that are extant in print makes no mention, or particular relation, as the forme is; and *James Levingſton* in his ſpeech at his death purgeth himſelf, as free of all true crime, what by being innocent of ſome, & having obtained a remiſſion of others; yet he mentions not what was alledged againſt him; wherefore we muſt leave it as uncertaine. Some conjecture, that it was for keeping of ſome caſtles, and ſtrong houſes, and not rendring them to the King being ſummoned, againſt an act of Parliament made by *Creighton* before, by which act *Creighton* alſo himſelfe was forfeited afterward; but we know no ground for that opinion. They alledged alſo another act (which only is extant) the other not being extant (and may ſeeme to ſound ſomething that way) made in the ſecond Parliament, in the yeare 1488. againſt the re-ſetting of rebells in caſtles; which imports no keeping of houſes after they be charged, or ſummoned to render by the Kings officers; but only commands to arreſt their perſons, or to take ſurety, and baile for them that they do no harme: Neither is there any penaltie (much leſſe forfeiture) annexed thereto; only it ſayes, they ſhall be forced and conſtrained to do it. This execution of the Levingſtons is caſt into the yeare 1447. (after that Queen *Marie*, the Duke of *Ghelders* Daughter was married to the king) at which time it is ſaid, that *Creighton* was alſo forfeited, notwithſtanding he had been Embaſſadour in procuring and making that marriage. The cauſe of his forfeiture is given out to be the keeping of the caſtle of *Creighton* when it was ſummoned and charged by an Herauld of armes, according to, & by vertue of the ſame act forſaid: But we have already ſpoken of that act, and we finde no mention of any Parliament that year. Neither from the year 1443. until the year 1449. wherein he ſhould have been forfeited. And this we obſerve, that judgment may be adhibited in the reading of thoſe, and ſuch like things, however *Creighton* thus daſhed, the Levingſtons ſome executed, ſome impriſoned, forfeited, and condemned, there ſeemed to be ſome compenſation of the murder of his Coſins, alſo their aſſiſter Biſhop *Kennedie* received his part, ſo it is ſaid that he had much ado to ſave himſelf, by leaving his goods a prey to them that pleaſed to take them.

Theſe things are imputed to the Earle *Douglas* as faults: why I cannot tell, unleſſe we require of him that exact philoſophicall diſpoſition, to be free from all humour of revenging, which few have brought with them that have been converſant in the affaires of State, or common wealth. No not theſe who have been accounted as Philoſophers, and that very preciſe ones, ſuch were both the *Catoes*, whoſe common ordinary courſe was to be avenged of their enemies by publick accuſations, and purſute of law: wherein if there be a fault, let there be no law, that permitts it, yea that allowes it, and exhorts unto it; it is recorded of *Cato* called *Cenſorius*, that having met a young man in the ſtreet, who had accuſed his fathers enemie, and gotten him condemned, he cheriſhed him and embraced him, ſaying, *It was farre better ſo to celebrate the funerall of his father with the teares and condemnation of his adverſaries, than to ſacrifice with kids and Lambes.* It is naturall to men to reſent injuries, and as naturall to ſeek the repairing of them; and he is excuſed who recompenſes

penſes a wrong received; and he is accounted alſo juſt who does it by order and modeſtie, that hath patience to ſute it, and abide the delayes of a Court-ſute, it being a mean to purge blood out of the land. Neither does either Philoſophie, or Religion forbid it but; by the contrary, commands & allowes it. Only the caution is, that the minde of the purſuer be voide of malice, and his eye ſet upon juſtice: of which intention the ſearcher of hearts can only be the competent judge. If ſome Imperfections, and weakneſſe of nature do mingle with the action; we muſt not alwayes for that either utterly reject the action, or condemne the authour. But we muſt acknowledge that as right, which is right, and pardon the imperfection, which none wantes. We muſt not exclaime againſt it as if it were nothing but partialitie: Nor againſt the doer, as meerly vindictive, cheifely in a fact ſo very enormous, as the murthering of his Coſins was, wherefore if we ſhall without partialitie in our ſelves conſider this whole purſuit, and give it the right name, we ſhall call it kindneſſe to his kinſmen: equitie, juſtice, modeſtie, and patience, rather than wrong and malice: and praiſe him for his kindneſſe, and faithfulneſſe in friendſhip in revenging their quarrells, which hath been his very inclination, as will appeare hereafter yet not only this his juſt purſuite, but every thing that fell out in the countrie is laid upon him to brand him: as the ſlaughter of *James Stuart* by the *Boydes*, and the like: the taking of the caſtle of Hales by *Patrick Dumbarre*, which he is ſaid to have taken, and killed the keeper thereof: becauſe the Lord *Hales* had then received the Queen mother into the caſtle of Dumbarre: who had fled hither to eſchew the troubles of the times. The Earle *Douglas* within a few dayes after got the caſtle of Hales againe, on condition to ſuffer the ſaid *Patrick Dumbar* and his men to depart with their lives ſafe. Likewiſe he is ſaid to have conſtrained Sir *James Stuart* (the blacke knight of Lorne) who had maried the Queen mother, to goe out of the countrie, upon ſome ſpeeches uttered by the ſaid Sir *James* againſt the ill government of the affairs of the kingdom: But neither is it ſet down what the words were, neither what ſort of conſtraint was uſed towards him. This Sir *James* as he was ſailing into France, his ſhip was taken by the Flemings, and he himſelf died ſoone after.

The next year (which was 1448) there fell out warre with England, and incurſions made on both ſides by the Borderers: where the Earle *Douglas* began again after ſo long an intermiſſion (to wit from the entrie of King *James* the firſt in the yeare 1423. the ſpace of twenty five years) to take upon him the managing of the warre, which his houſe had ever done, and he now alſo diſcharging with honour, and following the footſteps of his predeceſſours, for Dumfreis being burnt by the Earle of Shreuſburie (or Salisburie) *Dumbar* ſpoiled by the Earle of Northumberland, *James Douglas* (the Earles brother) burnt Anwick in England, where having gotten great ſtore of bootie, and many priſoners, as the others had done in Scotland, being almoſt equall, the & priſoners goods, & were changed by conſent & agreement of the captains. But this was only a ſmall aſſay before a greater matter, which followed this ſame year, as ſhould ſeem, yet there was ſome ceſſation for a while, and truce taken for ſeven years. In which time the Earle who (as we ſee) was ſo zealous in proſecuting the revenge

revenge of the wrong done to his Coſins, ſhowes another propertie no leſſe commendable, which is to be as kind and forward to advance his friends as he had been to quell his enemies.

For the ſame year *James Dumbar* (*Hollinſhed* calles him *John*) Earle of *Murray* being dead, firſt he obtaines the foreſaid Earles daughter (who was Neece to King *Robert* the ſecond by his daughter) for his third Brother *Archbald*; then the title of Earl of *Murray* from the King; notwithſtanding that ſhe whom his brother had married was but the youngeſt ſiſter, the elder being married before her fathers death unto *James Creighton*, of whom the houſe of Fenderet is deſcended; how it came that he was preferred before *Creighton*, who married the elder ſiſter; whether becauſe the titles of Earles do not go by ſucceſſion unto the heirs of Line, but by the pleaſure of the Prince, and that he had more court then *Creighton*, or whether there was ſome reſpect alſo had to the kinred, or what ever cauſe there were of it, it gave matter of ſpeech to his enviers, and to our hiſtories it hath furniſhed matter of Cenſure, as a wrong done to the elder ſiſter, to whom they think it belonged: he obtained alſo his fourth brother *Hugh* to be made Earle of *Ormond*; and his fifth brother *John* to be Lord of Balvenie, and Baron thereof, with many rich, and fruitfull lands. In which actions of his, when men can finde no ground of alledging that he did any wrong, they blame him as immoderate in augmenting too much the greatneſſe of his houſe.

Wherein I cannot but praiſe his kindneſſe and carefulneſſe, in preferring of his friends by all lawfull meanes, which is a dutie ſtandeth with wiſdom, and a right wiſdom: neither was it ever, or can it be ever juſtly diſcommended, where there is no injurie committed. Whereas, not to do it (if a man be able) and not to ſeem to do ſo, proceeds either of careleſnes, or that which is worſe, wickedneſſe, ſelfe love, and in ſome, envi and malignity, even to their owne friends. Which kind of doing, deſerves no commendation, when it is but careleſneſſe, farre leſſe when it is done of malice: laſt of all, when men doe not onely not labour to advance their friends, but even endeavour to keep them under, by a point of wiſedome which they thinke very deep, that they may remain ſervants to them; fearing that if they come to any preferment, they would not be ſo ready to ſerve them, and might perhaps grow up above them. This humour, as it is malignant, and an ill diſpoſition, ſo it is no great good wiſedome, whatſoever ſubtilty it may ſeem to have in it: for they advert not, that they hinder them, who would ſtand them in ſtead, and cut them ſhort in power to be ſteadable to them, and ſo cut down the props of their owne ſtanding, and ſuch as would ſupport them in their need & neceſſity. And while they feare that their friends out-ſtrip them, they give place and matter to their enemies to overtop them both. Now the feare which they apprehend of their friends neglecting their duetie to them, is very farre off, and if ever it come to paſſe, it ſhould not be envied, providing that kindneſſe remain among them, though they ſhould grow greater then they; and howbeit they anſwered not our expectation in kindneſſe (except it were joyned with extremitie of wickedneſſe, and perhaps not then neither) ought we to repent, or repine? it being

ing much more tolerable then to bee overmatched by an enemy, as it often falleth out, and can hardly chooſe but fall out, when a houſe ſtandeth alone by it ſelfe, having no honeſt member thereof to underprop and uphold it. Beſides, while men thus ſeeke to make their friends altogether ſervile to them, their friends perceiving it (as it can hardly but bee perceived, what ever cunning bee uſed to cover it) are the lother to ſerve; as mens nature is, in whom love-ſervice (queſtionleſſe) is the beſt: yea, onely fruitfull ſervice. And therefore they will either repine the more, or withdraw themſelves altogether, if they bee of any ſpirit; and if they bee not, their ſervice is not worth having. So that men loſe even their ſervice (which they ſo effect) and ſometimes turn it by unkindneſſe, into unkindlineſſe and enmitie, which hath ever been found by experience: neither did ever any houſe flouriſh ſo well, or any man in any houſe, as when they concurred with one minde to a mutuall helpe one of another: and none ever proſpered ſo well as hee, who uſed and ſhewed his care (not to keepe backe his friends, or to neglect them) but to advance them, and take their buſineſſe to heart as his owne.

This is a true patterne of kindneſſe, and no leſſe of true wiſedome, howſoever men may ſubtillize as they pleaſe, which is ſeriouſly, and ſincerely followed by our Earle *Douglas*, and deſerveth both commendation and imitation. Neither will it bee found that this is it which did him hurt, but (queſtionleſſe) made him ſtrong, and not eaſie to bee medled with, and ſo difficult that they could get no other mean to overthrow him, but that which they uſed, unto which they were forced, and of which, conſtraint is the onely excuſe, as we ſhall ſee where hee is ſlain. Therefore, to ſay his greatneſſe was the cauſe of his wrack, is more ſubtle, then ſolid; even as it may be ſaid (in ſome ſort) that a mans riches are the cauſe of his throat being cut by robbers, and that a mans vertues and good qualities are oft times the cauſe of his overthrow, which ſhould not (for all that) bee eſchewed. But ſhall there then bee no moderation! (will ſome ſay) and is it not fit, that Subjects ſhould keepe themſelves within ſome certain bounds, that are not envious, or ſuſpect to Princes? Moderation is good both in Prince and Subject, and it were to bee wiſhed that all would moderate their greatneſſe, at leaſt their appetite and deſire of greatneſſe: or if not that, yet ſo that they would limit the meanes of attaining it, and the end for which they deſire it; and that they would have that wiſe conference of *Cyneas* with *Pyrrhus* before their eyes, that they might leſſe affect it, or leſſe erre in affecting of it: But where the end is good, and the mean right and lawfull, who craves further moderation, and limitation, whether in Princes, or Subjects, of their Empire (as *Auguſtus*) or of their greatneſſe (as this Earle here and many others) whatſoever ſhew it carry, and however Hiſtories ſpeake thereof, (beſides their moderation that duety and religion requires) in ſo farre as touches Policy, will be found but Sophiſtry, and no good Policy, when it is well examined. In all this therefore wee can acknowledge no fault; but on the contrary, kindeneſſe, effectuall freindſhip, and a due and provident wiſedome in ſtrengthening himſelfe

againſt his enemies, and underpropping his houſe moſt wiſely, and moſt circumſpectly.

Where is then his fault? ye will ſay, and what was the cauſe of his ruine? for we finde he did ruine in the end. Truely we muſt not account of all that have fallen, that they have faulted, that is a great errour in our judgements, and too common, that by finding faults in others, we may be thought the wiſeſt: yet it is not hard to finde his fault if wee will beleeve his enemies ſpeeches ſet downe by our Hiſtorians; for though his friends feare nothing, and ſee nothing but his greatneſſe (which is but a vain feare) his enemies ſee further (as enemies are quicker ſighted) in faults, or would ſeeme to eſpy further: in their ſpeech yee ſhall finde theſe groſſe and lewd faults. 1. An unſatiable cupidity (and then they explain in what) in avarice: 2. Then an impotent Tyranny, two great faults (Tyranny and Avarice) ſufficient to bring downe, and ſuch as oft brought down Kings let be Subjects. And that we may not think that there was but an idle diſpoſition in him, and but a naturall inclination, which he bridled, and ſuffered not to debord, they tell us the effects of them. Of his 1. avarice (and that unjuſt, as all avarice is, if it bee properly avarice) *He ſeaſed on Noblemens Patrimonies, hee himſelfe by law, and without law:* 2. Of his tyranny and oppreſſion, *He gave the Patrimony of mean men as a prey to his dependers*; and yet further, *Them that withſtood his pleaſure, hee harried or cauſed make them away by theeves and briggands: he advanced new men to the higheſt honours, placing them in the roomes of ancient Families.* If any man ſpake a free word, taſting of liberty it coſt him no leſſe then his life: Theſe faults indeed are great ones, if they were true, and ſuch as merited that their end ſhould have been as it was: Theſe are indeed errours both in policie and humanitie, in private men or in Princes, in ſmall or great, in what ever perſon; and they were worthy to be deteſted, and abhominated by all men, if they were true, for our Authours ſay not that they were true. I ſay again, if they were true expreſſely; for they doe but report them as the voyce of his enemies, who did exaggerate things as enviouſly as they could (as that amongſt other ſpeeches of theirs) doth witneſſe, where they ſay, *That all the riches of the Countrey were heaped upon one Family: that there were ſo many great Earles and Barons of them, that they had ſo much power and potencie, that the King reigned but by their licenſe, and courteſie as it were.* As for the Authours owne judgement hereof, (beſides what he ſaid before, that they were amplyfied in the moſt odious manner) hee ſubjoynes theſe, and ſuch like ſpeeches as thoſe, *Many of them were true many beſides the truth, and augmented above it, to procure hatred unto them.* So he leaves the judgement uncertain, and tells not what things were true, and what falſe and augmented, which we ought to diſcerne and ſeparate (if it be poſſible) to make a right judgement: for this is indeed the craft of Calumny, to mingle truth with falſehood, that ſomething being knowne to be true, the reſt may paſſe for ſuch alſo. But Prudencie will ſift, and ſeparate them, and winnow them in a right judgement, both that which is true, from that which is falſe, and in every point laid againſt him ſo much as it hath of truth, from that falſehood is mingled with

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it for Calumniators are excellent in their mixtures, and compoſitions of truth and falſhood, ſo that there is great attentiveneſſe required to diſtinguiſh betwixt them, yet if we will attend to them, it may be they be diſcerned. Let us then conſider the particulars, and what particulars we find in any of thoſe to be true, let us acknowledge it; what is not ſo, let us reject as falſe, and reckon amongſt thoſe that are but amplified, and augmented for envie: After which rule we ſhall finde in effect the laſt three to be thoſe which are moſt true. 1. The riches: 2. The number: 3. The puiſſance of the houſe and name of *Douglas*. And yet not ſimple true as they ſet them downe, for they amplifie them alſo to ſtirre envie, unleſſe we interpret it favourably: for not all the riches of the Countrey, nor all the honour was in their hands, though there were more in theirs, then in any others at that time: yet there hath been more (both riches and honours) in the hands of ſome other before; for the *Cummines* are accounted to have been greater, and that their power was beyond the Kings power: it was falſe, their power being but a dependant, and ſubordinate, and could not be ſuppoſed to have been ſo great, ſo united (though they were of one name) as was ſeen afterward. And however we find it was thought ſo of before in the firſt Earles time, yet he never uſed it to the Kings prejudice after that he was informed of his right, which was now out of queſtion: but theſe carry no fault in them. The reſt which carry fault in them, the firſt two (avarice and tyranny) are to be tried by the effects: the third (taking to himſelfe the Noblemens Patrimony) by law and beſides law: what he did by law take from them, was not theirs; what beſides law we heare of no inſtance given: There is a fact may ſeem ſo in the Earledome of Murray, which he tooke not to himſelfe, but to his brother. Neither was that the Patrimony, but the Title and Dignity, of which we have ſpoken already, and it was but a ſmall peece of matter. The fourth and fifth (his killing and robbing by theeves, and his dependers invading of other mens Patrimonies) are of the ſame quality, for we heare of no inſtance bearing any wrong, Neither of the ſixth, and ſeventh, advancing of new men wrongfully, or killing of men for free ſpeeches. And truely raiſing of new men, and mean men was the thing that he and all his houſe did ever diſlike very much, and was the ground of their diſcord, with the *Levingſtons* and with *Crcighton*. And I hope no man will call his brother a new man. So that to be ſhort, when we have ſifted them all, we ſee nothing but falſehood, and calumnies, and aggravations to move envie, which makes it no truth: for a truth augmented or diminiſhed, is no longer truth, though otherwiſe it were true in ſubſtance.

Wherefore leaving theſe ſpeeches as the ſpeeches of his enemies, that is to ſay, for Calumnies (as they are called, and as they are indeed) wee will come to that which is of greater weight, and followes in the Authours owne name, *Animus per ſe inſolens*, hee was of an inſolent minde of himſelfe ſaith one, which being the judgement of one of the moſt learned and judicious Writers, I will not conteſt, but leave it in the middle, and ſoberly crave to have it weighed, that wee may ſee whether there bee any neceſſitie to make us thinke ſo or not, for

it is Hiſtoricall onely, which I muſt thinke hee hath found in fact as he hath had leiſure, and peruſed his Hiſtories, of which we are ſcarce; to wit, that he grew by ſucceſſe to that impotency of commanding his affections, that he had his eares cloſed from the free admonitions of his friends. Nothing is more pernicious, nor is there a more certain prognoſtick of ruine to follow, then when men are ſo puft up with the opinion of their owne wiſedome, that they diſdain and contemne to heare, and to weigh the judgement of others. Yet this that followes is an extreame high degree of it, that men might not diſſemble their minds in ſilence, to hold their peace at thoſe things which they could not approve, was not ſure nor ſafe for them, which ought to be ſafe for all men, to ſay nothing, and keep their minds to themſelves and God; which no other man, no not a mans ſelfe can command altogether. He is obedient that obeyes in the reſt: The minde is his that made it, and can ſearch it, over which no man ſhould uſurp. The cauſe of all this ill followes; the aboundance of flatterers, and giving eare to them: a naturall, but a peſtiferous fault, naturall to all great men, and ſmall in their owne kinde: men are given to delight in what they beleeve, and to beleeve eaſily moſt good of themſelves, whom they love moſt of any, and for aboundance of flatterers, who wants them? *Diogenes* ſaid he had his owne Paraſites, the mouſe was if men failed! yea, men never fail, and perhaps failed not him; hee whom all the world flattered. King *Alexander*, did he not flatter *Diogenes?* what was his ſpeech to him but a flattery both of himſelf and *Diogenes?* or elſe anerrour concerning them both, when he ſaid, If I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. So common is it, ſo naturall is it, but notwithſtanding, it is hurtfull, and to be avoyded, and the more carefully to be taken heed of, the more common and the more naturall it is: he hath the faireſt of the play, that is moſt wary of it, and accounts it his greateſt perfection, to know his imperfection; and he is moſt accompliſhed that beſt knowes his defects, and wiſhes for helps, and knowes he hath need of them. Out of doubt theſe were enough to bring down more then one Earle of Douglas; as for that which is further ſaid of him. His old enemies were drawne to law to plead their cauſe before the ſame man, both judge and party, of whom many were ſpoyled of their goods, ſome of their lives; ſome to eſchew the injuſt judgement, tooke voluntary exile unto them; and that which is ſaid of their dependers, they overſhot themſelves, careleſſe of all judgements (becauſe none could contend with them in judgement) To all ſort of licentiouſneſſe, robbing, and ſtealing holy things, profane things, and ſlaying them they could get their hands over: neither keeped they any bridle (or meaſure) in their wickedneſſe. Of all this concerning his dependers, being ſo generally and almoſt hyperbolically conceived: I could wiſh among ſo many, that there had been ſome inſtance ſet downe, that we might the better have knowne it, and diſcerned it. This (I am ſure) cannot be without hyperbole: that they did commit ſome gratuit wickedneſſe (that is, ſuch as was for no good to them nor profit) and without gain, pleaſure or profit, having no cauſe in the world for them, but onely to keep their hands in ure of wickedneſſe, leſt being diſaccuſtomed from ill, ſome honeſt thought might come into

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their minde, that might tame them from their wickedneſſe and vileneſſe. So ſtrange a concluſion would have had cleare and plaine antecedents, and not a few of thoſe. It is hard to beleeve this upon any mans word, chiefly ſuch a one as lived not in thoſe times, nor was an eyewitneſſe (as we ſay) of things, who by ſuch ſpeeches would have us to conceive more then he could, or by any could be expreſſed in words. But what one man could only gather out of Hiſtories, we might alſo have gathered by the ſame Hiſtorie, if he had named his Authors, or ſhowne the way of his collecting of it from thence. But there being no footſteps of ſuch enormities in the Hiſtories which we have, that can lead us to this, I know not if we be bound ſo to reverence any mans perſon, as to receive it abſolutely. That which followes, is of the ſame kinde, wherein the evils of thoſe times are amplified, That it fell out well for Scotland that England had their owne civill warres in thoſe dayes, otherwiſe Scotland had ſunke under the burden. For firſt their civill warres from this time (which was from 1444. untill 1448.) were not great, and but ſecret grudgings onely. The commotion of *Blue-beard* was not untill 1449. and in Kent by *John Cade* in 1450. Then the forraine warres with England might have moved the diſcord at home, as they have done often, and men fit for warlike employment, and given to arms, ſhould have had matter to exerciſe themſelvs upon the common enemie, who in time of peace, for want of ſuch employment as they are inclined to, are the cauſe of much evill at home. Laſt of all, we finde the contrarie by experience: for notwithſtanding of theſe diſſentions and diſorders, yet they obtained a notable victorie of the Engliſh by the ſame *Douglaſſes* who are accounted ſo diſorderly in time of peace, but have ever proved in the eyes of all men honourable, and dutifull in warre, their enemies not being able to detract from their manifeſt and evident worth.

The occaſion of this victorie fell out thus. Wee heard how after the burning of Anwicke by *James Douglas*, younger brother to the Earle, a Truce was taken for ſeven yeares: notwithſtanding of which, in this yeare (as would ſeeme) or in the next at fartheſt, the Engliſh (without any regard of the Truce) made inroades upon Scotland, ſpoyled, ſorrowed, and burnt the Villages farre and wide where they went, which the Scots would not ſuffer to paſſe unrevenged. Wherefore to cry quit with them, they entred England, and returned unto them as much hurt as they had received; and the ſtorme fell chiefly upon Cumberland, from whence the beginning of the troubles had ariſen, which was by this incurſion almoſt redacted to a wilderneſſe. When newes hereof were brought to London, they gave order for levying of an Army of 40000. men (as ſome write) intending to bring Scotland under their ſubjection, which they thought would not be hard to doe, in reſpect the Countrey had beene ſo lately waſted and impoveriſhed, as alſo for that they knew their diviſions at home. Therefore having made a levie of the beſt and choice ſouldiers, the Earle of Northumberland is made Generall, and there was joyned with him a certaine man called *Magnus* (onely a Gentleman borne) who had given good proofe of his valour many times in France, where he had beene brought up, and trained in the warres from his youth. This man bearing great

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hatred to the Scots, and being too confident of his owne ſufficiency, is ſaid to have obtained of the King of England, for the reward of his ſervice, whatever lands he could winne from them, for himſelfe and his heires in perpetuall inheritance. He was remarkable by his long and red Beard, and was therefore called by the Engliſh *Magnus Red-beard*, and by the Scots, in deriſion, *Magnus with the red Maine*, as though his beard had beene an horſe Maine, becauſe of the length and thickneſſe thereof. The Manuſcript calleth him *Magnus with the red hand*, taking the word (Maine) for the French word, which ſignifieth an hand: but the attentive Reader may perceive the errour, and how it was a word meerely Scottiſh, and uſed by the Scots in deriſion.

The King of Scots hearing of this preparation in England, cauſed alſo levie an Army, wherein he made the Earle of Ormond (*George*, or rather *Hugh Douglas*) Generall, who immediately went into Annandale, through which the Engliſh Army was to come. Both ſides being thus prepared, the Engliſh having paſſed the Rivers of Solway and Annand, pitch their Camp upon the brinke of the water of Sarke. The Scots marched towards them, and they hearing of their approach, made themſelves ready, ſo that being come within ſight one of another, they ranged their men in order of battell. In the right wing of the Engliſh Army was this *Magnus* with the red Maine.) In the left Sir *John Pennington* with the Welſh men. The middle battle was led by the Earle of Northumberland himſelfe. On the Scots ſide was the Earle of Ormond in the middle battell over againſt Northumberland, and *William Wallace* of Craiggie oppoſed *Magnus*, and againſt Sir *John Pennington* was placed the Knight of Carlaverocke, called *Maxwell*, and *Johnſton* of Johnſton, with many inland Gentlemen, (ſaith the Manuſcript) becauſe they had no great confidence in their owne Annandale men, who were more ſet upon ſpoile then victorie. Ormond exhorted the Armie in few words, telling them, *That they had great reaſon to hope for the victorie, becauſe they had taken armes, being provoked thereto, and that it could not be, but that ſo juſt a cauſe ſhould have a happy event. Onely behave your ſelves valiantly, abate the pride of the enemy with a notable defeat, and ſo you ſhall reape a long laſting fruit of a ſhort travell.* When the Engliſh Archers did annoy the Scots with their arrowes from afarre, *William Wallace* cried out with a loud voice, ſo as he was heard by his followers, *Why ſhould we ſtand ſtill thus to be wounded afarre off? Follow me* (ſayes he) *and let us joyne in hand ſtroakes, where true valour is to be ſeene:* and ſo marching forward, and the reſt following his example, they made ſo fierce an onſet, that they quite overthrew the right wing thereof. *Magnus* perceiving that, being more mindfull of his honour acquired in time paſt, then of the preſent danger, reſolved either to reſtore the battell, or loſe his life with credit, preſſed forward againſt Craiggie *Wallace* to have encountred him, and ere he could come at him, he was encompaſſed about by the Scottiſhmen, and ſlaine: his death put the Engliſh in ſuch a feare (for they had great confidence in his valour and conduct) that they without any further reſiſtance turned their backs, and fled in great diſorder. The Scots purſued ſo fiercely and eagerly, that there was more of the enemies ſlaine in the chaſe, than in the battell, chiefly upon the brinke of the River of Solway,

Solway, where the tide being come in, the river was not paſſable, and ſuch as adventured to take it were drowned. There were ſlaine in this battell 3000. Engliſh, and amongſt thoſe their great *Magnus*, and the Scots deadly enemie, who had preſumed ſo of victory. A notable example to teach men not to be over confident in things of ſuch uncertaine event, as are the warres; and (as our proverb is) *Not to ſell the beares skin before he be ſlaine.* There were ſlaine beſides him eleven Knights of good account and note. Of the Scots were loſt but 600. There were taken priſoners a great number, amongſt whom were Sir *John Pennington*, and Sir *Robert Harington*, Knights, and the Lord *Percie* ſonne to the Earle of Northumberland, whileſt he helped his father to his horſe, who thereby eſcaped taking. There was alſo ſo great ſtore of ſpoile gotten, as no man remembred ſo much to have beene gotten at any battell before. For the Engliſh truſting to their number, and the ſtrength of their Armie, together with the opinion of their enemies weakneſſe, through diſſention and variance (as they ſuppoſed) had brought with them their beſt furniture, and richeſt ſtuffe, in full aſſurance of victorie, *Wallace* of Craiggie being ſore wounded in the fight, was carried home, and died within three moneths after. The Earle of Ormond having gotten this honourable victorie, conveyed the chiefeſt of the priſoners to Lochmabane, and then repaired to Court, where he was joyfully met, and received of all, with all ſort of honour that could be, envie it ſelfe not daring to open her mouth againſt him.

The King did highly commend him for this exploit, and exhorted him and the Earle *Douglas* his brother, "That as their foregoers had often, as "they alſo had done, defended the Eſtate of Scotland with their labours, "and vertue, in moſt perillous times, and had given large proofe of their "valour and courage: That ſo they would at home accuſtome themſelves "to modeſtie: That they themſelves would abſtain, and that they would "containe their friends from injuries toward the weaker ſort: Their pow-"er and puiſſance, which they had acquired by ſo many their great deſerts, "towards their Kings, his Predeceſſours, and the Countrey, that they "would employ it rather in ſuppreſſing of robbers and diſorderly men, "then to make new of giving way to it by connivence. That this only was "lacking to their full praiſe, which if they would adde, they ſhould finde "by experience there was nothing more deare unto him then the advance-"ment of the Houſe and Name of *Douglas*. To this the Earle *Douglas* replied (he being the elder brother, and finding that this ſpeech was chiefly directed to him) with great ſubmiſſion, and promiſed to doe as his Majeſtie had exhorted them: and ſo they were diſmiſſed, and returned home to their owne houſes with great honour and applauſe both of Prince and people, to whom they had by this victorie purchaſed great quietneſſe. For neither were the Engliſh Borderers able to invade them any more, nor the King of England to ſend downe a new Army (which faine he would have done) by reaſon of the civill warre which enſued ſhortly after at home. So that he choſe rather to have peace with Scotland, in regard of the caſe he was then in, then warre. Wherefore he ſent Ambaſſadours, and obtained a Truce for three yeares, the Scots thinking it no leſſe expedient for them

them in a caſe not unlike to his, through inteſtine diſſention, though not open inſurrection againſt the King. For notwithſtanding all this ſervice done to the King and Countrey, the malice of ſuch as were the enemies of the *Douglaſſes* was no whit abated: nay, their worth the more it was ſhowne, and the more brightly that it did ſhine, it did ſo much the more ſtirre envie in their ill-willers, whoſe ſecret practiſes ſtill continued, and whoſe credit in Court ſeemed ſtill to increaſe againſt them. *Creighton*, who before had beene ſent Ambaſſadour to *Charles* the ſeventh of France, for procuring a wife to the King, had concluded a match for him with *Mary* daughter to *Arnold* Duke of Gelders, who by her mother (the Duke of Burgundies ſiſter) was come of the Bloud Royall of France, was now returned into Scotland with her in this yeare 1448. This ſervice and her favour increaſed his credit greatly with the King; which the Earle *Douglas* perceiving, was nothing pleaſed with it, but being diſcontented, obtaining leave of the King, he withdrew himſelfe from Court, ſeeing his errour of having beene contented that *Creighton* ſhould be imployed in that honourable meſſage, thinking himſelfe well rid of him by this his abſence; which practice of Court ſucceedeth ſometimes happily (as it did againſt the *Boyds* in King *James* the thirds time, in the very like caſe) yet it did not ſo now, but turned to the greater advantage and advancement of his enemie. *Creighton* was well contented with his retiring, eſteeming it his gaine to be ſo rid of him from the Kings eare and preſence.

Whileſt they concorded thus in their diſcord, both willing one thing in ſo contrary mindes (to wit, the Earle *Douglas* abſence) there fell out an accident that occaſioned his longer abſence, not from the Court onely, but out of the Countrey alſo. *Richard Colville* of Ochiltree was an enemy and bare deadly feud to *John Auchenlech* of Auchenlech, a friend and depender of the Earle *Douglas*; whom the Earle having ſent for to come to him to Douglas Caſtle for ſuch buſineſſe as he had to do with him, the ſaid *Richard* having notice of the ſaid *Auchenlechs* journey, notwithſtanding he knew he went toward the Earle, whether ſtirred up by the Earles enemies at Court, ſo to put an affront upon him, or leaning to their credit for impunitie, or out of impatience, or preſumption, or contempt of the Earle in reſpect of his withdrawing from Court, not regarding him, or fearing his diſpleaſure or anger, he lay in wait for him by the way, and ſet upon him with a number of armed men, where, after ſome ſmall conflict, *Auchinlech* was ſlaine, and divers of his friends and ſervants with him. The Earle *Douglas* having notice hereof, the fact touching him ſo neerely in the perſon of his friend and follower, in his ſervice, comming toward him, and ſent for by him, he was ſo incenſed therewith, that whether diſtruſting the ordinary courſe of juſtice (as wherein he might be eluded by his enemies then guiders of Court) or impatient of delay, or not accounting it ſo honourable for him, nor ſo awefull in example to others, concluding immediately to revenge it, and vowing ſolemnly he ſhould be avenged before he either eat or dranke, he tooke horſe immediately, and with the readieſt of his friends rode to the Caſtle of Ochiltree, forced it, and ſlew the ſaid *Richard Colvill*, and all the males within the Caſtle that were come to the age of men. This opened the mouths of men diverſly, according

cording to their diverſe humours, ſome condemning his cruelty, ſome commending his courage, ſome ſaying that he had gone too farre, and done too much; others that he could doe no leſſe, that he had juſt cauſe, and that he had been ill uſed, his friend ſlain, his honour intereſſed, that ſuch kinde of juſtice beſt became him; his enemies at Court tooke hold of it, aggravating it to the King, an inſolent fact againſt law and cuſtome, and however *Colvill* had deſerved it (which they could not deny) yet it was a perillous example, prejudiciall to all order, and to the King, to whom the puniſhing of ſuch things belonged; So that the King became highly offended therewith.

Hereupon the Earle *Douglas*, partly to give place to his Princes anger, partly upon ſome remorſe (as all bloud hath ever ſome touch and ſting of Conſcience with it:) the next yeare beeing the yeare of Jubilee, hee purchaſed a licenſe from the King to goe to Rome, pretending he would doe pennance for the ſaid ſlaughter, (but as his enemies did interpret it) to ſhew his greatneſſe to forraigne Princes and Nations. Before hee tooke his journey, having a care of his houſe, and being out of hope to have children of his owne (as having been ſeaven or eight yeare married without children) he procured his ſecond brother *James* to be received by the King, and confirmed in the Earledome after himſelfe. There went with him in company a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, ſuch as the Lord *Hamiltoun*, *Gray*, *Salton*, *Seaton*, *Oliphant* and *Forbeſſe*; alſo *Calder*, *Urwhart*, *Cambell*, *Fraiſer*, *Lawders* of Crumartie, Philorth and Baſſe, Knights, with many other Gentlemen of great account. Hee went firſt to Flanders, and from thence by land to Paris, where he was honourably received by the King of France, whom ſome call *Lewis* the eleaventh, but it muſt needs be *Charles* the ſeaventh, who lived till the yeare 1460. ſome tenne yeares after this Jubilee, which behoved to bee in the yeare 1450. The remembrance of the good ſervice done by his Uncle at Bauge, and his Grandfather at divers times, and at laſt, for ſpending his life for him at Vernoile, was not yet worne out of *Charles* his memory, in regard whereof, and for the place he carried, and the publick League between the Countreyes, he omitted no kind of honour undone to him that was fit for his qualitie and ranke: from thence he tooke his journey towards Rome, which was filled with the expectation of his coming. He had taken from Paris with him his youngeſt brother *George*, a young man who was there at Schooles, and of whom there was great expectation; but he died by the way, to his great griefe, he is ſaid by the manuſcript, to have been nominated Biſhop of Dunkell, and that he was to be inaugurated at Rome; *Buchannan* alſo ſaith it, perhaps following the manuſcript: but they both forget that his eldeſt brother *Henry* is ſaid by the ſame manuſcript, in the life of their father, to have beene Biſhop of Dunkell: and this *George* died before he was fifteene yeares of age. I take it alſo to be an overſight in this ſame *Buchannan*, that hee ſaith that this *George* was deſtinated to be Earle by the Kings permiſſion, after his brother, who had no children. For it is againſt reaſon that hee being youngeſt of many brethren (worthy men) ſhould have been preferred before them, while he was but yet a childe at ſchool.

While the Earle was thus in his pilgrimage, his enemies ſlept not at home, but taking the opportunitie of his abſence, did both blame him at the Kings hand by all invention they could deviſe, and ſtirred up ſuch of the common people as had received any wrong of any man, to complaine to the King, alledging they had received it by the Earle *Douglas* friends or ſervants, and by ſuch wayes moved the King to cauſe ſeeke *Siminton*, then Bailiffe to the Earle in Douglaſdale, and to cite and ſummon him to anſwer to ſuch crimes as were laid to the Earles charge, for the actions (perhaps) of his dependers and clients, or (at leaſt) for ſuch things as his Lord had neither commanded, neither (happely) heard of. *Siminton* looking for no equitie at their hands, who moved ſuch a citation, chooſed not to come into judgement, ſuffering things to paſſe rather for non-compeirance, than to compeire, not knowing the ſtate of things, nor how to anſwer, having neither knowledge of them by himſelfe, nor direction, nor information from his Lord. Upon this occaſion his enemies laid hold, interpreted this his non-compeirance in the moſt odious ſort, and called it contumacie, and what grievous name they could deviſe. So they moved the King to ſend his ſervants and apprehend him, and would gladly have proceeded with all extremity againſt him, exclaiming againſt his preſumptuous contempt of the King, and telling the King, that his royall authoritie was become a mockerie, and deſpiſed by every baſe fellow: That by his lenitie he did but foſter the malapertneſſe of the wicked ſort: That by impunitie new doores were opened to new miſdoers: with ſuch other ſpeeches, in the moſt vehement maner they could, to have dipped the King in bloud, and cut off all hope (as farre as in them lay) of reconcilement betwixt them. But he, not being ſo farre alienated as yet from *Douglas*, howbeit the complaints of ſo many had ſtirred up ſome diſlike, and taken impreſſion in his minde, was not moved with their ſpeeches in that high nature, but perſiſted in his opinion to recompence the Complainers in their loſſes of goods by goods, but not to meddle with any mans bloud: wherefore he cauſed *Siminton* to be ſet at libertie, and commanded him onely to ſatisfie the Complainers. But hee who could neither anſwer without information, nor ſatisfie without direction, humbly beſought his Majeſtie, that ſince he had not information, and could not anſwer, being but a ſervant, and unacquainted with buſineſſe; ſeeing alſo he was not Collector of his maſters rents, but onely commander of his ſervants, it would pleaſe him to delay the matter till his Lord returned, (whom he expected within few moneths) who (he doubted not) both could and would anſwer to whatſoever complaint, and ſatisfie ſufficiently at his Princes pleaſure whatſoever dammage he ſhould have beene found to doe to any man. This ſeemed moſt reaſonable, that the Earle himſelfe ſhould be heard firſt, and not condemned unheard, and in his abſence; and there could bee no great prejudice in a ſhort delay. Wherefore the King condeſcended to it, and yet notwithſtanding being importuned by the multitude of new complaints, he ſent *William Sinclair* Earle of Orkney (a near Couſin to the Earle *Douglas*) being Chancellor for the time, to intromet with his goods and rents in Galloway and Douglas, to ſatisfie Complainers therewith: but it was to no purpoſe, for hee was eluded,

eluded, and almoſt mocked by the tenants. He alledged, and reported to the King, that was done by the inſtigation of the Earle of Ormond, that he was ſo fruſtrate; for the Earle *Douglas* had committed to him the mannaging of his eſtate in his abſence, and he greatly diſdained that Orkney, being ſo neare of bloud and alliance to them, ſhould have undertaken that charge. The King irritated herewith, as a contempt of his authoritie, cauſed Heraulds to be directed (or Purſevants) to ſummon all of the name of *Douglas*, and their favourers, to compeire upon a certaine day, and the Earle himſelfe within threeſcore dayes; which being expired, and none compeiring, they were denounced Rebels. Then the King himſelfe went with an Army into Galloway, where at his firſt entrie, having forced their Captaines to retire to their ſtrengths, a ſmall number of his hoaſt, whileſt they followed the Rebels uncircumſpectly through ſtrait places, were beaten backe upon the King, not without ſome diſgrace. The king moved with great indignation hereat, went and aſſaulted their chiefe fortes: And firſt he tooke the Caſtle of Lochmabane without great trouble or travell; thereafter with great toile and wearying of his men, the Caſtle of Douglas, which he razed to the ground. He commanded the Farmers, Tenants, and Labourers of the ground, to pay their Meales to his Collectours, untill ſuch time as the complainers were ſatisfied with their Lords goods.

Theſe things being reported (thus as they were done) to the Earle *Douglas* while hee was yet at Rome, moved him greatly, and greatly aſtoniſhed them that were in his company; ſo that many withdrew themſelves, fearing what it might turne to; and he, with the few that remained with him, made what haſte they could homeward.

As hee came through England, hee was honourably entertained by the King and Queene there: but when hee approached neere to the borbers of Scotland, hee ſtayed a little time, and ſent his brother *James* before to trie the Kings minde toward him; which when hee found to be placable, hee returned home, was kindely received, and lovingly admoniſhed to put away from him diſorderly perſons, eſpecially the men of Annandale, who had in his abſence committed many outrages and cruelties. This when hee had faithfully promiſed to performe, hee was not onely received into his former place of favour; but was made alſo Lieutenant Generall of the whole Kingdome of Scotland. And this was the bitter fruit of his perillous Pilgrimage, that hereby hee looſed the reines to his enemies, and gave them power ſo farre to prevaile, as to embarke the King in open quarrell againſt him, even to the caſting downe of his Houſes, and intrometting with his Revenues. This notwithſtanding was either his wiſedome, or the account and reſpect of his place and perſon, that the King, who had done him ſuch harme and diſgrace, could bee contented ſo to forget it, receiving him ſo farre into favour, and advancing him, whatever blame or imputation may bee laid upon him for his journey, which was ſo raſhly taken on, and which had ſo dangerous a ſequell; yet this retreate from that ſtorme cannot but bee commended, and his dexteritie (whatever it were) acknowledged to have beene great,

which guided him through ſuch billowes and ſurges to ſo peaceable a Port and Haven. And it were to be wiſhed that Writers had ſet downe by what means this was brought to paſſe, for the more perfect underſtanding of the Hiſtory; but we muſt beare with this amongſt many more defects that are to be found in them.

Now what ever wiſedome (though undeſcribed in the particular) may appeare to bee in this; as much unadviſedneſſe is evident in that which hee did immediately after, in his journey to England. For without acquainting the King, hee went to the Court of England, and had privie conference with that King and Queene, hee pretended that it was for reſtitution of ſome goods taken out of Scotland, and not reſtored by the Wardens of England: but this cauſe, the lighter it was, the greater ſuſpition did it move in his owne King, who could not thinke it probable, that hee being of that place, of that courage, of that nature, would upon ſuch an occaſion onely, take ſuch a journey: The true cauſe is thought to be, that he went to treat of certaine conditions for his aſſiſtance to be given to the King of England againſt his Nobilitie, with whom he was then in hard termes, the warres of the houſe of Yorke beginning to ſpring up, which increaſed afterward ſo mightily, and prevailed, to the ejecting him out of the Kingdome.

This the Queene of England either foreſeeing, or fearing ſome other ſuch like enterpriſe againſt her husband had dealt with the Earle *Douglas* when he came home through England from Rome the yeare before, to ſtrengthen them by his help, and appointed him to return for performance, and perfecting of all conditions of agreement. But we finde no effect of this agreement and conditions, whether becauſe that conſpiracie of the Duke of York was not yet come to maturitie, and ſo *Douglas* was not employed, being prevented by death (which fell out ſhortly after this) or becauſe they were not fully agreed, is uncertaine. Neither is it ſpecified what the conditions were: onely it is conjectured, that they were the ſame, or ſuch like, as the ſame King (*Henry* the ſixth) granted afterward to the Earle of Angus in the time of King *James* the third, which if they were, they were no wayes prejudiciall to the King of Scotland (as ſhall appeare there) yet being done without his knowledge, it gave occaſion either to the naturall jealouſie of Princes to think hardly of it, by his owne meere motion, or to his enemies, ſo to conſtruct it to the King, and ſtirre him up by their ſpeeches to that ſuſpicion which he enclined to. Of both which he ought to have beene warie, and not to have given ſuch ground to the one, or to the other, by ſuch a journey undertaken without the Kings allowance.

Whether at his returne he acquainted the King with what had paſt betwixt him and the Kings of England, it is not certaine, and our Writers ſeeme to ſay the contrary, yet in that hee brought letters from the Queene of England to the Queene of Scotland, and ſhee thereupon interceded for him, it is not improbable that he hath acquainted her (and ſo the King alſo) with the truth of the whole buſineſſe: which whether the King did not beleeve, or if his jealouſie remained not the leſſe, and that hee was not willing there ſhould bee ſuch an acceſſion and increaſe

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of the Earles greatneſſe, who (he thought) was greater already then was ſafe for a King; hee pardoned him the fault at the interceſſion of the Queene and ſome Nobles, but he tooke from him the Office of Lieutenant, and all other publicke charge, that ſo he might be made unuſefull and unſteadable to the King of England, or at leaſt not ſo able to aid him, and ſo he might be fruſtrate of the conditions ſo liberally promiſed unto him from thence. Hee reſtored alſo his old enemie *Creighton* to the Office of Chancellour, and the Earle of Orkney was made Lieutenant. Thus not onely diſappointed of his hopes, but diſgraced at his Princes hands, both by being himſelfe depreſſed, and his enemies advanced, he was incenſed againſt all the Courtiers, taking all to proceed from their inſtigation. But more eſpecially his anger was bent againſt *Creighton*, both as the ancient enemie of his Houſe, and alſo as the chief Authour of all this preſent diſ-favour by his ſurmiſings, tranſported herewith, hee gave way to his paſſion to carry him to a courſe ſomewhat more then civill, which untill that time hee had tempered, retaining it with the bridle of equitie, and himſelfe within the compaſſe of the lawes. Now whether altogether, and onely for theſe cauſes foreſaid, or if irritated by a new occaſion of malicious ſpeeches uttered by *Creighton* (*That the Kingdome of Scotland would never be at reſt ſo long as the houſe of* Douglas *was on foot: That in the ruine thereof ſtood the good of the Realme, and peace of all Eſtates: That it was neceſſary a man of ſo turbulent a nature, ſo puiſſant and powerfull by his Kindred and Alliance, whom no benefits could appeaſe, nor honours ſatiate, ſhould hee cut off, and the publicke peace eſtabliſhed by his death,*) or if *Creighton* contrived this ſpeech to make *Douglas* the more odious, and his owne quarrell ſeeme the juſter againſt him (for both are written) ſo it is, that the Earle cauſed certaine of his friends and ſervants lie in wait for him as hee was riding from Edinburgh toward Creighton: but he eſcaped, being acquainted with the plot (as ſome write) well accompanied, and excellently well mounted, but not without being wounded himſelfe, and having ſlaine ſome of his adverſaries in his eſcape. Others, attribute his eſcaping not to any foreſight or fore-knowledge, but ſayeth that hee was aſſailed in the night at unawares, and being aſtoniſhed at the firſt, yet afterward recollecting himſelfe (for he was a man of good courage) hee ſlew the formoſt he met with, and having received ſome wounds, brake through them, and ſaved himſelfe in Creighton Caſtle, where he remained not long; but his wounds being ſcarce well cured, he conveened his friends, and coming on the ſudden to Edinburgh, had almoſt ſurpriſed the Earle *Douglas*, who was there in quiet manner, and looked for no ſuch thing, but he getting advertiſement hereof, did advertiſe the King that he could no longer endure *Creightons* hidden malice and practiſes againſt his life, and eſtate, and his now open attempts alſo: wherefore hee deſired to bee excuſed, that hee could no more repair to Court, ſo long as *Creighton* was there, and ſo retired himſelfe to his houſe to remain as a male-content for a ſeaſon.

In the meane time finding his enemies thus to increaſe in credit at Court, and with their credit (as commonly it cometh to paſſe) in number

ber and power, hee, to ſtrengthen himſelfe alſo on the other ſide againſt them, entered into a new confederacy with the Earles of Crawford, and Roſſe, men of greateſt puiſſance and force next the *Douglaſſes*, that were in Scotland in their times; or rather he renewed the old friendſhip that had been betwixt them. For their houſes were in old time in great friendſhip with the houſes of Douglas (as hath beene ſhewed) and the houſe of Crawford was particularly obliged unto them by divers good Offices, from the dayes of *Robert* the ſecond: and in this ſame mans time had been helped againſt the *Ogelbees* at Arbroth: as his father alſo had at the Earle *Douglas* deſire ſpoyled the Biſhop of Saint Andrewes (*Kennedies*) lands: And beſides, this *Beatrix Douglas* (the Earle *Douglas* Lady) was daughter to one of the Earles of Crawford, and could not but bee of kinne to this Earle. The ſumme of their band was, That they ſhould every one aſſiſt and defend another, together with their friends and dependers, againſt all men: That they ſhould have the ſame friends, and the ſame enemies, with reſervation alwayes, and exception of their duety to their Prince. But whether this band was made of new (as ſome write) or if it were of old continued from hand to hand, and then renewed as though it were intended in ſpeciall againſt *Creighton* and his partakers, and due exception of the King expreſſely contained in it, is uncertain: however, they ſo poſſeſſed the King, that hee interpreted all as done againſt himſelfe. And therefore matters being come to publick Hoſtilitie betwixt *Douglas* and *Creighton*, and the Countrey divided into factions, when the Earle of Crawford and Roſſe had ſent to *Creighton*, and given up all friendſhip with him as an enemy to their deareſt friend, by vertue of the foreſaid League; hee acquainted the King therewith, and with all vehemencie exaggerated the League, as a conſpiracy againſt him and his royall Authority, and that it was very dangerous for him when ſuch great houſes, and powerfull men had combined together. The King apprehending it to bee ſo, having once fettled that opinion in his minde, did upon that ground build all his interpretations of the Earle *Douglas* actions, and framed his owne actions accordingly againſt him; Neither was *Douglas* ſo fortunate, or circumſpect, as to avoid the occaſions of foſtering that opinion in the King: but (as commonly happeneth) when ruine is to come on men, all things worke that way, ſo fared it with him in two facts. The firſt was on the perſon of the Lord *Harris*, who was too hardly uſed of him, as appeares: The other on the Tutor of Bombee, more juſtly, yet ſo, that his carriage in it ſeemed to confirme that which his enemies alledge againſt him, that he exerciſed his authority, and uſed his priviledges more abſolutely then the King had reaſon to be contented with. The occaſion of the firſt, and the forme thereof was, Sir *William Harris* of Terreglis having been the Earle *Douglas* ancient dependar, had now in this frowne of Court, and diverſity of factions (whether to pleaſe the Court, and becauſe he accounted it juſteſt to follow it, or becauſe indeed he miſliked things done by the borderers who followed *Douglas*) withdrawn himſelfe from his dependance; and if he ſided not openly with the other party (which hee could nor durſt hardly doe, lying ſo neare to *Douglas*) yet did hee not follow him as hee

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was wont, and ſo either by a reall enmitie in private, or a kinde of neutrality in publick. had procured the like behaviour of the Earle to him, to behave himſelfe as neutrall in his affaires: and as hee had abſtracted his dependance and attendance from him, ſo the other abſtracted his Protection from him. This when the Annandians perceived, they (ready upon all ſuch occaſions) made a rode, and furrowed his lands: hereof when he complained to the Earle, and had received anſwer according to the foreſaid coldnes betwixt them, he would needs attempt ſome redreſſe by his own power; and hereupon aſſembling a number of his friends, he rode into Annandale to have rendered them the like, and either to recover his owne, or repaire his loſſes out of their goods. But he was overthrowne by them, and taken priſoner, and ſo brought to the Earle *Douglas*, hee eſteeming him as his owne ſervant, and taken within his bounds where his juriſdiction (by regallity or otherwayes) was extended, put him to aſſiſe. They of the Jury found him guilty, being taken after hee had ſeized the goods, (with red hand as they term it) and ſo being convict of theft, he was condemned, executed, and hanged as a thiefe, and that notwithſtanding the Kings earneſt requeſt for his life by letter. A pitifull matter, and greatly to be lamented! and though he had ſome colour of juſtice, yet it taſted not ſo much of juſtice as of malice; no not of indifferency (which would be injuſtice, having eye to the due circumſtances) ſo much as of partiality, joyned with contempt of the King, and his equall requeſt; and ſo it was conſtructed, and gave more juſt occaſions to his enemies ſurmiſing, and the increaſing of the Kings indignation, which by yeelding, and remitting a little of his priviledges, and ſhowing reſpect to the Kings entreaty, he might have mitigated in ſome meaſure; and that without any danger he could have incurred by the ſaid Lord *Harries* enmitie (although he ſhould have been his enemy, and perhaps he might have regained him to his friendſhip by remitting the offence.) The other fact which enſued upon this, not ſo unjuſt, but made as odious (as carrying the odiouſneſſe of the other with it) was, *Macklalane* Tutor of Bombee, the chiefe of that name, and one of the principall houſes in Galloway, falling at odds with a ſervant of the Earle *Douglas* had ſlain him, and was (therefore with his brother who was partaker of the ſlaughter) apprehended and put in priſon in the Trevie, a ſtrong houſe belonging to the Earle. His friends made means to the Courtiers, and by them to the King; informing him that *Douglas* carried a ſpleene againſt the man, more for being a friend, a favourer and follower of the beſt ſide (ſo they called their owne) then for killing of the man: wherefore they beſought him that he would not ſuffer a Gentleman of his rank, who was alſo a good man otherwiſe (however that had fallen out in his hands) to bee drawne (not to judgement, but) to certain and deſtinate death, before one, who was both judge and party. By this and ſuch like information (whereby the eares of Princes are deceived, while men go about to withdraw their friends from due puniſhment) they perſwade the King to ſend for Bombee, and take the triall and judgement of him in his own hands, deſiring the Earle *Douglas*, that if he had any thing againſt him, he ſhould come and purſue him before the King. Amongſt the fur-

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therers of this ſute *Patrick Gray* of Fowls (uncle to the Tutor) was chiefe: he was directed with the Commiſſion, as one that both would be earneſt therein, being ſo neare to the party, and would alſo bee reſpected, being ſome way in kinne to the Earle; *Douglas* having notice of his Commiſſion, and perceiving thereby they meant no other thing, but to defraud him of juſtice for killing of his ſervant (which he thought he could not ſuffer with his honour) that he might doe what hee had determined the more calmely, and with the leſſe offence (as hee thought) he courteouſly received the ſaid *Patrick Gray*, and intertained him with diverſe purpoſes, and cauſed the Tutor in the meane time to be tried by an Aſſiſe, and being condemned, to bee quickly conveyed a mile from thence to a place called Carling-work, and there executed. Afterward when *Patrick Gray* (ignorant of what was done) had delivered his Commiſſion from the King; he anſwered, he was ſory he was come too late, and then told him what was done, and deſired him to excuſe him to the King. When he heard that, and ſaw himſelfe ſo deluded, he preſently (in a great chafe and rage) renounced all kindred and friendſhip, and whatſoever band beſides might ſeeme to tie him to the Earle; vowing that from that time forth he ſhould be his deadly enemy in all ſort, and by all means he could, which the other little regarding, dismiſſed him: But however he little regarded it, the French Proverb proveth true, and is worthy to be regarded of all men, *That there is no little enemy:* for he had the power to be his death afterward with his owne hands, and plotted it by his Counſell, or ſet it forward, being plotted and deviſed by others: for being come to the King, and relating the iſſue and effect of his meſſage, all was by him and the other Courtiers of the faction aggravated in the moſt haynous ſort: That the Kings commandments were contemned, eluded and mocked: That it was likely that the Earle *Douglas* was King: That doubtleſſe he aimed to be ſo, yea, hee behaved himſelfe already as ſuch: That that was the meaning of his private conference with the King of England, on that ground he gave licence to ſlay ſo many honeſt men, to ſpoil and robbe: That innocency now was contemned for brutiſhneſſe, faithfulneſſe to the King puniſhed for unfaithfulneſſe: That by the Kings indulgencie the common enemy was become inſolent: That it became him once to take upon him his place as King, and do things by authority, and by his power, that then it would appeare who were friends, who were foes. Theſe, and ſuch as theſe, were the ſpeeches of the Courtiers and interpretations of his actions: ſuch as it pleaſed them to make, following their humour of faction or judgement.

But they neither conſidered the equitie that was done in puniſhing bloud by bloud, nor the authority by which it was done, for hee had authority and ſufficient juriſdiction of old granted to him, and given by former Kings to his Predeceſſours and their Heires for his ſervice. Neither did they obſerve what order and formality hee kept in his proceedings, nor his honour intereſted in the revenging his ſervants death: Neither what ſcorne to him it was on the other part, if he had ſent the party: having thereby his priviledges, infringed, his ſervant ſlain, and no ſatiſfaction

faction for it, but to bee eluded by a Commiſſion, purchaſed by his enemies, juſtice defrauded, and the guiltie pulled out of his hands: and by their credit with the King, procuring him to hinder juſtice, who ſhould have beene the furtherer of it, onely upon their particular private motion, and by their factions, inclining of his Majeſty that way. Upon theſe conſiderations, what had beene more extraordinarily done, would have beene excuſed by the ſame men, in another then *Douglas*. Now in him (though done orderly) it is thus traduced, aggravated, exaggerated, amplified, and named contempt of the King, and affecting the Crowne.

Such is the miſery, when Princes are moved by parties, to command or requeſt things that are unjuſt, there being perill and inconvenients, either in obeying or refuſing their requeſts, receiving hurt and prejudice in their rights, ſcorne of their adverſe party, or denying to offend whom they would fain ſerve: and happy is that man that can ſteere aright betwixt theſe rocks! Happy hee who falleth into the hands of ſuch a Prince, as meaſureth and moderateth his commands according to equitie; or if they bee inique, when it falleth out ſo (for what Prince may not fall into ſuch weakneſſe) who tempereth his paſſion, and moderateth his minde, in the juſt refuſall thereof, taking it in good part, and accounteth not his authority contemned, when an unjuſt command is refuſed by his Subjects.

Whether it were on the diſpleaſure of this fact, or jealouſie conceived of this and other actions of the *Douglaſſes*, it is hard to diſcerne: but ſo it was, that his enemies making uſe for their owne ends of the Kings credulous ſuſpition, prevailed ſo farre, that they perſwaded the King to reſolve to make him away (and ſeeing it could not bee done by open force) in any ſort it could bee done; whereof when they had adviſed of all the meanes they could, this they found to bee the moſt expedient way, that hee ſhould bee ſent for to Court, by faire promiſes, and being come, the King ſhould enter into termes of quarrelling: And thereupon they that were appointed for the purpoſe, ſhould diſpatch him. So they cauſed a certain Courtier of their faction, but ſuch an one as was free from all ſuſpition of bearing enmity to the Earle, to addreſſe himſelfe to a Gentleman, who was *Douglaſſes* friend, and to ſhew him how *Creighton* was retired to his owne houſe, and that in his abſence it were fit the Earle ſhould take that good occaſion, to come and ſee the King, with whom hee might bee aſſured to finde favour, if hee would crave it humbly: and this hee told as a great ſecret, not to bee revealed, but to his Lord, and dealt earneſtly with him to follow this advice.

The Gentleman beleeving, went and dealt very earneſtly with his Lord, but hee ſuſpecting *Creightons* craft, and having the murther of his Couſins before his eyes, flatly refuſed to goe thither, where he had ſo many enemies, ſo potent and of ſo great credit, and ſome of which (had not long agoe) lien in wait for his life, unleſſe hee ſaw aſſurance of his life and liberty. Hereupon he was directly ſent for to come to Court, with promiſe of all freedome, and with aſſurance under the broad Seal: and to

remove all feare & doubt that he could conceive, the Noblemen that were preſent at Court were moved to ſend a warrant to him, ſubſcribed with all their hands, and ſealed with all their ſeals, with the greateſt oathes and proteſtations interpoſed therein that could be; and not onely ſo, but every man wrote his owne particular letter apart, aſſuring him of the Kings good will; and further promiſing him, that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that the King would be ſo diſpoſed as to breake his faith and promiſe, and to interpriſe any thing againſt his perſon, life, lands or liberty, they ſhould ſend him home ſafe nevertheleſſe: What could hee ſeeke more at their hands? Or what could hee deviſe more? And who would have doubted after ſuch aſſurances? Yet, that hee might not onely repoſe upon his enemies credit all his ſafety, hee accompanieth himſelfe for his honour and ſuretie with as many as might ſecure him, and keepe him free from being in danger of any private mans forces. So relying (for the Kings part) upon his ſafe Conduct, and the Nobilities credit interpoſed therewith, hee cometh to Stirling, where the King was well attended and followed by his friends and ſervants, but in a peaceable manner; being come into the Kings preſence, after ſome ſort of admonition to lead a more peaceable and orderly life, hee ſeemed to pardon him what ever was paſt, and kindely invited him to ſupper in the Caſtle: After they had ſupped cheerfully and merrily together, the King taketh him aſide, and leadeth him into an inner roome, where there was none preſent beſides them two and *Patrick Gray*, of whom wee ſpake before, how of his friend and Couſin hee was become his enemy, for the execution of the Tutor of Bombee. There the King beginning of his ſpeech from the valour and loyall fidelity of his Predeceſſours, came ſhortly to his owne indulgencie towards the whole Familie, and towards himſelfe in particular. Then ſharpely upbraiding him how oft hee had pardoned him, and what inſolencies hee had committed: *Douglas* anſwered ſubmiſſively, and craved pardon for what hee had offended againſt himſelf in any ſort; ſaying, his intention was not againſt him, but againſt his enemies: That as for others that would complaine, hee was ready to ſatisfie them according to juſtice, and at the Kings owne pleaſure: There reſts yet one thing (ſaith the King) the League betwixt you, and the Earle of Crawford, and Roſſe, I will have you preſently to quite it. At that word the Earle was ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at the firſt, yet gathering his ſpirits again, hee anſwered, that for him, hee knew nothing wherein that League could bee offenſive to his Majeſty, ſeeing that all duetie to him was eſpecially reſerved. The King replyed, I will have you preſently to breake the ſame. *Douglas* anſwered, that if hee would have him to doe ſo, hee would bee pleaſed to give him leave to advertiſe the ſaid Noblemen, and then hee would doe it, otherwiſe, hee would bee accounted a faith breaker, if having entered into friendſhip with them, hee ſhould forſake them, not giving a reaſon why: And therefore beſought him to have patience. The King replied in an angry manner, ſpeaking aloud; If you will not breake it, I will: And with thoſe words, hee ſtabbed him

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in the breaſt with a dagger. At the ſame inſtant *Patrick Gray* ſtruck him on the head with a Pole-axe. The reſt that were attending at the doore, hearing the noiſe, entered, and fell alſo upon him; and, to ſhew their affection to the King, gave him every man his blow after hee was dead.

Thus died he by the hand of the King, but by the practices of his enemies, they being the choiſe movers, and the king yeelding to their motions, as if it had been his quarrell, (for ſo they made it ſeeme to him) whereas indeed it was but their owne particular; or if his, it was but thus farre his, that he tooke it on him as his, eſpouſed theirs as his owne, and imbarked himſelfe therein. A common practice of Courtiers, who have Princes eares; what ever is contrary to their will, is all againſt the King, is all preſumption, is all high treaſon; whereas indeed they are oft times themſelves his greateſt enemies, what ever ſhew of ſervice and affection they make; and they whom they call his enemies farre more heartily affected to him. They make the King alwayes wed their quarrells, beare their errours, and the whole hatred and envie of their enemies; and oft times drawes him into great abſurdities, beſides and contrary his owne naturall diſpoſition, to his great diſgrace, or diminiſhing his grace, in the eyes of his Subjects, not without great perill of his life and eſtate. Happy the Prince that can rightly take up, and rightly diſcerne the quarrells which are indeed his owne, from thoſe which others would have him thinke to bee his owne, and ſo underſtandeth the diſpoſition of his Subjects, that hee account not all that is againſt his Courtiers, is againſt him, or all that is done by his Courtiers, is done for him.

Theſe Courtiers had gained this point of the King, and by that meanſ had brought him to doe that hard fact againſt this man as his owne enemy, as one aſpiring to his Crowne; where indeed never any ſuch thing appeared to have been intended by him, or aimed at, but onely revenge againſt his private enemies. And for the other crimes that his enemies alledged againſt him; ſmall preſumptions, cold conjectures, and no appearance there was of them. But above all this, the greateſt pitie is, that they had power to bring ſuch a King to commit ſuch a fact, contrary to his faith and promiſe, ſolemnely ſworne and ſealed by himſelfe, and by his nobility, to breake the bonds of all humane ſociety. It is worthy the conſidering, to ſee their pretences and arguments ſet downe by Writers, which they uſed to move and induce him to conſent and yeeld to this ſtrange, and unnaturall fact. A Paradox in truth, though a Maxime in Matchivelliſme: one of them is, Neceſſitie; for they make him beleeve, firſt that the Earle *Douglas* did aſpire; then, that hee was ſo powerfull, that there was no other remedy for his aſpiring; all they bring, is but weake preſumptions: and for his ſtrength and power, hee was ſtrong enough indeed to defend himſelfe againſt his enemies, or an unjuſt force and violence; but it had beene another matter unjuſtly to have invaded the Kingdome, for which hee was not ſo ſtrong, as juſtice and a juſt title to a Crowne, which are of great force: and againſt which, that force, which otherwiſe and in another caſe may bee great,

will prove nothing, for God hath given his image of authority with it, which ſo affects the hearts of men, that they cannot but regard it, and this image being imprinted in their hearts is not eaſily aboliſhed but by very enormous faults, and even ſcarce by any faults though never ſo extraordinary. So that it was errour in them to thinke, or craftineſſe to perſwade that there was no remedy in a juſt authority to defend it ſelfe by it ſelfe, and without forgoing it ſelfe and becoming injuſtice, and that in ſuch a hatefull manner. Whereas by the contrary, this their way was not ſo ſafe and ſo certain a mean to defend himſelfe, but had almoſt been the meane to deprive him of what hee would have had men thinke hee preſerved by it; that is, his Crowne, for the fact being ſo vile and baſe, it not onely moved the friends and followers of the Earle *Douglas* his houſe to rebellion, but alſo incenſed the whole common people: for that if his brother who ſucceeded, had beene as politicke as hee was powerfull, the King might have beene ſet beſide his Throne. And as it was, he was once in a great brangling, and had reſolved to quit the Countrey, had it not beene for *Iames Kennedies* counſell, who was Biſhop of S. Andrewes; ſo farre was this fact from eſtabliſhing his Throne, as they made him beleeve it would doe.

Then for the honeſty and lawfulneſſe of it, it is to be diligently weighed: It is lawfull (ſay they) to catch fraud in the owne craftineſſe. And indeed that ſaying is moſt true, good and conforme to all wiſedome, being rightly underſtood, thus: Let fraud worke on fraudfully, untill hee be intangled and intrapped in his owne fraud, and ſo become guiltie and obnoxious to a lawfull and orderly avengement by juſtice: but that men to meet fraud, may juſtly uſe fraud, and that againſt all promiſes, ſeales, ſubſcriptions, or oathes, to the extremitie of murthering, changing juſtice into injuſtice, in the very ſeat of juſtice, is not, nor ever was, nor ever can bee juſtified under any pretext whatſoever; as being that which breaketh the bands of humane ſociety. It is an unworthy Kingdome, which cannot otherwiſe defend it ſelfe, and it is unworthy of a King to ſtoupe to ſuch unworthy and baſe wayes: It hath alſo beene by ſome pretended elſewhere to cover the foulneſſe hereof, that hereby much bloudſhed is eſchewed, which would have beene, before ſuch a man could have beene cut off, which I marvell is not alledged here alſo.

But that is frivoulous amongſt the reſt, for it is the cauſe of much more bloud ſhedding, becauſe it takes away all truſt, and ſo peace, untill the warres end by the deſtruction of one party, which without truſt cannot end by reconcilement, beſides this, they inſinuated it unto the King, as a point of want of courage in him, and cowardiſe, if hee durſt not ſo much as deceive his enemy; whereby they would meane, that it was courage to deceive him: An unhappy dareing to dare to doe wrong, and very far miſtaken, and miſnamed!

And laſt of all, they halfe menace to abandon him, and provide for themſelves and their own ſafety, by taking part with *Douglas* as the ſtronger partie; whom if the King did not make away, they would follow him, and that there was no other remedy left to them.

Such

Such boldneſſe were they come to, thus to threaten their maſter, and Soveraign! And ſuch is the weakneſſe of that place, where it ſubmitteth it ſelfe to ſervants! By theſe meanes was this good King (farre contrary to his owne nature) drawne on by them who had his eare to this unnaturall fact, as to that which was moſt lawfull and flat neceſſary, yet was neither this pretended neceſſitie, nor alledged lawfulneſſe ſufficient to defend it even in the judgement of the doers themſelves. And therefore the Courtiers found out another mean to put ſome faire face, at leaſt ſome colourable excuſe upon it as they thought, for being aſhamed of thoſe allegiances, or diſtruſting that they would bee accepted for juſt cauſes of breach of faith, and fearing they ſhould be deteſted of all men: they gave it out that the ſlaughter was not committed of ſet-purpoſe, but that it fell out onely by chance, and that the King had no intention to kill him, till he himſelfe by his indiſcretion procured it, having irritated the King by his preſumptuous anſwers.

But this is a weake excuſe, to commit murther contrary to promiſe, although hee had anſwered ſo: but there is no appearance of it, that it was but a ſudden paſſion, neither was it beleeved in thoſe dayes, as may be ſeen by the perſwaſions given him by the Courtiers: which while Writers ſet downe, they witneſſe it was a ſet draught and fore plotted. For they ſay plainly alſo that the Courtiers would have had it appearing that it came by his arrogancy in his carriage and anſwers, but not that it was ſo indeed: beſides there is a received tradition, that *James Hamiltoun* of Cadzow preſſing in to follow the *Douglas*, *Liviſton* being Uncle to *James*, and knowing the Earle was to die, gave him a blow on the face, and thruſt him backe from the gate. *James Hamiltoun* drew his ſword, which the other little regarding, held him off with a long halbert, and made the guard ſhut the gate againſt him, was exceeding angry at this affront in the time, but after when hee heard the Earle was killed, hee knew it was done for his ſafety. Hee had given too much matter for his enemies to worke on by his raſh journey into England, and private conference with the King and Queene there: but this had beene forgiven him, as an overſight onely, which the King had (apparently) tried, and found to bee nothing elſe; hee had beene vehement in the revenge of the murther of his Couſins and ſervant *John Auchinleck*, but that (though vehement) was not injuſt, and therefore wee finde him never charged with it as injuſtice: hee had againſt equitie executed the Lord *Harries*, yet hee had done it legally and by forme, and order of Law, whereof the particulars not being perfectly knowne, the judgement is difficult, yet is it not (for any thing wee ſee) any way to bee excuſed. The execution of the Tutor of Bombee was very good juſtice and irreproveable, though it bred him moſt hatred and ill will at Court. Other particulars are not mentioned: Onely they ſay that hee bore with theeves to have their aſſiſtance: An ill and unwiſe courſe, and ever pernicious to the uſers of it, for harming of ſuch as they hate! A farre worſe, and unworthy fact, unfit for a generous minde to companion it ſelfe with them whom hee ſhould puniſh, and to participate of the guiltineſſe hee ſhould correct!

But how farre he went in this point is not certain, at leaſt is not ſpecially ſet downe: and as for the ſpeeches of his enemies reproching them unto him in the hatefulleſt ſort, all muſt not bee taken for truth they ſay.

All agree that he was a man of great power, great policy, great performance and execution, and greater expectation, in whom the name of *Douglas* roſe to the greateſt toppe of height, and with whom it began to fall, which was afterward accompliſhed in his ſucceſſour, as ſhall bee ſaid; he was ſlain the 13. of February 1452. eſteemed to have beene Faſtings-Eve, (or Shrove-Tueſday.) after the Romane ſupputation, or in the yeare 1451. as *Major* reckoneth it according to the account of Scotland. He was Earle the ſpace of nine yeares or thereabout, but left no children behinde him. Where he was buried, or what was done with his body, there is no mention made in Hiſtory.

Me lætho ante diem Chrightonus *Rexque dedere,*
Ille necis cauſam præbuit iſte manum.

By *Crighton* and my King too ſoon I die,
He gave the blow, *Crighton* the plot did lay.

Of James *the ninth and laſt Earle of Douglas, the eighteenth Lord, ſixth Duke of Turraine, and fourth* James, *who died in Lindores.*

William being thus ſlain by the inſtigation of theſe Courtiers, his enemies, to the end that the King as they would have it thought might be eſtabliſhed in his Crowne, by the making away of him whom they made the King to thinke ſo great an enemy to him: It was ſo farre from producing that effect, that by the contrary there was nothing nearer, then that it ſhould have been the very occaſion of ſpoyling him thereof; for the Earle *Douglaſſes* friends, who before tooke *Creighton*, and his faction onely for their enemies: Now they take the King for their enemy. They, who before thought not that what they had ſuffered proceeded from the King, or that it was his doing: now they impute them to him. They who before were onely male-contents, and within the bounds of obedience, and had a good opinion of the King: now they become enemies with an ill opinion of him as a wicked man. They who before contained themſelves in civill termes, now become openly rebellious: & whereas they had good hope, and looked for reconcilement, now caſt off all hope thereof, and (matters becoming irreconcileable) all love and regard, all reverence, their hearts being laden with the injury, with the diſhoneſty, with the horrour of it, they burſt forth into all outragious words, and deeds: things coming to that point, that they could not bee ended, but by the deſtruction of one of the parties. Either they behoved to ruine the King, or behoved to be ruined by him.

And

And here the hardeſt lot at the firſt was the Kings (by all appearance) the power of the other party being ſo great, their minds ſo inflamed, their anger ſo incenſed againſt him: neither the party onely, but the people in generall deteſted the fact and the horribleneſſe of it, in ſuch ſort, that hee was put by all his ſhifts, and driven to ſuch a point of deſpaire, as to thinke of leaving the countrey, and going by ſea to France.

For though the Earle himſelfe was dead, yet had he left behinde him in the towne of Stirlin foure brethren, that were come thither to accompany him. The eldeſt of theſe, *James*, was provided to the eſtate three yeares before by the Kings conſent (upon the occaſion of Earle *Williams* going to Rome in the yeare of Jubile) to ſucceed to his brother after his deceaſe. He therefore, with the reſt of the Nobility who favoured them and their cauſe, having heard the report of Earle *Williams* being ſtabbed in that manner, being aſtoniſhed with theſe ſudden and unexpected newes, firſt ranne and tooke armes with great haſte and tumult, but having contained themſelves, and commanding their companies to be quiet, every man keeping within his owne lodging for that night, upon the morrow they aſſembled together in counſell, and according to the defuncts ordinance, and the Kings conſent obtained thereto before, they acknowledged *James* lawfull heire and ſucceſſour to his brother *William*. Then he with many vehement and bitter words, inveighing againſt the treaſonable perjurie of the King and Courtiers, exhorts them who were preſent to lay ſiege to the Caſtle. *Send* (ſayes he) *for your friends and followers from all quarters, and let us withdraw out of their lurking holes theſe men who are onely valiant in perfidiouſneſſe, while as yet they waver, being uncertaine in their reſolutions, and tremble with the guiltineſſe of ſo horrible a fact.* They who were preſent praiſed his pietie towards his dead brother, and alſo his courage; but becauſe they were come in a peaceable manner, and unprovided of things neceſſary for ſo great a worke, they abſtained from the ſiege; which if they had (as the Earle gave advice) reſolved upon, and fallen to preſently, while the odiouſneſſe of the fact was yet greene and freſh before the eyes of men, the King and his partners being unprovided and unforeſeene in any certaine courſe of their affaires, as neither able to conſult, nor to meet for conſultation, the Caſtle being incloſed, which being alſo (as it is to be ſuppoſed) not well victualled for a ſiege, the King could hardly have eſcaped their hands. Neither was the matter ſo difficult for them, to have remained, and ſent for the reſt of their freinds, and any proviſion which they needed; who might have come to them within five weekes, as they did themſelves returne in that time, having given the King ſo much leaſure to adviſe and prepare for them. Neither could the King (for all that he had that ſpace and time) finde any meanes ſufficient to match them. For having upon this their deliberation reſolved upon the worſt part, and departed to their houſes, and taken full advice concerning all things, they returned the five and twentieth day of March, where all the way as they came along to Stirling, *James Hammiltoun* dragged the Kings ſafe conduct (which had beene given to Earle *William*, having the broade Seale hanging thereat) at the taile of an ill-favoured ſpittle jade, or mare, through the

the ſtreets of all the towns and villages in their way, abſtaining from nō contumelious words, that they could deviſe againſt the King, his Counſellers and Courtiers.

Being come to Stirlin, they went to the market Croſſe, and there ſounding with five hundred hornes and trumpets, they cauſed a Herauld to proclaim the King, and ſuch as had been plotters and authours of *E. Williams* death, perjured traitors to God and man, and that they were to be abhorred, and deteſted by all men as ſuch. Others write that they went to the Caſtle gate, and made that Proclamation in the Kings hearing, whiles he was looking on them, and that it was done the next day after the ſlaughter. Thereafter they pillaged the towne, and being angry even with the innocent and harmeleſſe place, they ſent backe *Iames Hamiltoun* of Cadzow, and burnt it. Where this is to be conſidered, what could be the cauſe why theſe men (who before were upon adviſement to have beſieged the Caſtle of Stirlin, and did not doe it then, onely becauſe they were unprovided) why theſe men (I ſay) now being come again and provided, abſtained notwithſtanding from beſieging of it, having nothing to let them; and which if they had obtained, they had withall obtained full victory, being maſters of the field, the King incloſed and ſecluded from his favourers and partners, no others (in likelihood) could have made head againſt them; for neither could any have taken that upon them, neither would the people (as was thought) have followed them, at leaſt not ſo freely; whether it was becauſe they had no hope to force it (being a ſtrong place) neither to famiſh it in haſte (being well provided of victualls) or if they choſe rather to deprive him of his partners abroad in the Countrey by forcing them to forſake him firſt, and then it would be eaſie to take the King who had nothing but the Caſtle walls to truſt to; or what ever elſe were the occaſion thereof, our Hiſtories (very defective in this ſo ſpeciall a point) tell not; But ſo it was, that they leaving the principall point unproſecute (the King himſelf wherein would have conſiſted the whole ſumme of a full victory, and to which they ſhould chiefly have directed their courſes) contented onely to have blazed his reproches, turned towards his friends, pilling and ſpoiling ſuch as remained on his ſide, and even by this the King was ſo put to it, that he had determined to leave the Country and to fly into France, had not *Archbiſhop Kennedie* adviſed him to ſtay, and hope for better fortune, ſhewing him, that if he could keepe his perſon ſafe, and have patience to protract, and linger out the time a while, his adverſaries faction would diſſolve ere long, and fall aſunder of it ſelfe.

Amongſt thoſe who tooke part with the King, there were diverſe of the name of *Douglas*, and that of the principalls, as *Angus*, brother to *Archbiſhop Kennedie*, by the mother, who was daughter to *Robert* the third, and ſiſter to *Iames* the firſt, by whom therefore they were Coſins germain to the King, who was partly perſwaded by his brother to take that courſe as fitteſt for him againſt the Earle *Douglas*, partly alſo accounted it right to follow him as his King, partly for kindred. There was alſo *John* (or rather *Iames*) Lord Dalkeith, who had married the Kings ſiſter (as *Hollinſhed* writeth in the life of *Mackebeth*) as alſo the manuſcript

in

in this ſame place, and the contract with the Earle of Morton yet beareth: Alſo the manuſcript in the life of Groſſe *James* (this *E. James* father) ſaith, the Lord Dalkeith, (or *Henry* his ſonne rather) married the ſaid Groſſe *James* eldeſt daughter; this *James* ſiſter called *Margaret*: whether therefore having married the Kings ſiſter, and ſo tracke on that ſide, or having married *E. James* ſiſter, and being of the name, The Earle *Douglas* was ſo much the more incenſed againſt him, that he ſhould without regard of this tie have joyned with his enemies, and therefore beſieged the Caſtle of Dalkeith, binding himſelfe by an oath not to deport from thence, untill he had gotten it taken in. But it was valiantly defended by *Patrick Cockburne* and *Clarkington*, in ſuch ſort, that after he was conſtrained by great travell, and trouble of his men with watching, and many wounds to lift his ſiege and depart. The King had in the mean time conveened a company of men to have releeved the beſieged, but finding that his power was not ſufficient for that purpoſe, he reſolved to attend the coming of *Alexander Gordon*, Earle of Huntley, his brother in law (or ſiſter ſonne) whom he made Lieutenant, and who they ſaid was come in with a great Army collected out of the furtheſt parts of the North. But as hee was marching through Angus (the twenty eight of May) he was encountred at Brichen, by the Earle of Crawford, who lay for him there to ſtoppe his paſſage. There was fought a great battell betwixt them in ſuch ſort, that *Huntleyes* middle ward was almoſt defeated, and well nigh routed, not being able to ſuſtain the impreſſion of *Crawfords* army, which was ſo ſtrong, that they failed but a little to overthrow the Kings Standard, brought thither and diſplayed by *Huntley*, had it not been for the cowardly and treacherous flight of *John Colleſſe* of Bonnie-Moone, to whom the left wing was committed by *Crawford*: He in the hotteſt of the conflict (offended with *Crawford*, becauſe he had refuſed him that ſame morning the Barrony of Ferme, or a part thereof, which lay neare to his houſe) fled on ſet purpoſe out of the battell, and ſo left the middle ward naked on the one ſide of the ſpeciall force, which the ſaid Earle had, which was called the battell of axes, or billmen. By their flight, the reſt (who were almoſt victours) were ſo terrified, that they turned their backs, and left the victory to *Huntley*, farre beyond his owne expectation; and yet, not without a great ſlaughter of his friends, ſervants and followers; and eſpecially thoſe of his name, amongſt whom were two of his brethren. This battell was fought on the Aſcenſion day, in the yeare 1453. hee had before the battell that ſame day given lands to the principall men of thoſe ſurnames that were with him, as *Forbeſſes*, *Leſlies*, *Vrwines*, *Ogilbies*, *Graunts*, and diverſe others, which made them fight with greater courage. *Crawford* alſo loſt many of his men, together with his brother *John Lindeſay*, ſo that the loſſe on both ſides, was accounted almoſt equall.

Huntley had the name of the victory, yet could not march forward to the King, as hee intended, and that partly becauſe of his great loſſe of men, partly for that he was advertiſed, that *Archbald Douglas* Earle of Murray had invaded his lands, and burnt the Piele of Strabogie. Wherefore hee returned ſpeedily to his owne Countrey, which gave *Crawford* leaſure

leaſure and occaſion to poure out his wrath againſt them, who had ſo traitercuſly forſaken him, by burning and waſting their lands, and caſting downe their Houſes and Caſtles. Huntley being returned to the North, not onely recompenſed the dammage done to him by the Earle Murray, but alſo compelled him out of his whole bounds of Murray: yet it was not done without conflict and mutuall harme: for Huntley coming to Elgin in Murray, found it divided, the one halfe ſtanding for him, the other halfe (and almoſt the other ſide of the ſtreet) ſtanding for the Earle Murray: wherefore he burnt that halfe which was for Murray; and hereupon roſe the Proverb, *Halfe done as Eglin was burnt*. While he is there, Murray aſſembled his power, which conſiſting moſt of footmen, he ſate downe upon a hill ſome two or three miles off, called the Drum of Pluskardein, which was unacceſſible to horſemen. Huntley forrowed his lands to draw him from the hill, or at leaſt to bee revenged of him that way, thinking hee durſt not come into the plain fields, and not thinking it ſafe to aſſault him in a place of ſuch diſadvantage. But Murray ſeeing Huntlies men ſo ſcattered, came out of his ſtrength, and falling upon foure or five hundreth horſemen, drave them into a bogue called the bogue of Dunkintie, in the bounds of Pittendreigh, full of quag-mires, ſo deep, that a ſpeare may be thruſt into them, and not finde the bottome. In this bogue many were drowned, the reſt ſlaine, few or none eſcaping of that company. There are yet to be ſeene ſwords, ſteelcaps, and ſuch other things which are found now and then by the Countrey people that live about it. They made this round ryme of it afterward,

Where left thou thy men thou *Gordon* ſo gay?
In the Bogue of Dunkintie mowing the Hay.

Theſe victories in the North, together with the repulſe (at leaſt the retreat) of the Earle *Douglas* from the Caſtle of Dalkeith did ſo encourage the King, that he began to conceive better hopes of his affaires, and by the counſell of Archbiſhop *Kennedie* he called a Parliament at Edinburgh, and ſummoned the Earle *Douglas* and his partners to compeir thereat. But the Earle was ſo farre from obeying, that he cauſed plackards to be affixed upon the Church doores, and other publick places, ſealed with his ſeale, containing in effect, that from thenceforth he would neither obey citation, nor other commandement of the Kings, nor in any ſort commit his life to him, who having allured his Couſins to Edinburgh, and his brother to Stirlin, under ſafe conduct, had traiterouſly murthered them without any order of law, and contrarie to his oath. Hereupon he and his three brethren, *Archbald*, *Hugh*, and *John*, together with *Beatrix*, Relict of Earle *William*, were declared Rebels, and forfeited, and with them *Alexander* Earle of Crawford, and *James* Lord *Hammiltoun*; and that the number of the Nobilitie might not ſeeme to be diminiſhed by their forfeiture, there were divers new Lords created, and the goods and lands of the forfeited given to them.

Thereafter an Armie was levied to purſue them, their lands were waſted, their goods driven away, their cornes deſtroyed, and then (winter comming

comming on) becauſe the Armie could not lie in the fields, they were diſmiſſed, and appointed to meet againe in the ſpring. But the Earle *Douglas* ſeemed to make ſmall account of all this, and that the grandour of his houſe (which was growne to that great height by that great marriage) might not be impaired, and that eſtate transferred to ſtrangers, he takes to wife the foreſaid *Beatrix*, and deales with the Pope for a diſpenſation, and confirmation of the marriage. But that ſute was croſt by the Kings Letters. I finde it in an ancient book written of the *Douglaſſes* in meeter, that ſhe her ſelfe alledged, that her firſt husband (Earle *William*) had never carnall copulation with her, and that ſhe gave her oath thereupon: which giveth ſome colourable excuſe to this fact, which otherwiſe is ſo enormous, and void of all appearance that he could have beene ſo ſhameleſſe as to have gone about it without ſome ſuch reaſon, or pretext, which therefore I would not omit to intimate, and I remember not that I have read it elſewhere. However it were, he kept her as his wife, and continued the warres that yeare, and the next two yeares, pillaging and waſting the Kings poſſeſſions, and the King doing the like to him, eſpecially in Annandale, Galloway, and the Forreſt. Hereupon enſued a Famine, and upon the Famine a Peſtilence, Townes and Caſtles were deſtroyed on both ſides, and no kinde of hoſtilitie pretermitted. The King notwithſtanding cauſed trie indirectly whether the Earle could be perſwaded to yeeld himſelfe to him, and the wiſeſt of his friends counſelled him to doe it, alledging that his Predeceſſours had often done ſo; chiefly ſeeing he had a King of a gentle nature, and who would be entreated by friends, not to extinguiſh ſo noble a Familie, and undoe ſo many Noblemen as joyned with him, or to redact them to that neceſſitie, that they ſhould be forced to take a courſe for themſelves; that it would be eaſier for him to get ſome good quarters now, while matters were as yet not paſt reconciliation, and while his friends were about him, then afterward, when he ſhould be deſerted, and left alone: then there would be no hope of pardon. To this he anſwered, That he would never commit himſelfe to the credit of thoſe whom neither ſhame nor honeſtie could binde, who regarded neither the law of God, nor man: but having allured his Couſins and Brother with faire promiſes, had ſo traiterouſly and cruelly ſlain them, that hee would rather ſuffer all extremity, then come into their power. This ſpeech was approved or reproved according to every mans diſpoſition, ſome praiſing his magnanimitie and carriage, ſome diſliking his obſtinacie, and exhorting him not to loſe the good occaſion of making his peace, which (if his friends wearie of troubles ſhould abandon him) he would repent afterwards. He perſiſted in his opinion, and what for deteſtation of the fact, what for feare to be uſed after the ſame manner himſelfe, if he ſhould come into the Kings power (as it falls out, and muſt of neceſſity, where truſt, which is the ground of all peace and reconciliation, is taken away) not ſuffering any thought of peace to come into his minde, reſolved himſelfe to trie the fortune of warre.

But the Earle Crawford being wearie of ſo long troubles, apprehending the iniquitie of the cauſe, and weighing with himſelfe the common changeable-

changeableneſſe of all humane affaires, and knowing that pardon would be eaſily granted to him who ſhould preoccupy the Kings favour, and uneaſie and difficult to thoſe that ſhould continue in armes, being left by a part of his friends, and ſuſpecting the fidelitie of the reſt, as the King was journeying through Angus, he caſts himſelfe in his way with a habit moſt compoſed to move pitie, bare footed, and bare headed; he plainly confeſſed his offences in times paſt, put himſelfe abſolutely in the Kings will, commemorating the good offices done by his Predeceſſours; that he acknowledged that whatever had happened to him, had happened by his owne default; whatever life or fortune he ſhould have thereafter, he would owe it to the Kings clemencie. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches moved the Noblemen that were preſent, eſpecially the Gentlemen of Angus, who although they had always followed the King, yet were loath that ſo ancient and noble an houſe ſhould periſh: chiefly Archbiſhop *Kennedie*, howbeit he had received many injuries of Crawford (or his father) yet conſidering of what importance it was to the King to have his owne forces increaſed by this acceſſion, and his enemies diminiſhed and weakned by want of ſo great a man, dealt earneſtly with the King to receive him into his wonted place of honour and favour. Neither was the King difficult to be entreated, but graciouſly pardoned him, and reſtored him to his former condition both of goods and honour, onely admoniſhing him to doe his dutie in time to come. It is reported that the King being deſirous to performe his promiſe (which was to raze the houſe of Phineavin, the chiefe Mannour of the Earle Crawfords) and to make the higheſt ſtone the loweſt, he went up to the top of the houſe, and (according to this promiſe) threw down a little ſtone, which was lying looſe above the built worke, to the ground, which is to this day kept in an iron chaine for a Monument and memoriall of this action. Some alſo write that the King tooke from him the lands of Badenoch and Loquhabr[illegible] and gave them to Huntley for the lands which he had diſtributed at the field of Brighen, as alſo the ſecond place in Parliament, and honour of bearing the Scepter. Crawford died within ſix moneths of a burning feavour at Phineavin, and was buried in the Gray Friers at Dundee, in the Sepulchre of his Progenitors.

The Earle *Douglas* informed hereof, and ſeeing his forces decay daily, and the Kings daily growing greater, he thought he would goe trie what ſuccour or ſupport he could have out of England, and for that effect he ſent *James Hammiltoun* of Cadyou to K. *Henry* to deſire his help in this eſtate. King *Henry* conſidering, and thinking the occaſion fit for him to encroach upon Scotland, perſwading himſelfe that the Earle *Douglas* his paſſion of revenge on the one part, and the neceſſitie of his eſtate on the other (two powerfull perſwaders to move men) ſhould drive him to accept his help on whatever termes, was content to aide him upon this condition, that he ſhould become his ſubject, ſweare himſelfe Engliſh, and ſo to continue for ever; and for better aſſurance hereof, ſhould put into his hands ſuch Strengths and Caſtles in Scotland as he had in his cuſtodie. Unto this *Douglas* replied very generouſly and honeſtly, "That hee "would never leave ſuch a blot upon his houſe, and would rather chooſe

"to

to die by what ever hand, then commit ſuch a crime againſt his Countrey, for a fault done by the Prince and ſome particular men onely, whereof he hoped to be avenged, without that ſhame. This being ſo honeſt a part, and teſtifying ſo honeſt a heart, as ſome of them have not had the like, even of thoſe who pretended to be Kings themſelves (ſome of whom have not refuſed to render themſelves and their Kingdomes to the Engliſh ſervitude, to be avenged of their enemies, and to obtaine the Crown for themſelves) is too lightly overpaſſed by our Writers, without the due teſtimony, approbation, and praiſe that it well deſerveth. Beſides, there can hardly be a clearer argument of his not affecting or aiming at the Crowne, which his brother and Predeceſſours were charged with, and traduced to the King: for had he beene that way ſet, he would have accepted of the proffer of England, and made uſe of their help, which (queſtionleſſe) theſe Kings would not have denied him, according to their ordinary practice. And how many are there that would have forborne in ſuch power, and upon ſuch an occaſion? for although he ſeems to have no colour of title to the Crowne, yet men that aſpire to it, doe ſeldome want their pretences, when they have power to ſearch it. So that the greater is the pitie in ſo moderate proſecution of ſuch a quarrell, that the event ſhould have beene ſo hard on his ſide, which appeares yet better in that which followed.

So left thus to himſelfe, by the inſtigation of his partners, and namely of *James Hammiltoun* of Cadyou, hee gathered together his friends and followers to raiſe the ſiege of Abercorne, which the King had beſet, and lay before it in his owne perſon. And when hee was come within five miles, or (as others ſay) within ſight of the beſiegers, they looked aſſuredly that he would, and that hee had reſolved to fight, becauſe he put his Army in order of battell; and being very ready for their part, and forward, Cadyou alſo exhorting him thereto, that he would end theſe warres with a notable victorie, to his perpetuall praiſe, or with an honourable death, as became his houſe, that he would vindicate himſelfe from thoſe miſeries and contumelies; he utterly refuſed to fight, though he were more in number, ſaying plainly, his heart would not ſuffer him, nor ſerve him to fight againſt his Soveraign. Wherby it may be conjectured (as ſaith the Manuſcript) that his meaning was only to have terrified the King, and brought him to ſome reaſonable conditions of peace. But there wanted interceſſours to deale betwixt them, partly becauſe all were ingaged to the one or other ſide, partly for that they beleeved that he ſtill perſiſted in his former opinion of diſtruſt and indignation, and ſo nothing was done therein by any. Others interpret it to have bin cowardize, or faint heartedneſſe, and lack of courage (for their words import ſo much) a fault that was incident to few of that ſtock, and we never finde it imputed to any of them againſt England, or againſt any other private enemie; neither to this man elſewhere, but only at this time. And we heard how after the killing of his brother his courage is commended, together with his piety. The reaſon of it hath been this; then while his anger was recent, and green againſt the authors thereof, he could have done any thing to have been avenged; now time having taken away

the edge of that diſpoſition, when he conſidered it was his King he had to do with, whoſe hand the Courtiers, his enemies, had onely borrowed; his naturall affection, and regard of a ſubject toward his Prince, was returned, and by peece-meal had taken poſſeſſion of his heart again, as the own proper lodging where it had been harboured ever before. Certainly this refuſall to fight now, and his former rejecting the King of Englands diſloyall conditions of help, have proceeded from one and the ſame diſpoſition of minde. Wherefore ſeeing that ought highly to be praiſed, I ſee not how this can be condemned, at leaſt how they can condemn it, that do ſo highly reſpect that high place of Kings. The word alſo will import, not altogether flat cowardiſe, but a natural ſluggiſhneſſe, & want of action, whereof cowardiſe is ſometimes the cauſe, but not alway, though they concurre often. But there is another affection that makes men ſlack in action, which proceeds not either of ſluggiſhneſſe, or cowardiſe, but of irreſolution; when a man ſwiming betwixt two opinions, reſolves not fully upon either, and this ſeemes to have beene his diſpoſition. A great impediment in his actions, and at leaſt in this laſt point of ſuch importance, the cauſe of his ruine, while neither his heart could ſuffer him to betake himſelf againſt his Prince, whom naturally he affected, neither could he digeſt to forget the fact done, or (after it) to commit himſelf to the doer. Which diſpoſition, though it have brought out the like effects as cowardlineſſe and ſluggiſhneſſe are wont to do, to wit, lingring and eſchewing of the battell, yet this did not proceed in him from either of theſe two, but had the originall from a very honeſt minde to his dutie. His love to his Prince ſtrove and fought with another dutie, which was his love to his dead brother, or to his owne honour. Out of which, whileas he either cannot, or occaſion is not offered to extricate himſelfe, and winde out a full reſolution, he ſuffered himſelfe to be carried unto that which he was moſt inclined to, his love to his Prince, and thereby he ſlipt and let ſlide through his fingers (as it were) this faire occaſion which was then offered unto him, of no leſſe (in the judgement of his friends) then the caſting the dice for the Crown. And ſo *James Hamilton* told him, that the occaſion was ſuch, that if he did not lay hold of it, he ſhould never finde the like again: he told him withall, that his want of reſolution would be his overthrow, as it was indeed.

For *James Hammiltoun* himſelfe left him that ſame night, and went to the King, of whom hee was ſo honourably and well received, that others thereby were encouraged to come in alſo. Yet others write that he was committed to ward in Roſſeline for a certaine ſeaſon, and afterward releeved at the entreatie of *George Douglas* Earle of Angus. However, by his information to the King of the eſtate of the Earle *Douglas* his Armie, how forward they had beene to have fought, and how diſcontented and diſcouraged they were with his lingring, how the greateſt motive that kept them with him was their doubting of pardon for their former offences, the King cauſed make a Proclamation, that whoſoever would come unto him, and forſake the Earle *Douglas*, ſhould have free remiſſion for all that was paſt, providing they came within 48. houres.

This being publiſhed, the moſt part of the Earls Armie left him, ſo that there remained not (ere the next morning) with him above 2000. men, whereby

whereby he was conſtrained to leave the fields, and his friends and ſervants that were in Abercorne to be cruelly ſlaine, and executed; for the Caſtle was taken by force, and demoliſhed, to his no ſmall reproach, in that he was ſo irreſolute, and had not by ſome meane or other procured at leaſt ſome honeſt compoſition for himſelfe and them, or elſe to have adventured all. Where if he would not have taken the Kingdome, in caſe of victorie, yet might he honourably have ſet downe conditions of peace; or if he had loſt the field, he could not have loſt more then he did; for by theſe meanes, abandoned of all, he was conſtrained to flee unto England.

In the yeare 1455. having gotten together a ſmall company of men, he returned into Annandale, thinking to have found ſome friends in thoſe quarters, which were his own lands before; but there he was encountred by the Kings followers, eſpecially by his own kinſman (but the Kings Couſin) *George* E. of Angus (as ſome write) who defeated him. His brother the Earle of Murray was ſlain in the field, and his other brother the Earle of Ormond was hurt, and taken priſoner; after his wounds were cured, being brought to the King, he was executed, with greater regard to this laſt action, then reſpect to his victory obtained not far from the ſame place, at Sark, againſt the Engliſh, & *Magnus with the red main*, their inſolent Champion, which was ſo greatly praiſed by the King before, and ſo acceptable to all Court and Countrey. Such is the courſe and viciſſitude of all humane affaires. We heare of one onely ſonne of Ormonds, named *Hugh*, Dean of Brichen, of whom we ſhall ſpeake ſomewhat hereafter in the life of *Archbald* Earle of Angus, who was Chancellour of Scotland. His takers were the Lord Carlile, and *Johnſton* of Johnſton, to whom the King gave in recompence the 40. l. land in Pittinen upon Clide, to each of them a 20. l. land thereof. The third brother, *John* Lord of Balvenie, eſcaped in a wood, and the Earle himſelf by flight got him to Dunſtaffage, where finding *Donald* Earle of Roſſe, and Lord of the Iſles, he incited him to make war againſt the King in his favours, and after he had ingaged him therein, he withdrew himſelfe again into England. This is noted to have beene in the yeare 1455. after which there was a Parliament called (about the fifth of June, or Auguſt, as the Acts beare) wherein he, and his brother *John*, and his wife *Beatrix*, were againe forfeited, and their lands of Galloway annexed to the Crowne. This *Beatrix* (who had beene his Brothers wife, and whom he had uſed and kept for his owne wife for certaine yeares) came to the King, and excuſed her ſelfe, as being a woman, and compelled to doe what ſhe had done. The King received her into favour, and married her to *John Stuart* his halfe brother (by the mother) and gave her the lands of Balvenie. This *John* was afterward made Earle of Athole in King *James* the thirds time: he had by *Beatrix* two daughters onely, the eldeſt of which was married to the Earle of Errole. This is caſt in by ſome in the next yeare following.

The Earl *Douglas* abandoned on all hands, travelled with *Donald* of the Iſles, Earle of Roſſe, conforme to their old band made with Earle *William* to aſſiſt him, and renew his claim to the Iſles. Hereupon *Donald* waſted Argyle, Arran, Loquhaber, and Murray, took the Caſtle of Inner-Neſſe,

burnt the towne, and proclaimed himſelfe King of the Iſles: but his wife (who was daughter to *Iames Levingſton*, and had beene given to him in marriage at the Kings deſire, of purpoſe to retain him the better in duty) when ſhe ſaw ſhe could neither prevaile with him in that point, and that beſides ſhe was but contemned by him, and the barbarous people that were with him, ſhe left him, and came to the King, who received her very gladly. About this ſame time *Patrick Thornton*, a ſecret favourer of the Earle *Douglas* his faction, though he had followed the Court a long time, ſlew *Iohn Sandilands* of Calder the Kings Couſin, and *Alane Stuart* alſo, upon occaſion at Dumbartan. Theſe two were of the Kings ſide, wherefore the ſaid *Thornton* was taken by the Kings Officers, and executed. Theſe things being not yet fully ſettled, did greatly perplex the King, between domeſtick and forraign enemies. In the year 1457. the Earl *Douglas* came in with *Henry Percie* Earle of Northumberland to the Merſe, which as they were in waſting & pillaging, they were encountred by *George* Earle of Angus, and put backe to their Camp. Being irritated with this indignitie, they put themſelves in order of battell, without ſtaying for their full companies; many of which were gone abroad into the Countrey and Villages for ſpoile and bootie, and ſo entred into conflict. When the noiſe hereof was carried to the eares of the forrowers, they for feare of loſing what they had gotten, which was a very rich and great prey, paſt directly into England, without regarding what became of the two Earles. Hereby the battell was loſt by the Engliſh, but the loſſe of men was almoſt equall on both ſides. This victorie did not a little recreate the King, and ſo affrighted *Donald* and his Iſlanders, that he ſent and ſubmitted himſelfe to the King, and was received by him. Neither was there any farther inſurrection within the Countrey. Neither did the Earle *Douglas* without the Countrey enterpriſe any thing by the aid of England (they being diſtracted at home by the diſſention of Lancaſter and Yorke) during the dayes of this King, which were not many: for about two or three years after this, the King alone was ſlain by the wedge of a peece of Ordnance of his own, and with him *George* Earle of Angus hurt amongſt 30000. of his Armie (of whom none elſe was either ſlaine or hurt) at the ſiege of the Caſtle of Roxburgh in the 29. yeare of his age in September 1460, ſome 8. yeares after the killing of Earle *William* in Stirlin Caſtle, at which time he was about the age of twenty one or twenty two yeares.

Neither hear we any mention of the Earle *Douglas* his ſtirring in the next Kings (*Iames* the thirds) time, either in his minoritie (being but a childe of ſeven or eight yeares of age at his coronation) or in his majoritie; either in the diſſentions betwixt the *Kennedies* and the *Boydes*, or the diſſention betwixt the King and the Nobilitie. Whether it bee the negligence and ſloth of Writers that have not recorded things, or whether hee did nothing indeed, through want of power, his friends, and dependers, and vaſſals being left by him, and deſpairing of him, having taken another courſe, and his lands being diſpoſed of to others; ſo it is, that for the ſpace of twenty yeares, or three and twenty, untill the yeare 1483. there is nothing but deepe

ſilence

ſilence with him in all Hiſtories. Onely wee finde that hee was made Knight of the noble Order of the Garter by King *Edward* the fourth, and is placed firſt in order of all the Earles, and next to him the Earle of Arundell (who is the firſt Earle of England) in the booke, intituled, *Nobilitas Politica*; and the Engliſh Heraulds ſay of him, that he was a very valiant noble Gentleman, well beloved of the King and Nobility, and very ſteadable to King *Edward* in all his troubles. Theſe troubles (perhaps) have beene the cauſe that they could enterpriſe nothing in Scotland untill the foreſaid yeare 1483. However it be, he hath the honour to be the firſt of his Nation admitted into that Order.

At laſt then in the yeare 1483. *Alexander* Duke of Albanie, and brother to King *James* the third (who was alſo baniſhed in England) and the Earle *Douglas*, deſirous to know what was the affection of their Countreymen toward them, vowed that they would offer their offering on the high Altar of Loch-mabane upon the Magdalen day, and to that effect got together ſome five hundred horſe (what Scottiſh what Engliſh) and a certaine number of Engliſh foot-men, that remained with *Muſgrave* at Burneſwark hill to aſſiſt them in caſe they needed. So they rode toward Loch-mabane, and at their coming the fray was raiſed through Niddiſdale, Annandale, and Galloway, who aſſembling to the Laird of Mouſhill (then Warden) encountred them with great courage. The Engliſh who were on the hill (Burneſwark) fled at the firſt ſight of the enemy, ſo that the reſt behoved either to doe or die. And therefore they fought it out manfully from noone till twilight, with skirmiſhes, after the border faſhion, ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other having the advantage. At laſt the victorie fell to the Scots, though it coſt them much bloud. The Duke of Albanie eſcaped by flight, but the Earle of Douglas being now an aged man, was ſtricken from his horſe, and taken priſoner with his owne conſent, by a brother of the Laird of Cloſeburnes, in this manner: The King (*James* 3.) had made a proclamation, that whoſoever ſhould take the E. *Douglas* ſhould have 100. l. land: the E. being then thus on foot in the field, wearied of ſo long exile, and thinking that he might (perhaps) be knowne by ſome other, ſeeing in the field *Alexander Kilpatrick* (a ſon of Cloſeburnes, and one that had beene his owne ſervant before) he calls on him by his name, and when he came to him, he ſaid, *I have foughten long enough againſt my fortune, and ſince I muſt die, I will rather that ye (who have beene my owne ſervant, and whom I knew to be faithfull to me as long as I did any thing that was likely for my ſelfe) have the benefit thereby then any other. Wherefore take me, and deliver me to the King according to his Proclamation, but ſee thou beeſt ſure hee keepe his word before thou deliver me.* The young man, who loved the Earle entirely in his heart, wept (as is reported) for ſorrow, to ſee him thus aged, and altered in diſguiſed apparell, and offered to goe with him into England. But hee would not, being wearied of ſuch endleſſe troubles; onely hee deſired the young man to get his life ſafe, if hee could obtaine ſo much at the Kings hands, if not, to bee ſure of his owne reward at leaſt. Hereupon *Kilpatricke* conveyed him ſecretly out of the field, and kept him in a poore cottage ſome few dayes,

untill hee had ſpoken with the King, who granted him the Earles life, and gave unto himſelfe the fiftie pound land of Kirk Michaell, which is poſſeſt by his heires, unto this day. Some give the honour of this victory to *Cockpool* and *Johnſton*, and make the number of thoſe that came with *Douglas* and Albany greater, and ſay that King *Richard* of England blamed the Duke of Albanie for the loſſe thereof, and that he, diſcontented and taking it ill to bee ſo blamed, withdrew himſelfe ſecretly into France.

The Earle *Douglas* being brought to the King, hee ordained him to be put into the Abbacie of Lindores; which ſentence when hee heard, hee ſaid no more but this: *Hee that may no better bee, muſt bee a Monk*, which is paſt in a Proverbe to this day. Hee remained there till the day of his death (which was after the death of King *Iames* the third) which fell out 1488. he being of a good age, and having beene a man in action from the beginning of his brother *William* now foure and fourty yeares.

Some write that while he was in Lindores, the faction of the Nobility (that had put *Coghran* to death, and puniſhed ſome others of the Courtiers ſupported by the Kings favour) eſpecially *Archbald* Earle of Angus, (called *Bell-the-Cat*) deſired him to come out of his Cloyſter, and be head of their faction; promiſing he ſhould be reſtored to all his lands, which ſeemeth not very probable: But that which others write, hath more appearance, that the King deſired him to be his Lievetenant againſt the Rebells; but hee laden with yeares and old age, and weary of troubles, refuſed, ſaying; *Sir, you have kept mee, and your black coffer in Stirling too long, neither of us can doe you any good:* I, becauſe my friends have forſaken me, and my followers and dependers are fallen from me, betaking themſelves to other maſters; and *your blacke trunck is too farre from you, and your enemies are between you and it:* or (as others ſay) becauſe there was in it a ſort of black coyne, that the King had cauſed to bee coyned, by the adviſe of his Courtiers; which *moneyes* (ſaith he) *Sir, if you had put out at the firſt, the people would have taken it, and if you had imployed mee in due time, I might have done you ſervice.* But now there is none that will take notice of me, nor meddle with your money. So he remained ſtill in the Abbacy of Lindores, where hee died, *anno* 1488. and was buried there.

THus began and grew, thus ſtood and flouriſhed, thus decayed and ended the Noble Houſe of Douglas, whoſe love to their Countrey, fidelity to their King, and diſdain of Engliſh ſlavery was ſo naturall, and of ſuch force and vigour, that it had power to propagate it ſelfe from age to age, and from branch to branch, being not onely in the ſtocke, but in the collaterall, and by branches alſo, ſo many as have beene ſpoken of here. They have continually retained that naturall ſap and juice which was firſt in *Sholto*, then in *William* the *Hardie*, who died in Berwick (who was in a manner a ſecond founder) in ſuch a meaſure, that amongſt them all it is uncertain which of them have beene moſt that way affected. This vertue joyned with valour (which was no leſſe naturall, and hereditary from

from man to man) cauſed their increaſe and greatneſſe: their Princes favouring them for theſe vertues, and they by theſe ſerving their Princes in defence of their Countrey: Their affection preſſing them thereto, their worth and valour ſufficing them, the hearts of the people affecting and following them: Their enemies regarding and reſpecting them, all men admiring them: ſo that in effect, the weight of warlike affaires was wholly laid on them. The Kings needed onely to give themſelves to adminiſter juſtice, conſult, and direct, living at peace and eaſe, and in great quietneſſe to uſe their honeſt recreations, from the latter dayes of King *Robert Bruce*, wherein there was a pleaſant harmony, and happy concurrence; the Kings (as the great wheel and firſt mover) carrying the firſt place in honour and motion, and commanding: and they in the next roome, ſerving and obeying, and executing their commandements (as under wheels, turned about by them) courageouſly, honourably, faithfully and happily, to the great honour and good of their Prince and Countrey.

This behoved to be accompanied with greatneſſe: for neither could ſervice (to any purpoſe) bee done without reſpected greatneſſe, neither had greatneſſe beene worthily placed without ſervice. Their power is ſaid by ſome to have been ſuch, that (if they had not divided amongſt themſelves) no Subject in this Iſland could have compared with them in puiſſance. But that which diminiſhed their power, and ruined the Earle *Douglas*, was the falling of the houſes of Angus and Morton, from them to the King: for the laſt battell the Earle *Douglas* was at, the Earle of Angus diſcomfited him; ſo that it became a Proverbe, *The Red Douglas put downe the Black*: Thoſe of the houſe of Angus, being of the fairer complexion. They might have raiſed (thirty or fourty thouſand men) under their owne command, and of their owne dependers onely, and theſe moſt valiant: for their command was over the moſt expert, and moſt exerciſed in warre, by reaſon of their vicinitie, and nearneſſe to England, which was their onely matter and whetſtone of valour. They who give them leaſt, give them 15000. men, who upon all occaſions were ready with them to have ridden into England, at their pleaſure, and backe even for their private quarrells, and have ſtayed there twenty dayes, and waſted all from Durham Northward, which no other private Subject could ever doe, upon their owne particular, without the Kings Army: this power (as hath been ſaid) they uſed ever well, without giving of offence to their Prince in any ſort, that we can reade of clearly and expreſly ſet downe.

Yet our Writers ſay, it was too great for Scotland. But how could it be too great, that was thus for the good of it? for the Kings ſervice? for their eaſe? making no rebellion, no reſiſtance, no contradiction? which (we ſee) they came never to, untill the killing of *E. William* at Stirling. Truely if we ſhall ſpeake without partiality, their greatneſſe was ſo uſefull to their King and Countrey, that *Hector Boetius* ſtickes not to ſay, the *Douglaſſes* were ever the ſure buckler, and warre wall of Scotland, and wonne many lands by their ſingular man-hood and vaſſalages: for they decored this Realme with many noble Acts, and by the glory of their

their Martiall deeds. And though their puiſſance was ſuſpected to ſome of their Kings, and was now the cauſe of their declining, yet ſince that houſe was put downe, Scotland hath done but few memorable deeds of Armes: And we cannor ſay juſtly, that they gave any cauſe of jealouſie. Princes were moved to conceive it without juſt occaſion given by them, unleſſe it were a fault to be great: whether they were jealous of their owne naturall inclination (as jealouſie is eſteemed ordinarily to the higheſt places) or by the ſuggeſtion of others, that were mean men, and ſo envious of great men: the one inclining to jealouſie, the other working on that inclination, however notwithſtanding of all this, they ſtill behaved themſelves towards their Princes moderately, obeying them to warding, and after releeving to warding again, at their Kings pleaſure, without any reſiſtance whatſoever, as may be ſeene in the Earle of Wigton, which being well conſidered, the cauſe of their ſtirring, or commotion againſt their Prince (which was never till this laſt man) will appeare not to have proceeded from their greatneſſe, enterpriſing againſt their Prince, or aſpiring to his Throne, (although the meane men, and new ſtart-up Courtiers perſwaded the King ſo, for their owne advantage and ends) but the cauſe was indeed the aſpiring and ambition of theſe mean men, who laboured to climbe up into their roomes by their decay, neither was this their aſpiring by vertue, but by calumnies, and flattering, foſtering the foreſaid jealouſie.

I know it is a maxime in Policie, and that plauſible to many; *That Princes ſhould not ſuffer too great Subjects in their Dominions*; yet it is certain, that without great Subjects there can be no great ſervice. Things may be ſhufled at home, but abroad there can never any thing bee done to the purpoſe, or of note. But now the queſtion is where great men are already; whether it bee beſt thus to undoe them, and make up new men by their ruine, or not: a thing worthy to bee conſidered: and alſo, whether or not there be a poſſibilitie to uſe great men to good uſes; and (if poſſible) whether it were not better to doe ſo, then to goe about to undoe them: whether alſo there be not in undoing of them ſuch great hazard (as we ſee) that though it may ſucceed at laſt (as it did here) yet it is not ſo good wiſedome to adventure upon it with ſuch trouble and uncertaintie.

Truely, that which made it to ſucceed, was the very honeſt heart of this laſt Earle *Iames*; who, if either hee would have turned Engliſh, and caſt off all reſpect to his native Prince, or entered into battell againſt him at Abercorne, it had proved an unwiſe courſe ſo to have affected the advancement of theſe mean men; and not rather to have uſed them well, that were become already great. And therefore the Writers finde no other cauſe of this ſucceſſe on the Kings ſide, but the onely providence of God, who had not determined to give the Crowne to the *Douglas*, but to continue it in the right line; which though the *Douglas* did not aime at, yet being driven to this neceſſity, either to loſe his owne eſtate, or to take the Crowne in caſe of victory, hee could hardly have refuſed it, if it ſhould have come to that, but hee choſe rather to loſe his owne; and loſt it indeed by a rare modeſty, which is

even

even diſallowed by Writers, who interpret it to have beene feareful-neſſe, or lazineſſe; ſo hard is it to know the right, and not to incurre ſome cenſure in our actions: how ever it bee, this appeares moſt certain, that their meaning to their Prince and Countrey hath ever beene good, and that even in this man. Their errours and faults whatſoever they fell into, they were drawne to them by the malice of their particular enemies, and the Princes aſſiſting, foſtering and maintaining them in their wayes, thereby to undoe that Earledome, jealous of their Crowne, and that they might reigne (perhaps) with greater libertie, and fuller abſoluteneſſe, which their Courtiers perſwaded them they could not doe, ſo long as they ſtood. But it comes not ever ſo to paſſe; and though it came here ſo to paſſe in this Kings dayes (which were not many) yet in his ſonnes dayes, wee ſhall ſee it fell out otherwayes: for out of theſe mean men (at leaſt in reſpect of the houſe of Douglas) there aroſe ſome who proved as great, and greater reſtrainers of that liberty, then ever the Earles of Douglas were. So that if that bee the end of cutting off great men (to obtain greater liberty) wee ſee it is not alwayes attained, and doth not ever follow upon it; yea, wee ſhall ſee, that almoſt it never (or but for a very ſhort while) produceth that effect. It is therefore worthy to be examined, whether it be to be ſought, or to be bought at ſo deare a rate, ſuch hazard and trouble. But this is the viciſſitude of this rolling world; let men conſider it, and reverence the Ruler.

Jacobus *Comes Lindorenſi cœnobio incluſus.*

Quid rides raſumque caput, cellæque receſſum?
Quodque cucullatis fratribus annumeror?
Fortunâ volvente vices fiet modo Princeps,
Plebeius: Monachus ſæpè Monarcha fuit.

Why doe you laugh to ſee my ſhaven Crowne?
My Cell, my Cloyſter, and my hooded Gowne?
This is the power of that Soveraigne Queen,
By whom Monkes, Monarches, Monarches Monkes have been.

Another.

Both Fortunes long I tri'd, and found at laſt,
No State ſo happy as an humble reſt.

Georgius

Georgius *Anguſiæ comes.*

Anvici Gallos obſeſſos undique lætho,
Scotorum, eripuit te duce parva manus,
Te duce Duglaſius, *victus quoq; Percius heros*
Militiæ ſtatuunt clara tropheæ tuæ:
Sed conſanguinei, ſed quid meruere propinqui?
O furor, O rabies, perdere velle ſuos?
Matrem ingrata necat crudeli vipera, morſu
Stirpem, quâ genita eſt noxia vermis edit
His non abſimilis fueras: per te domus illa
Everſa eſt ortum ducis & unde genus,
Non me ventoſa ambitio, non dira cupido
Egit opum me non impulit invidia
Ferre parem poteram, poteram vel ferre priorem,
Contentuſque mea ſorte beatus eram:
Aſt Regi parere & juſſa faceſſere fixum;
Fas quoque ſemper erat, fas mihi ſemper erit

George Earle of Angus.

Thou ledſt a handfull, who from death did free
The French beſieg'd at Anwick: victory,
Though bloudy from the Noble *Piercy* gaind,
Increaſt thy honour: but againſt thy friend
And kinſman, what ſtrange fury turn'd thy force?
What madneſſe to deſtroy thy owne, 'twas worſe
Then Vipers cruelty, compell'd to eat
Their way or die; thine was a needleſſe hate:
No vain ambition overſway'd my heart,
No love of wealth, no envie had a part
In what I did, I could an equall beare:
Nay, did not grudge though *Douglas* greater were,
Content with what I had, I happy liv'd,
But 'twas my Prince his will and 'tis beleev'd
Lawfull, and Juſtice hath pronounc't it good
To ſerve our King, without reſpect of bloud.

Aliud

Aliud.

A ſolo potuit Pompeius Cæſare *vinci,*
Non niſi Romano milite Roma cadit,
Duglaſios *nemo cùm poſſet vincere, ſolus*
Duglaſium *potuit vincere* Duglaſius.

Another on the ſame.

Pompey by *Cæſar* onely was o'recome,
None but a Romane Souldier conquered Rome:
A *Douglas* could not have been brought ſo low,
Had not a *Douglas* wrought his overthrow.

Here endeth the firſt Part, containing the Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE DOUGLASSES, *CONTAINING* THE HOUSE OF ANGUS.

By Master DAVID HUME of Godscroft.

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Of the Houſe of ANGUS, *before it came to the name of* DOUGLAS.

THe great and potent Houſe of *Douglas* (of which we may ſay, the beſt ſubjects that ever ſerved Prince, the worthieſt ſeconds that ever ſeconded any, worthie for their modeſtie to be ſeconded by others, ſecond to none in all vertue,and true worth of valour, magnanimitie, kindeneſſe,courteſie,faithfulneſſe to King, Countrey, and kinred, ſerving their Prince, and ſerved by the reſt, worthily ſerved, worthie to be ſerved,as knowers of ſervice,and recompencers thereof in due proportion,and degree, as Charters of Lands liberally given do teſtifie) being thus brought to this pitifull end, there aroſe in place thereof the Houſe of Angus, of which we come now to ſpeak, and to view in the deſcent of it. If we ſhall conſider it in our beſt diſcourſe, with all circumſtances due to it, and compare it with the former,to which it ſucceeded, ballancing all things aright, we ſhall finde it, as not fully ſo great in that huge puiſſance and large extent of lands and rents that the houſe of *Douglas* had (which did ſurpaſſe all others that were before, or have been ſince amongſt ſubjects,) ſo ſhall it be ſeen otherwiſe nothing inferiour. In antiquitie Angus is thus far beyond it, that there have been diverſe Thanes of Angus (which was a degree of honour in thoſe dayes equall to that of Earles now) as alſo that the Earles of Angus were created amongſt the firſt that carried the title of Earles in the year 1057. or 1061. at the Parliament of Forfaire in the dayes of King *Malcolme Kenmore*; whereas the houſe of *Douglas* was honoured onely with the title of Barons,or Lords. This is much preferment, yet it is more,that in our Chronicles the name of the houſe of *Douglas* is then firſt found,whereas Angus is found 200. years before that time in the 839.year,howbeit we have already ſhowne that there were *Douglaſſes* in the year 767.though not mentioned by our Writers. In bloud they are equall on the fathers ſide,as being deſcended of the ſame progenitours; ſo that what ever belongs to the houſe of *Douglas* before *James* ſlain at Otterburn,belongs alſo to the houſe of Angus; the firſt Earle of Angus of that ſurname being brother to him, and both of them ſonnes to *William* the firſt Earle of Douglas, or rather the firſt Earle of Douglas, being alſo Earle of Angus in effect, ſeeing his wife was Counteſſe of Angus, howbeit he uſed not the ſtile. By the mothers ſide, the houſe of Angus

hath the preeminence, being deſcended of the greateſt in the Kingdome, and even of the Royall ſtock, having been divers wayes mingled therewith. In vertue, valour, and love of their Countrey, it reſembleth the ſpring from whence it flowes, and comes nothing ſhort of it. In credit, authority, place, and action, account, favour, and affection of men, we ſhall finde it no leſſe beloved and popular, and no leſſe reſpected and honoured. So that with all this (both likeneſſe, and no great inequalitie) bearing the name of *Douglas*, together with the armes, and title of Lords of Douglas, the fall of this former houſe was the leſſe felt, it ſeeming not ſo much cut off, as tranſplanted; nor deſtroyed, as transferred; ſome comfort it is, when it comes ſo to paſſe, as may be ſeen in many others.

838. To deduce then the houſe of Angus from the firſt originall thereof, it is declared by our Writers, that *Kenneth* the ſecond ſon to *Alpine*, the 69. King, having expelled the Picts out of his Kingdome, did diſpoſe of their Lands to his Noblemen, and ſuch as had done him good ſervice in the warres. In which diſtribution he gave the Province (of old called Oneſtia) to two brothers, the elder of which was named *Angus*, or (as *Buchanan*) *Æneas*, and the younger *Merns*. Theſe two brothers dividing that Province betwixt them, gave each of them his name to that half he poſſeſſed, and ſo of one they made two, calling the one Angus, and the other the Merns, as theſe Countreyes are ſo called at this preſent. This is the firſt Thane of Angus, from whom that Countrey took the name. 2. After him we read of other Thanes, as of *Rohardus*, *Radardus*, or *Cadhardus*, who ſlew *Culenus* (the 79. King) for raviſhing his daughter. 3. Alſo there was one *Cruthnetus* (in the reigne of *Kenneth*, brother to *Duffe*, in the year 961.) who was ſlain by *Crathelint*, who was his own grand-childe by his daughter *Fenella*, or *Finabella*, married to the Thane of the Merns. 4. Then we have one *Sinel*, (in the reigne of *Malcolme* the ſecond ſon to this *Kenneth*, who began his reigne 1104. and reigned 30. years) who married *Doaca* or *Doada*, younger daughter to King *Malcolme*, whoſe elder ſiſter *Beatrix*, was married to *Crinen*, Thane of the Iſles, and principall of the Thanes, whom that age called *Abthane*. 5. Of this marriage was procreat *Mackbeth*, or *Mackbed*, or *Mackabee*, Thane of Angus, and afterward King of Scotland, of whom the Hiſtory is ſufficiently knowne. 6. The laſt Thane was *Luthlack*, ſon to *Mackbeth*, who was inſtalled King at Scone after his fathers death, but within three moneths he was encountered by King *Malcolme*, and ſlain at Strabogie. This was about the year 1056, or 57. And ſo much of the firſt period of the houſe of Angus, under the title of Thanes.

The ſecond period of the houſe of Angus, is under the title of Earles, before it come to the name of *Stuart*. The firſt is, one made Earle by King *Malcolme*, at the Parliament of Forfaire, where *Boetius* telleth expreſly, that the Thane of Angus was made Earle of Angus. The next is in the dayes of King *David* (called Saint *David*) in the warres with *Stephen* King of England, in the battell at Alerton, where the Generall the Earle of Gloceſter was taken priſoner; the Scottiſh Army is ſaid to have been conducted by the Earles of March, Stratherne, and Angus, in the year 1136. or 37. but he is not named. The third is *Gilchriſt* (in the year 1153.)

in

in the reigne of *Malcolme* the maiden, who did good ſervice againſt *Sumerledus*, Thane of Argyle, and being married to the Kings ſiſter, having found her falſe, put her to death; and fearing the King, fled into England, and afterward was pardoned. Then we have *John Cumin* in the dayes of *Alexander* the ſecond, in the year 1239. of whom wee read nothing, but that he was ſent Ambaſſadour into France to *Lewis* then King, and that he died by the way before he had delivered his Ambaſſage: *Boetius*, *Holliſhed*. This was about 1330.

The third period is in the ſurname of *Stuarts*; of whom the firſt is one *John Stuart* entitled Earle of Angus, Lord of Boncle, and Abernethie, in a Charter given by him to *Gilbert Lumſden* of Blainerne, yet extant in the hands of the houſe of Blainerne. It is not dated, but the witneſſes ſhow the time, for *Randolphus cuſtos regni Scotiæ* is one. What this *John* was is uncertain, but in likelihood he hath been brother to *Walter* (the ſeventh from the firſt *Walter*) and ſonne to *John*, and ſo alſo uncle to *Robert* the firſt King of that Name, for ſo the time doth bear, and his father *John* (or himſelf) married the heir of Boncle, and was ſlain at the battell of Falkirk in the year 1299. This *John* was ſlain at Halidoun hill, together with his brother *James*, and *Alane*. (*Buch. lib. 9.*) 2. The ſecond is, *Thomas* (apparantly ſonne to *John*) who aſſiſted the Earle of Douglas, and the Earle of March in their taking of Berwick, in the year 1357. or 58. he died in the Caſtle of Dumbartan, having bin impriſoned there, but for what, is not known. 3. Then *Thomas* again, father to *Margaret Stuart* Counteſſe of Marre and Angus. 4. Laſt of all *Margaret Stuart*, daughter to this *Thomas*, married firſt to *Thomas Marre* Earle of Marre in her fathers lifetime apparantly. And after her fathers death (who died without heirs male) ſhe was heir to her father by the renunciation of her ſiſter *Elizabeth* (who was married afterward to *Alexander Hamilton* of Cadyowe) and ſo ſhe was Counteſſe of Marre and Angus, Dowager (or Lady tercer) of Marre, and inheritrix of the Earldome of Angus. Her firſt husband dying without iſſue, ſhe was married after his death to *William* the firſt Earle of Douglas, ſhe being his third wife (as hath bin ſhewed) in the year 1381. She was a kinde Lady to her friends, loving to her ſiſter *Elizabeth*, and a carefull mother to her ſonne *George* Earle of Angus. She is never deſigned Counteſſe of Douglas, either for diſtinction, being better known by her titles of Marre and Angus, or becauſe theſe were more ancient, and no leſſe honorable. She is the twelfth from *Bancho*, and tenth from *Walter* the firſt *Stuart*, and ſhe is the laſt of that Name in the houſe of Angus. And thus much of the houſe of Angus in generall before it came to the Douglaſſes, of whom now it is time to ſpeak.

Of the firſt Earle of Angus of the Name of Douglas. *Of* William *the firſt Earle of Douglas and Angus.*

WE ſhall do no wrong to reckon *William* (the firſt Earle of Douglas) as the firſt Earle of Angus, alſo of the Name of *Douglas*, ſeeing he married the inheritrix of Angus. Nay we ſhould

ſhould do him wrong to omit him, being the root from which all the reſt are ſprung. He was the firſt Earl of Douglas, and firſt Earl of Angus of the Name of *Douglas*, though it be true that he was 23. or 24. years Earl of Douglas before he came to be Earl of Angus, and that is all the difference betwixt the antiquitie of theſe two houſes in the poſſeſſion of that Name. Now that it was Earle *William* himſelf, and none elſe, it is evident by a bond made by the ſaid Earle *William* to his ſiſter *Marjorie* (Counteſſe of Marre) for the due payment of the ſaid *Marjories* third, let to him and *Margaret Stuart* (Counteſſe of Marre and Angus) where he calls her his wife. Alſo that the ſame Earle *William* was father to *George*, it is clear by a Charter of Tutorie, and entaile made by Sir *James Sandilands* of Weſt-Calder to *George*, in which Sir *James* ſpeaking ſayes thus, *The Land of Calder were given to my father and mother of good memorie by my Lord Sir* William *Earle of Douglas and Marre his father*: that is, father to *George*. Of the life of this *William* we have ſpoken in the houſe of Douglas, whither we referre the Reader.

Of George Douglas, *ſecond Earle of that Name, and ſonne to* Margaret Stuart *Counteſſe of Marre and Angus.*

1389. *George* his ſonne entreth to the Earledome in the year 1389. the 9. of Aprile, a boy of ſeven or eight years old at moſt, for he was born but in 1381. which is the firſt year that we finde his father and his mother married. His mother reſigned the Earledome of Angus in his favour at a Parliament in the aforeſaid year 1389, the 9. of April, ſo that he hath the title of Earle of Angus, from that time forth, notwithſtanding his mother was alive.

His wife King *Robert* the third his daughter. He had to wife *Mary Stuart* daughter to King *Robert* the third, being then about 16. or 17. years of age. All that we hear of him in our Hiſtories is, that he was taken priſoner with the Earle of Douglas, at the battel of Homeldoun in the year 1402. When he died is uncertain, onely thus much we know, that his ſonne *William* kept Courts as Earle in the year 1430. So he hath lived 42. or 43. years. And certainly he hath not lived long; for after his death *Mary Stuart* his wife was twice married, firſt to the Lord *Kennedie*, and bare to him *John* Lord *Kennedie*, and *James* Arch-biſhop of Saint Andrews, who are called brothers to his ſonne *George* Earle of Angus. Then ſhe was married to the Lord *John Grahame* of Dindaffe-moore, and bare to him *Patrick Grahame* Biſhop alſo of Saint Andrews, and *James Grahame* firſt Laird of Fintrie.

Firſt Laird of Fintrie.

His children were *William* and *George*, both Earles of Angus after him.

of

Of William *the third Earle of Angus, and ſecond of that Name (Of* William*)*

TO *George* ſucceeded *William* his ſonne by *Mary Stuart*, as all our writers do teſtifie, and all men acknowledge, He was amongſt thoſe that were committed to priſon by King *James* the firſt, in the year 1424. After this he was employed to receive the Caſtle of Dumbarre, when the Earle of March was impriſoned, in the year 1435. the 29. of King *James* the firſt his Raigne, he was made warden of the middle March. Warden of the middle marches. 1436.

In the year 1436. he was ſent againſt *Percie*, who, either by private authority, or publick allowance, had entred Scotland with 4000. he was about the ſame number: and had with him in company men of note, *Adam Hepburne* of Hales, *Alexander Ramſay* of Dalhouſie, Sir *Gilbert Johnſtoun* of Elphinſton. They fought at Piperdain or Piperdean (as ſay *Boetius* and *Holinſhed*) perhaps Harpardean by Hadington: for we ſee that moſt of them are Lowthian-men that are remarked to be in his company, yet it is hard to think that *Percie* could come ſo farre in with ſo few. The Earle of Angus was there victor, beginning his firſt Warres upon *Percie*, fatall to the Name belike. There were ſlain of the Engliſh 400. together with Sir *Henry Cliddſdale*, Sir *John Ogle*, Sir *Richard Percie* Knights; taken priſoners 1500. Of the Scots one onely of note was ſlaine, Sir *Gilbert Johnſtoun* of Elphinſton (*Buchanan* cals him *Alexander*, but amiſſe) a gentleman of ſingular approved vertue (ſayes *Buchanan*) and *Boetius* tells the manner, while he purſues the enemy too eagerly. The battel at Piperdean. 1436. He overthrew *Percie*. Sir *Gilbert Johnſtoun* of Elphinſton ſlain.

Before this, *Archbald* Earle of Douglas, and Wigton was gone into France male-contented with the government, having been twice committed priſoner, to receive his Dukedome of Turaine. Every miſ-hap is good for ſome body: that gave occaſion and way to this employment, for while the houſe of Douglas was preſent, who but they for ſervice againſt England? who but they were able to do it? Now they being abſent, who but a *Douglas*? A branch of that tree, and not long ſince come of it, eſpecially being the Kings Couſin ſo near. So they begin, and ſo they ſhall continue with the like vertue.

We hear not whom he married, nor any thing of his children, ſave of his ſonne *James* who did ſucceed to him. Neither is it known when he died preciſely: onely we finde that he was dead before the 1437. the 27. of Februarie. So that reckoning from the firſt year of his fathers marriage (in the 1398.) he hath lived ſome 41. years in all, and 13. years Earle, from the 1424.

Of

Of James *the fourth Earle of Angus of the ſurname of* Douglas.

AFter *William*, his ſonne *James* was Earle. Our warrand is a writ, where he is ſerved heir to *William* his father in Killiemoore, of the date 1437. Febr. 27. ſome 6. or 7. years after the death of King *James* the firſt. There are alſo diverſe other writs of this kinde extant, which do witneſſe that he hath been, but of no uſe in publick, or for hiſtorie. Whither ever he was married, or had any children we hear nothing. He dieth before the year 1452.

Dieth 1452.

There is one thing not to be omitted, which is a bond of *Robert Fleming* of Cummernald, to him (where he is entitled *James* Earle of Angus Lord of Liddiſdale, and Jedward Forreſt) to enter within the iron gate of the Caſtle of Tantallon or Hermitage, under the pain of 2000. marks upon eight dayes warning. The cauſe is ſubjoyned, becauſe he had burnt the Earles Corne within the Baronie of North-Berwick, and taken away his Cattell there on Faſting-even, or Shrove-tueſday. It is dated in the year 1444. the 24. of September. This burning is a token of no good will even then betwixt the houſe of Angus, and the houſe of Douglas, whereof the Lord Fleming was a follower. Even then, I ſay, before the time of *William* ſlain at Stirlin. For this ſeemes to have fallen out about the time of Groſſe *James*, or (it may be) in the beginning of Earle *William*. But it is hard to conceive how this man (a depender of the Earles of Douglas) ſhould thus farre have bowed himſelf, and it is a token, that the Earle of Angus authority hath not been ſmall. Howſoever, on theſe grounds we reſtored him to his own place, being left out altogether by all other that I have ſeen.

Of George Douglas, *the ſecond* George *and fifth Earle of Angus.*

TO *James* ſucceeded his uncle *George*, by the conſent of our whole writers, who (all) ſpeaking of King *James* the ſecond, call this *George* the Kings fathers ſiſters ſonne. So the King and he, are brother and ſiſters children. We need not to impugne the received opinion; The time and computation of years will admit it ſufficiently; for though he were born two years after his fathers marriage 1400. yet ſhall he not paſſe 63. at his death. Neither doth any other thing that I know of, hinder us from beleeving this deduction. Wherefore we will follow them, though we have no other monument to teſtifie ſo much expreſſely, or to hinder him from being ſonne to *James*. There is this ſcruple in it, that *Buchanan* calls *James Kennedie* (Arch-biſhop of Saint Andrews) of greater age then *George Douglas*. Which if it be true, then *George* could not be his brother, for their mother was firſt married to Angus. We have monuments of him as Earle in the year 1452. May 24. and in the 1461. the laſt of September; and of his ſonne retoured heir to him in the 1463. So that he hath been Earle about 10. or 11 years;

years. But our hiſtories ſay it was he that aſſiſted Creightoun to ſpoile the Earle *Douglas* Lands of Strabroke,&c. from about 1445. or 46. years, and ſo his time ſhall be 17. years.

He married *Elizabeth Sibauld* daughter to *Sibauld* of Balgonie Treaſurer of Scotland for the time, profitably, and not diſhonourably. For his place of Treaſurer was a place of credit and honour, and himſelf deſcended of honourable race, *viz.* the Earles of Northumberland; who were of that name in the dayes of *Malcolme Kenmore*, and Grandfather to the ſaid *Malcolme* by his mother, and had the leading of the Engliſh Army that was ſent in for his aide againſt *Mackbeth*, to the number of 10000. men. We finde alſo the name of *Sibards* in the dayes of King *Alexander* the ſecond to have been in good account, of whom *Buchanan* writes that they entertained feed againſt the Earle of Athol, as alſo that the ſaid Earle of Athol being burnt in his lodging in Hadinton, the chief of the *Sibards* whom he calleth *William*, without any further deſignation (*Boetius* calleth him *John*) being ſuſpected thereof becauſe of their known enmity, was called in queſtion for it, and arraigned. And although he proved by the teſtimonie of the Queen, that he was in Forfaire at that time (ſome 60. miles from Hadinton) yet the Judge thought not this ſufficient to abſolve him, becauſe the other party alledged that his ſervants and followers had been ſeen very many of them in the Town. And although he offered to purge himſelf by combat, it could not be accepted: Whereupon he fearing the power of his adverſe party (which were the *Cumins*) fled into Ireland with a number of his name. By which relation it appears that this name hath been in good account, and this marriage no way diſparageable. It was alſo profitable in effect, but more in hope, which was to have ſucceeded heir to the eſtate of Balgonie, both Lands and Moveables, ſhe being his onely daughter, and he himſelf and his Lady of good age, the Contract alſo being made ſo that he ſhould be heir, failing heirs male of his own body, whereof there was ſmall appearance; Yet (as it often falls out in ſuch caſes, the Divine providence eluding humane wiſedome, that they may know that there is a directing and over-ruling wiſedome and power above theirs) that hope was diſappointed. His mother in law dieth, his father in law marrieth a ſecond wife, and by her hath heirs male to inherite his Lands. I think if he had known what was to come, he would not have done it. And yet is Balgonie diſappointed alſo, for his ſonne had but one daughter who was married to Lundie, and ſo transferred it from the name, where he thought to have ſettled it. Angus gets with his Lady. 3000. Marks of portion, no ſmall ſumme in thoſe dayes when portions were little and the terms of payment long.

Sibard his wife.

Originall of the houſe of Balgonie, *Sibard. Buch. lib. 7.* *Sibaulds.*

Sibaulds.

His children were *Archbald*, and another ſon, whoſe name we have not. Some tell us of *James* Earle of Angus, and Lord Warden of the borders. But when ſhould he have been Earl of Angus? for *Archbald* ſucceeded to *George*, and to *Archbald* his grand-childe *Archbald*. The truth is this *James* was before ſon to *William*, as hath been ſaid; yet it may be that he hath had a ſon named *James* alſo, though Writers do not name him. He had foure daughters; firſt *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Gra-*

His children.

hame of Fintrie; second *Margaret*, to *Duncan Campbell*; third *Giles*; and fourth *Alison*; of whose marriage there is no mention. He had also a son naturall, of whom are descended the house of Bonjedward. His daughters were not married in his own time (belike they have been young) but their brother in the year 1476. contracts with *Robert Grahame* of Fintrie, to marry his sister *Elizabeth*, failing her, *Margaret*; and failing *Margaret*, *Giles*; and failing *Giles*, *Alison*; so soon as a dispensation can be obtained, for they were within the degrees then forbidden, she being the third from *Mary Stuart* the Kings Daughter, and *Robert Grahame* in the same degree (belike) son to *James Grahame*. The portion is 400. Marks. *Margaret* was married to *Duncan Campbell* (we know not of what house) in the year 1479. Her brother contracts for 600. Marks, and findes *Robert Douglas* of Loghleven, and *Alexander Ramsay* of Dalhousie suretie for it. Her mother gives her bond for their relief.

The originall of the house of Bonjedward.

His person.

To return to Earle *George*, we finde that he was a man very well accomplished; of personage tall, strong, and comely: Of great wisedome, and judgement. He is also said to have been eloquent. He was valiant and hardie in a high degree. His father (carrying the name of *George* also) we saw how by his mothers help he raised and advanced the house many wayes, almost doubling the estate of it, as it was before him; this man reares it up a great deal higher upon the ruines of the house of Douglas: yet doth he also diminish his own patrimonie and revenues of Angus, whiles to gain service and dependancie, he bestowes liberally, chiefly his lands of Angus, for he redacted the greatest part thereof from propertie, to superioritie onely, there being above 24. Barons, and Lords in Angus, that hold their lands of the Earles of Angus. His determination was fully to follow the King, though against his Chief and Cousin. But the King who had espoused the quarrell, and made the Earle *Douglas* party, was nearer to him in bloud, and therefore reason inclined his minde more to him. Besides he was a King, duety required his assistance. Hope also swayed the ballance greatly: There is hope of a Kings liberality, chiefly when Lands come in dealing and parting. And he being a *Douglas*, and the Lands having belonged to a *Douglas*, he had great probabilitie to expect a large share in them. For to whom could they be given so justly and pertinently? His brother Bishop *Kennedie* could well egge him on. There was no hope of rising for him, that huge tree of Douglas standing which over-topt all others, and over-shadowed the whole borders, and almost the whole Kingdome. He was younger (this Bishop) than Angus, but wise, vertuous, learned, and of authority: Experience also had given occasion of late to think that the house of *Douglas* drew all to themselves. The maiden of Galloway (the Earle of Wigtons daughter) was thought fittest to have been matched to some other *Douglas* being near to the Earle (as was thought then) and the house too great already in the Kings eyes, not to be augmented. But he would none of such wisedome, he marrieth her himself, and disappoints them all, who could look for any rising by these mens means? Or in their standing in such greatnesse? yet the cause seems to go higher than the Kings cause. For even when the Earle of Douglas had the Kings authority

He followeth the King against the Earle *Douglas* his Chief.

thority on his ſide, and *Creighton* was denounced Rebell, *Angus* aſſiſts *Creighton* againſt the Kings authority. Wherefore in all likelihood the courſe hath begun in King *James* the firſts time. Then hath the houſe of Angus entred into friendſhip with *Creighton* in the dayes of *William* Earle of Angus, which hath continued in the time of Earle *James* his ſonne, whoſe Lands *Robert Fleming* therefore did burn and ſpoile in the Baronie of North-Berwick. And now that courſe begun then, is here proſecuted by Earle *George* to the utmoſt point. A pitie of ſuch diſſention in theſe houſes, or one houſe rather, againſt which if it had not been thus divided in it ſelf, their enemies could hardly have prevailed. For it cannot be denyed but the houſe of *Douglas* had great wrong, and was treacherouſly dealt with by *Creighton*, neither did it ever intend any thing againſt the King; but the King was drawn to the partie againſt it: though in the good cauſe of it, it committed errours, it is to be pitied, and lamented; for who doth not. Alſo *George* Earle of Angus declares not himſelf openly againſt the houſe of *Douglas* for a time. The ſupport that he is ſaid to have given to *William Creighton* is ſaid to have been done covertly at the ſpoiling of Strabroke and Abercorne. Neither after that, untill ſuch time as the King declared himſelf openly, ſlew *William* Earle *Douglas* at Stirlin, and made open Warre againſt *James* who ſucceeded to him. Then he alſo declared for the King, and bent his whole force and power to aide him. He had that ſame year before 1452. the 24. of May, taken a courſe for keeping good order in his Countrey of Liddeſdale, and to keep his Caſtle of the Hermitage ſafe for him, and that his folks ſhould do no hurt to others, nor receive any of the enemies. He had for that purpoſe made Sir *Archbald Douglas* of Cavers (Sheriffe of Roxbrough) and *William* his ſonne, Bailiffs of Liddeſdale, and keepers of the Caſtle, who undertook, and bound themſelves to do what we have ſaid, for which he allowed them a large recompence and reward, as the Indenture thereof (yet extant) doth teſtifie. He is ſtiled in it Warden of the eaſt marches, *William* Earle of Douglas being then alive. Some give unto him the honour of the battell in which the Earle *Douglas* was defeated in Annandale, where the Earle *Murray* was ſlain, and *Ormond* taken in the year 1455. Others attribute all to the Lord Carlile, and Johnſton.

But however that was, in the year 1457. he defeated the ſaid Earle, and *Henrie Percie* Earle of Northumberland on the eaſt border (which was his wardenrie) in a bloudy battell. For the Earle of Douglas, and Northumberland (a fatall Warriour to the *Douglaſſes*) having conveened an Army, and come to the Merſe, began to ſpoile and burn the Countrey. But the Earle of Angus ſet upon the Forragers and drave them to the hoaſt. The Earles moved with this indignitie (though many that were gone out to forrage were not yet come in) advanced and preſented him battell, which he alſo accepted. After a ſharp conflict on both ſides with a greater courage and ſpite than ſtrength, the victorie, which a long time was doubtfull which way to incline, at laſt fell to the Earle of Angus, not without ſome loſſe. The number of the ſlain was equall, but the Engliſh were put to flight, and many of them made priſoners. A

1457. He overthrowes the Earle *Douglas* & *Percie* in a bloudie battel in the Merſe.

chief cauſe of this defeat was the ſuddenneſſe of the enemie in giving battell, and his not ſtaying for the reſt that were abroad, and had been ſent out to forrage the Countrey. For they being laden with bootie, when they heard the noiſe of the fight, were ſo farre from coming to ſuccour their fellows, that for fear of looſing what they had gotten, they took their way directly home into England. This victorie did not a little recreate the King, being wearied both with civill and forraine Warre. For this ſervice, which was exceeding pleaſing and acceptable, the King gives him a new Charter of the Lordſhip of Douglas, upon a reſignation, which he had gotten before when the Earle *Douglas* was forfeited. What other Lands he got we have no ſpeciall mention.

So the Earle *Douglas* being now forfeited, his brother ſlain, himſelf baniſhed, and with ſmall either effect, or effort, entertaining hoſtility by ſmall incurſions, rather than doing any thing for the advancing of his main buſineſſe, the face of the world was quite changed. The Earle of Angus was now made Lord of Douglas; and howbeit he came ſomewhat ſhort of that huge greatneſſe and puiſſance of the former, yet was he nothing inferiour in place of authority, in credit and account, in action and employment, as we ſaid in the beginning. Nothing was done but by him, and under his ſhadow. Biſhop *Kennedie* had the greateſt vogue; he upheld the Biſhop by his power, and by him men did come to finde favour, and did ſeek to have credit. We will ſet down two examples for all the reſt, but thoſe remarkeable, and ſufficient to ſhow of what great account and authority he hath been. The one is of our own Nation, the other of a Forrainer.

The firſt is in the ſame year 1457. the 13. of May. We heard of *James* Lord *Hamilton* a faithfull, franke, and forward friend for the Earle *Douglas*, ſo long as he was a friend to himſelf by any action. He leaving himſelf, *Hamilton* alſo left him: I mean, ſeeing the Earle had loſt that ſo fair occaſion (if not to caſt the Dice for the Crown, as the Lord *Hamilton* ſaid to him) yet to caſt the Dice for the victory, and to give or take conditions of peace, which he had at Abercorne, being moe in number than the King; the Lord *Hamilton* was come in to the King upon this, that ſame night. He was received by the King, but not greatly credited, for he was committed to Roſſelin (a Caſtle then of the Earle of Orkneyes) and afterwards (ſay our writers) freinds interceding for him, he was releaſed out of priſon, and received into moſt inward friendſhip. Thus farre they go, but what friends theſe were, or how the friendſhip was made they do not tell. The Earle of Angus evidents tell us; and ſhow that it hath been he that did him this friendly office. For whether before to move him to intercede for him, or after in token of thankfulneſſe (though it be moſt likely it was after, becauſe it is done at Tantallon, which muſt be after his releaſement out of Roſſelin) he giveth to this Earle *George* a memorable remembrance. He, I ſay, being a noble man, and a notable active man beſides, gives him his bond of ſervice (or Manreid) and that in ample forme, and ſubmiſſe terms, excepting none but the King and Queen. And that I may not ſeeme to ſpeak without a warrant in ſo great a matter, ſcarce to be beleeved of ſome, and that I do rather

ther amplifie things than ſet down the naked truth, I will ſet down the very words of the band, as it is extant in the hands of the Earle of Angus, which now is copied word by word, that every man may judge of it, as he thinks good.

Bond of Manreid and ſervice by the Lord Hamilton to him.

Be it knowne to all men by thir preſent Letters, me James *Lord Hamilton, &c. to be comen, and by theſe preſents to become Man of ſpeciall ſervice and retinue, for all the dayes of my life-time, to an high and mighty Lord* George *Earle of Angus, Lord Douglas, and Warden of the Eaſt and middle marches of Scotland, foregainſt England. Before, and againſt all them that live, or die may; mine allegeance to our ſoveraigne Lord the King, and my band of ſervice to our ſoveraigne Lady the Queen* Mary *now preſent, allanerly out-tane. Promiſing all and ſundry dutifull points in bands of retinue contained, to obſerve and keep to my Lord foreſaid, as effeirs, for all the ſaid time. In witneſſe of the which thing I have gard ſet my ſeale. At Tantallon the* 13. *day of the moneth of May, the year of our Lord* 1457, *&c.*

It hath been no ſmall matter, nor ſmall authoritie of him to whom it is given, that hath moved ſuch a man to give ſuch a Band. His credit hath been great, and *Hamilton* hath either received great benefit at his hand, or expected to receive ſome. I take it, that he hath procured his libertie, and obtained to him that favour in Court that our Writers ſpeak of, to be of the Kings inward friends. I ſuppoſe alſo that kinred hath been of ſome moment to move him to it. The reaſon of my conjecture is, becauſe we have heard before, that *Elizabeth*, ſiſter to *Margaret* (Counteſſe of Marre and Angus, and Grandmother to this Earle *George*) was married to Sir *Alexander Hamilton* of Cadyow (as ſome call him) by which mean this *James* Lord Hamilton might be third from her, and the Earle of Angus and he Couſins twice removed, or fourths in kin, as we ſpeak. But this I referre to them that have the monuments of that Houſe. However, what more honour could have been done to the great Houſe of Douglas in the greateſt grandour thereof, than what is here done to the Houſe of Angus? Neither is it any diſhonour to him that doth it. It is but folly to think ſo: Houſes have their beginning and grouth: Mine to day, thine to morrow. This ſame Lord Hamilton by theſe beginnings, within a few years (17. or 18. at moſt) ſhall lay ſuch grounds of greatneſſe, as ſhall lift his Houſe above any ſubjects, to the very top of all, ſo as to have the Crown entailed to his Poſteritie, and to enjoy it for a while as Regent and Governour. Let us remember the changes of the world, and the viciſſitudes of Fortune, and let every man bear with patience, and hear with calmneſſe, either what he is now, or what he was before. And this for the firſt domeſtick witneſſe of honour and authoritie, credit and greatneſſe of the Houſe of Angus in this mans perſon.

The other amongſt Forrainers was greater; which is this: The King of England, *Henry* the ſixth, being overthrowne, and put out of his Kingdome and Countrey of England by the Duke of York, *Edward* the fourth; he, and his ſon, and his Queen being come into Scotland for refuge, he indents with *George* Earle of Angus for his aſſiſtance, to help to reſtore

Indenture betwixt King *Henry* the ſixth and him.

reſtore him to his Kingdome, and bindes himſelf to give unto *George* Earle of Angus, and his heires, Lands lying betwixt Trent and Humber, worth 2000. Marks ſterling of yearly rent. 2. That he ſhould erect it in a Dutchie, and infeft the ſaid Earle therein, in as free Knight-ſervice as any Land in England; and that the Earle, and his heires, ſhould be Dukes thereof. 3. That in time of peace between Scotland and England, it ſhould be lawfull for the ſaid Earle, to repaire to England to his Dutchie, or to Court, or where he pleaſed, with an hundred horſe in train. 4. And that if there happened to be warre betwixt the Countreyes, it ſhould be lawfull for him to ſend 24. armed men, who ſhould be under the King of England his protection, to gather and up-lift for his uſe, the rents and revenues of the ſaid Dutchie. 5. That it ſhould be lawfull for him, during the warres between the two Countreyes, to ſerve the King of Scotland; which ſhould no wayes prejudice him in the enjoying of his Lands; neither ſhould it be a cauſe of forfeiture or unlaw. 6. That he ſhould not be bound to anſwer in perſon to the Parliaments of England, or any other Court of Juſtice; and that neither he, nor his Tenants, ſhould be fined for his non-compearance. 7. That this Indenture ſhould be ſhowne to the Pope, and ratified by him. And ſo it was; ſealed and ſubſcribed with a (*Henry*) as long as the whole ſheet of Parchment, the worſt ſhapen letters, and the worſt put together that I ever ſaw. And (as I beleeve) it hath a particular Letter of confirmation of the Pope in the hands of the Earle of Angus. It is thought that when *William* Earle of Douglas went ſecretly into England, that his errand was to this, or ſome ſuch purpoſe, to have made a proffer of his ſervice to King *Henry*, on theſe or the like conditions. For even then the ſeeds of civill diſcord were ſowne, and began to bud forth. But either becauſe things were not as yet come to any ripeneſſe, or for that the Earle of Douglas was fallen into diſgrace with his Prince, nothing was done. Now about the year 1460. (in the minoritie of King *James* the third) King *Henry* came into Scotland, and did thus tranſact with the Earle of Angus; A rare thing, and whereof the like example is hard to be found in any ſubject, except it be the Earle of Douglas, concerning the Dutchie of Turaine with the King of France, which is not unlike in many things. Howſoever, this ſhews how little inferiour the houſe of Angus hath been to the houſe of Douglas in credit and authority at home and abroad.

1460.

This Indenture took no effect, it being now too late, and King *Henries* eſtate brought to ſo low an ebbe, that both his friends and his fortune having forſaken, and turned their backs upon him, his aide could not ſuffice againſt the whole power of England to make head againſt King *Edward*, and to ſtoppe the current of his victories. Notwithſtanding Angus gave him a taſte of what he could have done for him, and ſhewed him in a notable exploite, how available his ſervice would have been, if his caſe had not been deſparate, and paſt recovery. Which though it were not rewarded with a Dutchie, yet doth it not want, nor ever ſhall want the due reward of high praiſe and honour as one of the hardieſt, and greateſt interpriſes, that hath been atcheived by any ſubject.

The Queen (King *Henries* wife) had obtained of her friends in France a few

a few ſouldiers, 300. of which were in the Caſtle of Anwick with Monſieur *Briſſac* their commander. King *Edward* following his victories, and that he might prevent or ſuppreſſe any commotion that might ariſe in the North parts, or out of Scotland was come to Durhame with a great Army. He himſelf remaining in the Town, ſent abroad his Commanders to take in all ſuch Caſtles as ſtood good for King *Henry*. Amongſt others he ſent the Earle of Warwick to beſiege Anwick with 20000. men. He had another Army lying about Bambrough not far off from this, and a third beſieging another Town. King *Henry* (and more eſpecially his Queen) being very ſolicitous, for the French men dealt with the Earle of Angus very inſtantly to have them relieved. He promiſed to do his beſt, and performed no leſſe than he promiſed. He aſſembled to the number of 10000. horſe, amongſt whom there were 500. empty horſes or moe (for commonly the beſt appointed have ever two horſes for ſervice) upon which he might mount the French-men, and bring them away. So he marches toward Anwick, and when he came within a little ſpace of the Caſtle, he ranged his men in order of battell in the ſight of the Engliſh Army, making ſhow as if he would have invaded them, or at leaſt that he meant to bide them battell if they ſhould offer to ſet upon him, or hinder him in his purpoſed buſineſſe. In the meane time he ſent thoſe 500. ſpare horſe conducted by ſome choice troups to a poſterne of the Caſtle to receive the French, and ſo brought them away. Some of the the Engliſh eſteeming it a great affront, to ſuffer them to be carried away in ſuch ſort from under their noſes, adviſed the Earle of Warwick to ſtay them. But he was reſolute in the contrary, and told them, that he had no commiſſion to fight. And (ſayes he) who knowes what more aide theſe may have near hand in the parke, or ſome other place. And ſuppoſe they have not, theſe are certainly all choice men able enough to ſuſtaine our charge. They cannot take the Caſtle with them into Scotland; let them take the men, I ſhall get the Caſtle, which is all that my commiſſion bears. And ſo he lets them go, who returned into Scotland with the French men, an acceptable preſent chiefly to the Queen of England. This was a fair aſſay and preamble of his enſuing ſervices, which being prevented by King *Henries* deſtinie, and his death, were ſmothered in the cradle, and his Dutchie engroſſed in parchment to have lien betwixt Trent and Humber, is confined to a narrower precinct within the compaſſe of a Coffer.

He brings the French out of Anwick Caſtle.

Notwithſtanding of this greatneſſe and power, to make him yet ſtronger, and more puiſſant on the borders, he did excambe his Lands in the Maines and Clarberon with *Robert Grahame* of old Monroſſe, and got for them the Lands of Eskedale upon the border.

He contracted his ſonne *Archbald*, and his heir apparant to *Carlerine* daughter to *Alexander* Earle of Huntly, or to any other of his daughters which the ſaid *George* ſhould chooſe. The portion 2000. markes, the termes of payment 10. years, 100. markes every terme. That if *Archbald* ſhould die, his brother (whom the Indenture doth not name) ſhould marrie one of the ſaid Earle of Huntlies daughters. That the Earle of Angus ſhould give his ſonne 100. mark Land in Angus. That *Archbald*

after

after he be ſeven years old ſhall be given to the Earle of Huntly, and the Earle of Huntlies daughter to the Earle of Angus. The Indenture is dated at Saint Andrews 1461. the laſt of September. This marriage took no effect, what ever were the cauſe thereof.

Either before or after this there fell out a diſſention amongſt the Eſtates about the chooſing of a governour and protectour for the young King *James* the third. In which he and his brother Biſhop *Kennedie* with the greateſt part of the Nobilitie, oppoſed themſelves to the Queen, who pretended to be Tutrix, and had now uſurped that place a year, while as the Nobilitie being buſied in the Warres, had no leaſure to look into theſe things. The Queene and ſuch as followed her remained in the Caſtle, and the other party in the Abbey of Halyroodhouſe. A Convention being appointed, the Queene and her faction came to the Parliament houſe, and declared her Tutrix, So ſoon as this was known, the Earle of Angus, and *James Kennedie* came up to the market place, where the ſaid Biſhop declares that their intention was nothing elſe but to maintain their old law, and the ancient practice of the Countrey, which was that in ſuch caſes the Nobilitie ſhould chooſe one whom they thought moſt fit to undergo that charge of governing, which was for the good both of the King and Countrey, whereas they of the other party intended nothing but their own particular advantage, as he ſhould ſhow more evidently, in time and place convenient. After this ſpeech, as they retired to their lodging, they were advertiſed that thoſe who were in the Caſtle with the Queen, were coming down in armes to aſſault them, or to have hindered them from making this declaration. The Earle of Angus thinking it a great indignitie, that they being more in number, and better in qualitie, ſhould give place to the weaker, and the meaner and inferiour partie, and that in ſuch ſort as might ſeeme to be a direct flight, could ſcarce be retained, but that he would needs turne upon them and fight, though he were not armed, as they were. But the matter was compoſed by the mediation of the Biſhops of Glaſgow, Galloway, and Dumblane, and aſſurance given for a moneth. After the expiring whereof, having entred into a new conſultation, with more peaceable and calme mindes, both parties agreed, that the King and Countrey ſhould be governed by foure Noblemen, two of which ſhould be choſen out of the Queenes partie, and two out of the other. For the Queen ſhe choſe *William* Lord *Grahame*, and *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, then Chancellour; for the other ſide they choſe *Robert* Earle of Orkney, and *John* Lord *Kennedie*, all chief of their Name and Families. Here is no mention of the Earle of Angus, which makes me think he hath died in this mean time, during the Truce, otherwiſe being principall of this other ſide, they would not have neglected him. Sure he died much about this time, which ſeemes to have been in the year 1462. Neither did his brother Biſhop *Kennedies* buſineſſe go ſo well after this. He was buried in Abernethie amongſt his Predeceſſours.

His death. 1462.

His wife (after his death) is ſaid to have married a younger brother of the Captain of Crawford, and that ſhe got from her ſonne *Archbald* the Lands of Balmoodie in Fife, and that the houſe of Balmoodie is deſcended

ſcended of her. Which notwithſtanding, we finde her binde her ſelf for relief of her ſonne for the payment of her daughters portion, 1479. as a free perſon making no mention of a husband. It is true he might alſo have been dead; then the ſpace being 17. or 18. years. But if her ſonne were ſo liberall as to give her ſuch Lands, he would never have troubled her to binde her ſelf for his relief in the payment of his ſiſters portion in likelihood.

Of the firſt Archbald, *ſixth Earle of Angus, called commonly,* Bell the Cat.

TO *George* ſucceeded *Archbald* his ſonne and heir, a boy about 5. or 6. years of age at the moſt. For in the year 1461. the laſt of September, he is not 7. as appears by the Indenture made betwixt his father and the Earle of Huntly concerning his marriage. It took no effect: but in place thereof he marries *Elizabeth Boyde*, daughter to *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, then one of the Governours of Scotland, *viz.* in the year 1468. the fourth of May. Which makes it ſeem that the match hath not failed on the Earle of Huntlies part, but on his, or at leaſt theirs to whoſe tuition he hath been committed. They, or hee preferring credit at Court before their keeping and fulfilling of the Contract made by his father. But it was little to their advantage, for the next year after that the Court was changed, the *Boydes* were diſcarded; his brother in law *Thomas Boyde* (ſonne to *Robert*) baniſhed, and his wife (the Kings ſiſter) taken from him, and his brother *Alexander Boyde* executed. As for their father Lord *Robert* himſelf, he fled into England. And this is all the fruits he reaps by his marrying for Court. He was by this our calculation 14. years of age at the moſt; and yet his Lady gets ſeaſing of Abernethie upon his reſignation the ſame year the 1. of May. It is not unlikely that one *William Douglas* of Clunie hath had ſome hand in the guiding of his minoritie, for we finde that the wardſhip of the Lands of Tantallon, and Earledome of Douglas was given to him; and he having again reſigned it into the Kings hands, the King makes a new diſpoſition thereof to *Archbald, non obſtante non ætate ejuſdem*, notwithſtanding his nonage, which was then 16. years. 1470. the 26. of June. Six years after, he hath care of his ſiſters Contracts by himſelf with Fintrie for one of them; and three years after that he takes upon him the burden for his mother, and hath her bound for his relief 1479. as hath been ſaid in his fathers life, being then about 25. years of age. This dutifulneſſe towards his ſiſters, deſerves that he ſhould be bleſſed with children of his own, and that he ſhould have good ſucceſſe in his affairs who begins ſo well.

1468. His marriage.

1470.

And ſo it was with him: for he had by his wife foure ſonnes, and three daughters, all honourably provided. His ſonnes were, firſt *George* called commonly Maſter of Angus, becauſe he came never to be Earle, being ſlain at Flowdon before his father died. The ſecond, Sir *William* of Glenbarvie, who married *Elizabeth Authenleck*, heir of Glenbarvie. Third *Gawin*, who was Biſhop of Duncale, a man of ſingular wiſedome

His children foure ſonnes.

Glenbarvies originall.

and prudeneie, and well lettered according to the times. This *Gawin* had a base daughter, of whom the house of Foulewood (*Semple*) is descended. We shall have occasion to speak something of him in the life of *Archbald* his brothers-son, in whose time he lived. The Duke of Albanie being Governour, having conceived some jealousie against the Earle of Angus, and the *Douglasses*, whereupon Angus was sent to France, and his uncle this Bishop was sent for to Rome by letters from the Pope, at the Governours procuring, to answer to such accusations as were given in against him. As he was going thither, he was seased of the plague at London in the year 1522. and died there; leaving behinde him great approbation of his vertues, and love of his person, in the hearts of all good men. For besides the nobilitie of his birth, the dignitie and comelinesse of his personage, he was learned, temperate, and of singular moderation of minde; and in these so turbulent times, had alwayes carried himself amongst all the Factions of the Nobilitie equally, and with a minde to make peace, and not to stir up parties; which qualities were very rare in a Clergie-man of those dayes. He wrote in his native tongue diverse things. But his chiefest work is the translation of *Virgil*, yet extant in verse, in which he ties himself so strictly as is possible, and yet it is so well expressed, that whosoever shall assay to do the like, will finde it a hard piece of work to go through with. In his Prologues before every Book, where he hath his libertie, he sheweth a naturall, and ample vein of poesie, so pure, pleasant, and judicious, that I beleeve there is none that hath written before, or since, but cometh short of him. And in my opinion, there is not such a piece to be found, as is his Prologue to the 8. Book, beginning (of Dreams and of Drivelings &c.) at least in our language. The fourth son was *Archbald Douglas* of Kilspindie, who married a daughter of one *Little* in Edinburgh. He had by her *Archbald* of Kilspindie, who was Provest of Edinburgh in King *James* the fifth his minoritie, and was married to the Earle of Crawford his daughter, by whom he had first *Patrick*, secondly *Alexander*, and thirdly *James*. *Patrick* was married to one *Murray*, a daughter of the house of Balbaird, by whom he had *William*. After that he married *Agnes*, daughter to the Lord *Gray*, and had by her two sons, and two daughters. And thus much of his sons.

Kilspindies originall.

His daughters were first *Marjorie*, married to *Cudbert* Lord of Kilmaers in the year 1491. Her portion was 1700. Marks. Secondly, *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Lile* Lord Chief Justice. Her portion was 1000. Marks, whereof 100. pounds was to be payed at the first Terme, and then 50. pounds termely till all were payed. It is with dispensation, which is a signe that they have been in kin before the year 1493. Thirdly, *Jennet*, whom we finde contracted to *Robert* Lord Harris, in the year 1495. Novemb. 22. to be married, and that he shal divorce from the wife he had, so soon as can be. That she in the mean time shall not marry elsewhere. For which cause she is infeft in his Lands of Tarrigla, with the Kings confirmation past thereupon, the same year and day. Her portion is, that the said Earle then Chancellour, shall procure his Lands to be new holden of the King. This fact, for a man to contract to part with the wife he hath, and marry another, as it is harsh to conceive, so being done so

Three daughters.

ſo ſolemnely by ſuch perſons, we muſt ſuppoſe it had ſufficient and honeſt grounds. For certainly the Earle of Angus, being withall Chancellour for the time, needed not to hunt after unlawfull or unſeemly marriages for his daughters. Some reckon a fourth daughter, whom they name not, but ſay ſhe was eldeſt, and married to the Earle of Montroſe, this Earles great Grandfathers father: but becauſe I have not ſeen any monument of her, I reſerved her to the laſt place.

He had alſo ſundry baſtard ſonnes after his wifes death. Firſt *William* of the Parkhead, of whom the houſe of the Parkhead is come, and the Lord of Torthorrell by his mother. Secondly *James* of Tod-holes: And thirdly one that (they ſay) was gotten in Glenbarvie, born after his deceaſe. But this ſeemes to be falſe, becauſe they affirm commonly, that after the field of Flowdon (where his ſonne *George* was ſlain) he went into Galloway to Saint Maines, and lived the ſpace of a year an auſtere life. Then he was not thus incontinent, if that be true, neither came he to Glenbarvie, ſeeing he lived in Galloway. He had alſo a baſe daughter. And thus much of his children. Baſe ſonnes, Parkheads originall.

To come to himſelf: we have heard how his father Earle *George* raiſed the houſe of Angus to ſuch greatneſſe of credit and authoritie, that it was become not much inferiour to the houſe of Douglas, to which it had ſucceeded. *Archbald* his ſon did no way diminiſh it. But when he came to be of years fit for managing affairs, he ſo behaved himſelf, and gained ſo good opinion of his wiſedome and courage, that the whole burden of the eſtate of the Countrey did lye upon him alone. And for that cauſe chiefly he is commonly deſigned by the epithete of The great Earle of Angus. For as touching his Lands and Rents, we finde no great augmentation of them, ſave that he provided his children well. If we conſider the means, it hath been his own worth and ſufficiencie that hath brought him to it: for he began indeed his marriage with Court, as a fit mean whereby to riſe; but that laſted but ſhort while, as we have heard. The Court changing, it was rather a mean to have wrought him diſcredit. Notwithſtanding of which, and though he was young himſelf, we finde nothing, but that his buſineſſe went right. He got his own wardſhip, even when his alliance were at the hardeſt pinch, that ſame very year that *Thomas Boyd* had his wife taken from him, and married to another. His ſucceſſe in the marriage of his ſiſters doth alſo ſhow the ſame. Neither hear wee of any hard effect that their diſ-courting did produce toward him.

It was he that was the chief actor in taking order with *Robert Cochran*, and the other Courtiers, that did abuſe the King and Countrey. He propounds the matter to the Nobilitie, he opens up the eſtate of things, he puts hand to work, and executes what was concluded. The reſt conſent, and follow, he goeth before in every thing. And even then when he did all this, he was of no great age, not above five and twentie; and yet his credit, power, and authoritie, was able to go through with it. The Hiſtory is written at length in our Chronicle, we need do no more but tranſume it. Neither is it neceſſary that we do that to the full, it will ſuffice to ſet down onely what is requiſite for laying open the occaſion He takes order with *Cochran* and the Courtiers.

and circumstances for clearing of the fact, that the Reader may the better discerne the right from the wrong, which otherwise lye confused. Thus it was. King *James* the third of that name, a man of a great and high spirit, and of a hastie nature, and prone to anger, and such a one as would not suffer patiently his own judgement to be contradicted, could not away with that freedome of speech, which he found in his Nobilitie: wherefore hee made choice of such to be about him, as would not correct, but approve all his sayings, and who would not offend him by gainsaying, but did curie favour by soothing of him, and who with flattering admiration did extoll all that he said, or did. Wherefore excluding the Nobilitie, he was wholly at the devotion of a few of his servants with whom he advised, and consulted of all busines, and either followed their opinions, or made them to consent, and execute his will. Thus he began to do about the year 1474. having after his marriage (in the year 1470.) addicted himself most part to his domesticke, and private pleasures, seldome coming abroad, or giving time to the affaires of his Kingdome. He had gotten about him base men both in place and worth, whom he had advanced to honours, and nobilitated. Amongst these there was one *Robert Coghran* a Mason by his trade, whom he made Earle of Marre, An English singing man called *William Rogers*, whom he honoured with Knight-hood, with diverse others of meane rank and qualitie, whose chief commendation was that they were impudently wicked, and villanous. This *Rogers* is thought also to have been his Pander, and an enticer of him to lewdnesse and wronging his Queen. Amongst these base men, there was one Gentleman of good birth, but he seeing the Kings inclination, had set himself fully to follow it in all things; wherefore he had given his daughter to *Robert Coghran* in marriage as a bond of friendship and societie, his name was *Thomas Preston*. There was also a young page *John Ramsay*, who was of the same combination. These were the Kings Minions, Counsellours, and whole confidence. On these he reposed, and cast the burden of affaires. Their hopes were built upon the ruine of the Nobilitie, that by their fall they themselves might rise. These were Counsellours and Executioners of the murder of his younger brother *John*; and had caused him to commit his other brother *Alexander* to prison in the Castle, who had died likewise, if he had not found means to escape in the night, by making a rope of his bed-clothes, and so got over the wall. To these great evils there were joyned worse things. He had given himself to seek responses, and predictions of things to come, chiefly concerning his own estate, of Magiciens, and Witches. He had for that purpose brought one out of Flanders that was thought very skilfull in divining, named *Andrew* a Physician by profession, and Astrologer. This man had given the Kings Ambassadours some proof of his cunning when they went through Flanders to the Duke of Burgundie. He hearing whether they were going, told them they needed not to make any great haste, for they should hear news of the Duke ere it were long. And so they did indeed, for within three dayes they heard that he was slain. When they came home they related this to the King, extoll his skill, and inflame his minde; which was too prone of it self, with desire to hear him.

The relation thereof.

1474.

Coghran a Mason. *Rogers* a Singer.

So

So he was ſent for, and being come, was preſented with many rich gifts. And good reaſon he ſhould, if he could withall have inſtructed the King how to avoide the evils that were to come. But meerly to foretell evill which could not be ſhunned, it was too dear bought evil tidings. Yet that is all he doth, tels him that his own ſhould be his ruine. The King interprets it of his brethren, his kinſ-men, and his ſubjects, eſpecially the chief of the Nobilitie. Whereupon being ſuſpicious and jealous of all others, he truſted none but his foreſaid Minions. By theſe doings he makes way for the fates, by ſlaying or warding his brother, he irritates the Nobilitie, he ſuſpecting them, and being ſuſpected of them by a mutuall fear. They to ſecure themſelves, put hand into the Courteours who were the authours of theſe evils; he interprets that to be Rebellion againſt himſelf, and ſeeks how to be revenged. They for their ſafety are driven from point to point, conſtrained by neceſſitie for the preſervation of their lives, caſt off all reſpect, and take Arms openly, drawes his ſonne to the party (his own neareſt according to his reſponſes) whereon enſues his ruine. This is the effect of ſeeking to Magiciens and ſooth-ſayers, whereof we ſeldome hear a better end. And it is but deſervedly, that thoſe that leave the authour and fountaine of all good, who guides all by his providence, to follow follies and ſuperſtition, and the authour of all evil and wickedneſſe ſhould be thus ſerved. This is the effect of pride and arrogancie, that leans onely to its own judgement, and will not give way and libertie to admoniſh and informe rightly. Upon which, other inconvenients do follow by degrees: Firſt with-drawing the ear from faithfull Counſellours, then giving themſelves to flatterers, then entertaining of theſe, and rejecting and caſting off others, whereof ariſeth ſuſpicions, jealouſies, wrongs, injuſtice, from hence ſhedding of bloud under colour of law, or without colour in open Tyranny, as no man at firſt becomes extreamly wicked. At laſt followes the ruine of the authours, together with the ruine of others. To return to our point, it came ſo about here. The warre began betwixt Scotland and England; An Army behooved to be raiſed, and for the raiſing thereof the Nobilitie muſt be conveened. Loath were thoſe new men to the work, they knew not what they might think when they were conveened. But there was no remedie, their privie counſelling could not ſuſtaine the warres. That was the part of the Noblemen, and could not be done without them. So they are conveened; the Army raiſed marches toward the borders, on to Lawder they go. It is a Town in the confines of Merſe and Tivedale, which countries were both waſted by the incurſions of the enemy. Nothing will make men wiſe where there is ruine determined. The place, the time, the enemy, the neceſſitie to uſe the Nobilitie, could not ſerve to admoniſh the King and his Courteours to give them ſome ſmall countenance and contentment. Whom they were conſtrained to employ, they would not endeavour to pleaſe. On they go with their wonted courſe. The King only countenances, conſults, adviſes with his Cabin-councell. Neglects the Nobilitie and diſtruſts them. It had been ſtrange if they had not reſented it; and as ſtrange if they had not remedied it. Now was the time or never. The force, power and all was in their own hands. They diſdain it,

The King with his Army at Lawder.

it, they regrate it in private one to another. They agree on the generall, that some order must be taken with these disorders. They appoint a meeting for advising of the forme and particular manner how and what to do. The place, Lawder Kirk; the time, next morning betimes. Thither they come at the time prefixt. Here the Earle of Angus, first in place and rank, first in credit, first in authority and their account, is also first in speech, and is said first thus to have opened up the matter unto them.

The Nobility meet in the Church.

Angus makes this speech.

„ My honourable Lords, I hold it not needfull to go about with many „ words to set before you the Estate of this Kingdome. For some things „ you your selves remember, some you see before your eyes. Our chief „ Noblemen are thrust into exile, and forced either to suffer intolerably, „ or do unjustly. And you who are the Arms and Limbs of this King- „ dome are left without a head, as a Ship without a Pilot and Master, ex- „ posed to the storms and tempests of fortune. Our fields are burnt, our „ goods carried away, the labourers killed, or seeing no other remedie of „ their manifold miseries, haye yeelded themselves to the enemy. His „ Majestie in the mean time a man indeed (if he were himself) of a gene- „ rous minde and rare understanding, bewitched in his affection, asketh „ no advice or counsell of his Nobilitie, but consulteth of peace and „ warre, of the good of the Countrey, and safety of us all with a few „ base, vile, and ignorant fellows, who by relating the predictions of „ Sorcerers and Magicians, fill his sick minde with vaine fear and super- „ stition. And these men determine and set down decrees of our lives „ and estates, who knowing that they merit the hatred of all men, do „ therefore hate all men. Neither do they seek onely to lessen your au- „ thority, but to strike off your heads by one plot or other. Some of you „ they have already made away by death, others by banishment. Neither „ do they, as commonly new risers do, climbe up to the highest places „ by degrees, but they make the carcasses of the Kings sonnes steps for „ them to mount upon, and water their growing honours with the Bloud „ Royall it self. One of his brothers they have most cruelly murdered, „ the other they have constrained for fear to forsake his Countrey, and „ become a Captain in the enemies Camp. And now being rid of them, „ they lye in wait for the rest. For being conscious of their own baseness, „ they cannot endure any that is excellent or eminent. Whoso hath ri- „ ches to satisfie their avarice, or power to assist their bold attempts, him „ they reckon for their enemy. And do we prepare our selves to with- „ stand the common enemy? And encampe against England? As if a- „ ny were more deadly and more to be feared then he whose greedinesse „ our goods cannot suffice, and whose thirst of slaughter our bloud is „ not able to quench. Now that you may know how much this inward „ plague is worse than that outward foe, put the case that England (which „ God forbid) should overcome, what could we look for at their hands? „ what would they make the end of their hatred, or reward of their victo- „ ry? The death of the King do you think, or of your selves? verily, I „ beleeve neither. Our contentions have not been for lives, but for ho- „ nour and empire. And a noble heart, as it is vehement and violent a- „ gainst those that oppose, so is it easily mitigated by prayer and entreaty;

and

„and even with the consideration of the instabilitie of humane affairs „it is moved to pity and compassion. But let us suppose the worst, that „they being mindefull of our old debates, and puffed up with present vi„ctory would take the Kings life, which of these two doth deal more ea„sily with us? He that by depriving us of life, doth also take away all „sense of evil; or he that reserveth that to daily tortures and torments, „which next after our God, should be most dear to us? who besotting „the minde with Witch-craft, do animate the King to the destruction of „his neareſt kindred, who detaine him like a captive, and will not suffer „him at any time to show his face to his loyall Subjects? that they may „enjoy the comfort of his countenance, and he behold their service for „his honour and safety. They are not so much to be reputed enemies, „who with displayed banner professe hostility, as they who within the „wals lye in Ambush for your overthrowe. who drawing away his Ma„jesties affection from his friends betray him to his enemies, and making „you destitute of a leader, would expose you to the mercie of your ene„mies. Into whose hands if you do fall, though perhaps you escape death, „yet shall you not eschew shame and ignominie, and which is worse than „a thousand deaths, servitude, and bondage. If you get the day and be „victorious, you shall not for all that, acquire that which is the end and „fruit of victory, honour and renown to your King, rest and quietnesse „to your selves, and to your posteritie, a flourishing and prosperous estate „of your Countrey, but on the contrary a greater liberty to your adver„saries for the present, and greater security for the time to come, ruine „and destruction to your selves; and to your King a worse slavery, So „that by vanquishing you shall not be so much freed from troubles „abroad, as you shall increase your miseries at home. Wherefore my o„pinion is, to speak it in a word, that first we shake off this yoke of servi„tude at home, before we enter into fight with the forraine enemie. „Otherwise all of us shall be slaves to the will and pleasure of a few, we „shall strengthen our enemies, and become Traitours to the common„wealth. What you shall resolve to do, I pray God to prosper.

When the Earle had ended his speech, there arose a confused murmure throughout the whole Assembly, for they had not the patience to give their votes in order, but all cryed out together, testifying their approbation and assent to his speech and opinion. Amongst others there present, the Lord *Gray* was one, whom some would have to be he that slew the Earle of Douglas at Stirlin, commonly called *Cawe-Gray*. But if it were he, he behoved to be of great age now, and of greater at the battell of Bannock-burne, where he is also said to have been: wherefore I take it rather that this hath been his son. However, the Lord *Gray* heard all, „and seeing their forwardnesse, craved audience, and told them the Apo„logue of the Mice, who consulting in a publick meeting, how to be sure „from the Cats surprising of them, found out a very good way, which „was to hang a bell about her neck, that would ring as she stepped, and „so give them warning of her approach, that they might save them„selves by flight. But when it came to be questioned who would under„take to tie the bell about the Cats neck, there was never a mouse durst

The Lord *Gray* his speech.

cheep

,,cheep or undertake it. The Earle of Angus understood his meaning,
Angus called *Bell the Cat.* and what application was to be made of it, wherefore he answered shortly, I will *Bell the Cat*, and what your Lordships conclude to be done, shall not lack execution. For this answer, he was alwayes after this named *Archbald Bell the Cat*. And so they concluded, that these wicked Counsellours, and their Complices the Courtiers of the same qualitie, and stamp, should be brought to judgement, and punished according to their deserts. In the execution whereof their main care was that no inconvenient should come to the King, which because it might fall out in a tumult, they ordained that the Army should lye quiet, and onely the Noblemen with their houshold servants should go to Court, and apprehend them as peaceably and calmly as possible they could. After the meeting was broken up, as they were going along, they encountred by the way with *Robert Cochran*, whom the King (informed of their meeting) had sent to know what the matter was: For it seemed to be some businesse of moment, and great importance that had moved such men to conveen at such an houre, so early in the morning. He had about his neck a gold chain of great weight, which the Earle of Angus took hold of, and straining it a little, This chain, said he, doth not become a man of your rank, but I shall ere long, give you one that will become you to weare farre better, and so pulling the chain from his neck, he delivered him to one of his men to be kept sure. After that he went on to the Kings lodging, where the Guard and others that were present astonished with the suddennesse of his coming, or reverencing the dignitie and majestie of his person gave place, and shrank away, so that the rest were easily apprehended without resistance or tumult. Onely *John Ramsay* fled to the King, and clasped his arms about his middle, and at the Kings request was pardoned in respect of his youth which excused his errours, and seemed to promise for him, that he would do no more so. The rest were led forth, and accused. 1. Of causing kill the Kings brother *John*. 2. Of inciting the King, and animating him against his other brother *Alexander* Duke of Albaine, so as to banish him: 3. Of sowing dissention betwixt the King and his Nobles. 4. Of drawing him to superstition, witch-craft, and magick to the offence of God, and slander of Religion. 5. Of perswading him to coyne a certain kinde of brasse, coyne of no value, which the people called the black coyne, which fact of all other was most odious to the vulgar. For hereupon had ensued great dearth of corns and victuall, while as the owners did choose rather to suffer their graine to rot in their Garners, then under the name of selling to give them to the buyers, for so they thought it to be a gift, and not a sale. Their accusations were no sooner read, but all cryed out against them; and so they were condemned to be hanged over the bridge of Lawder. That sentence pronounced, was so acceptable to all that heard it, that they ran and brought their horse
Cochran and *his fellowes hanged.* halters, and bridle reines to serve for ropes, and strive who should have the honour therein, the whole Army, and Nobilitie concurring and assisting at their execution. And thus they did remove those men, whom the good of the King, of the Nobilitie, and whole Countrey required necessarily to be removed from their Prince. Yet it was done with as great re-

spect

ſpect to himſelf, as it could be in ſuch a caſe, where matters were to proceed contrary to his minde. They offer his perſon no violence, they do not miſ-behave themſelves in words: they are carefull it be not done by any in a tumult, and therefore come accompanied with the fewer number. They grant his deſire when he did interceed for one of the guiltie, which ſhewes how willing they would have been to have granted the reſt alſo, if it could have been done ſafely. A very remarkable and rare example of carefulneſſe of the Common-wealth, joyned with all modeſtie, love, and dutifulneſſe towards their King. Their behaviour was juſt ſuch as Lawyers preſcribe in ſuch caſes, who accounting the perſon of the Prince ſacred, and not to be touched any way, do allow that their wicked counſellours and abuſers only be taken order with, where the good of the Countrey enforceth it. Wherein the Earle of Angus being the principall actour, the chief commendation thereof can not be taken from him; the praiſe, I ſay, not onely of wiſedome in propounding, and perſwading, of courage and reſolution in under-taking, but alſo of diſcreet moderation, and dutifull regard to the King, in performing of this action without tumult, or uprore. Happie had the King been, if he could have taken it up rightly, and as he ſaw how far his wicked abuſers were hated, he had alſo read their love and regard of his perſon, that appeared in every act of this Tragick Comedie, written in fair and Capitall Letters. He made ſhow, as if he had taken all in good part, but it was not in ſinceritie. He accounted it high treaſon and rebellion, and ſet his minde wholly on revenge. He ſaw what was done to his Courtiers, but he would not ſee the reſpect carried to himſelf; for upon this occaſion the Army diſſolving, ſo ſoon as he came to Edinburgh, and found himſelf at libertie, he retired to the Caſtle with a few of his familiar friends, as not daring to truſt his Nobilitie. Which when they perceived, they had their private meetings and conſultations apart. Hereupon his brother *Alexander* moves the King of England to ſend an Army with the Earle of Gloceſter, hoping to do ſomewhat for himſelf. And ſo he doth; for the Nobilitie ſent for him, and made him chief man of the party, under the name of Generall Lieutenant of Scotland. The King remained in the Caſtle, from whence he is brought out, and reſtored to his own place, his brother endeavouring by modeſtie to approve his uprightneſſe, and baniſh all jealouſies by his actions. But all would not do; he continues his jealouſie, and the effects of jealouſie, an evill minde, and ill-will. Intends to make him away, ſome ſay by poiſon; whereof he being advertiſed, with-drawes himſelf again into England; and that he might be the more welcome thither, he put the Caſtle of Dumbar into their hands. Neither doth he bear any better minde toward the Nobilitie; but ſtill intends their ruines, making up a heap of crimes, calling all their proceedings and actions rebellious. And after a ſhort while, the Courtiers began to follow the foot-ſteps of thoſe that had gone before them, and nothing terrified with the example of their end, began to trade the ſame path that they had done. *John Ramſay* (who was pardoned at Lawder) procured an edict from the King, that none but he and his followers ſhould go armed in thoſe places where the Kings Court did converſe. The King thought

The Army diſmiſſed. the King comes to Edinburgh.

it was hard for him to deale with them all at once, therefore they must be divided. For this effect he insinuates himself, and becomes very familiar with a part of them, and advanceth them to honours. He makes the Earle of Crawford, Duke of Monrosse, a great and powerfull man. But who was so fit for his service as the Earle of Angus? he makes as if he were fully reconciled to him, hath him continually about him, countenanceth him every way, communicates with him his most secret affairs, some say he made him Chancellour; but the Chancellour (*Andrew Stuart* Lord of Evendale) was even now living, at the coming in of *Alexander* Duke of Albanie; neither hear we of his death, neither do we finde in old Evidents, that the Earle of Angus is entituled Chancellour, before 1493. which is after this Kings death, in King *James* the fourth his time, though we have Evidents of the year 1488. and 89. To him the King opens his mind so far, as finding that the principal of the Nobility were in Edinburgh the K. sends for Angus to the Castle, tells him that now he hath a fair occasion to be avenged of his enemies, that he would cause seize and apprehend them: for if the Leaders and Chief of the Faction were once cut off, the rest would not dare to stirre: that if he should neglect this opportunitie, he could hardly look for the like hereafter. Some say, that he purposed to have invited them to a supper in the Castle, and so to have laid hands on them, others say, that he meant to have caused take them in their lodgings in the night, which is not unlikely. The Earle of Angus, though he were no very old Cat (some 31. or 32.) if that was 1486. as it should seem, yet was he too warie and circumspect to be drawne by a straw. He knew himself to be as guilty as any of them, and as much hated for his guilt. But he was now within the Castle, and had need to carry himself wisely. To refuse, might endanger his life; to consent he could not, it was so grosse and foule. Wherefore he frames his answer after such a kinde, as might be both safe for himself, and no waies prejudiciall to the „ rest. He tells him what a disgrace it would be for him, if without or„ der of law he should (all of a sudden) bring so many Noblemen to the „ scaffold without a crime, to whom he was but lately reconciled, and „ had promised remission of all that was past, especially at such a time „ when they trusted to the publick assurance given them for their securi„ tie. Neither will those that remain, said he, be terrified, and dismayed „ with the death of these few, but be irritated and driven to despair, and „ so to greater violence. But if it will please your Majestie to follow „ my advice, I shall tell you a better way to give you satisfaction. Do but „ charge and summond any of them at any time to under-lye the law, „ and I with my friends and followers shall bring them in by force o„ penly, and in fair day light, to what place you please, where execution „ may be done according to law, which is not onely more safe, but more „ honourable, than either to betray them under colour of friendship, and „ feasting, or to invade them in the night, as if they were set on by theeves „ and robbers. This being spoken with that grace and courage where-with he used to accompanie his actions, the King acknowledging it was true that he said, and knowing he was able to performe what he promised, supposing he spake in sinceritie, gave him many thanks, and having loaded

loaded him with as many promiſes, diſmiſſed him. Aſſoon as he was come to his lodging, he revealed all to the Noblemen, and withall went himſelf out of the Town. From that time forth there was no more peace. The Kings counſell being revealed, he diſtruſted all men. The Nobilitie ſeeing his reſolution to ruine them, and that there was no truſt to be given to his words, deſpairing of concord; whereas they had before ſought his amendement, and not his over-throw, retaining ever a dutifull love and regard to his Perſon, now they ſet themſelves, and lay all the plots they can how to undo him. Yet can they not be alienated from the race of their Kings. His ſon had not offended, and fell to ſucceed. They affect him for their Captain. He is alſo moſt acceptable, and moſt agreeable to the people, and ſo fitteſt for them. Others might be ſuſpected, envied, or miſ-interpreted. Wherefore they allure him to their partie by his keepers, and his keepers perſwade him by feare of being diſinherited, and put beſides his ſucceſſion to the Crown. And now the parties are adreſſed, the King and his own ſon. There was divers times mention of peace, but where all truſt was taken away, it could not be eſtabliſhed. They ſend the King word flatly, they could not give credit to his promiſes. And ſo there was no way to mediate a peace, but by his dimiſſion of the Crown to his ſon. That condition was intollerable; he aggravates it to forrain Princes, and to the Pope, ſhewing what an ill preſident it was for all Princes. But before any help can come from thence, the Lords make haſte to come to a concluſion, which fell out according to their deſire. The Kings Forces lay moſt part beyond Forth, and in the Northerne parts. For conveening of them, Stirlin was the fitteſt place. Thither he takes his way with the Forces he had: The Nobilitie following as near as they could come to him. Yet was he gone before them, and might firſt have come to the Caſtle. But being excluded by the keeper, he is conſtrained to hazard the battell at Bannock-burn. There, having overthrown the vanguard of the enemy, he was overthrown by the Anandale men, & weſt borderers that bare longer ſpears than they that were on the Kings ſide. The King himſelf hurt with the fall of his horſe, and wounded in the right arme, fled unto a water-mill that was near unto the place, with intention to have fled to his Ships. But he was perceived, and known by the partiſans of his Guard, that ſtuck to him (which were trimmed with white fringes or faſſes) and followed by *Patrick* Lord *Gray*, and Stirlin (of Keir) and a Prieſt named *Borthwick*. Which of theſe, or if all of them fell upon him it is uncertain, but there he was ſlain by them. Fame layes it moſt on the Lord *Gray*, who if it were *Cowe-Gray*; it ſeemes his apprentiſhip and his practice in his old age have been very ſutable. For he it was that ſlew *William* Earle of Douglas at Stirlin, under this Kings father 35. or 36. year before this. He hath put a long time between his aſſay, and his maſter-piece, and gone too high in it. If it was his ſon, he hath followed well his fathers example, and gone beyond him alſo. All this while the Earle of Angus part was honourable and kindly, his heart could not digeſt the ſlaughter of his King. He ſought his own ſafety, and to ſhorten the reins of his unbridled minde, but for his life, he neither ſought it, nor could he ſuffer it to be

Plot againſt the King.

The K. ſonne head of the faction of the Nobles againſt his father.

Battell at Bannock-burne.

The K. ſlain.

taken ſo farre as he could hinder it. Wherefore ſeeing the victorie to be on their ſide, he cryed out to ſave the King, atteſting all for their love to God, and for their reſpect to the young Prince his ſonne, that they ſhould do him no harm. This was caſt in his teeth by the way of reproach as childiſhneſſe, or too much tenderneſſe of heart at ſuch a time, by the Lord *Gray*. There were ſlain on the Kings ſide the Earle of Glencarne (and a few of his fellows) the Earle of Angus married his daughter three years after, to *Robert* Lord *Kilmaers* ſon or rather Grand-childe
1488. to this Earle of Glencarne. This happened 1488. the 28. of King *James* Raigne, and 35. of his age.

But the Warre did not end with the death of the King. The old Kings faction was rather ſcattered than broken, chiefly his Navy and Sea Forces, of which the Captain (*Andrew Wood*) ſtood out obſtinatly. In the North the Lord *Forbes* had gotten the Kings bloudy ſhirt, & carrying it upon a ſpears point like an enſinge, through Aberdene and other Towns ſtirred up all he could to revenge the Kings ſlaughter. In the Weſterne parts of the Kingdome, the Earle of Lennox aſſembled his power, and divers moe with him did ſend their meſſengers to and fro, exhorting the people every where not to ſuffer ſo deteſtable a murder un-revenged; forbidding them to ſcarre at the ſhadow of the preſent Kings authority, whom theſe Particides did detaine a captive to countenance their wickedneſſe, he being rather a priſoner than a Prince, the whole power reſting in the hands of the *Douglaſſes*, *Humes*, and *Hepburnes*. That even in that regard they would take Arms to free him from their tyrannie, who would make the World beleeve that he being but a childe of 15. years of age were ſo unnaturall as to allow of his fathers murder. Beſides all this the Engliſh made ſome trouble by Sea with five Ships, which lay in the mouth of Forth, and not onely infeſted the Merchants and ſuch as did trade by Sea, but alſo many times came a Shore, and pillaged the Countrey. Theſe were prognoſticks of a ſtorm ariſing, and of a tempeſt as great as had been from the Weſt, from the North, and from the Sea. But theſe droping Clouds which threatned an after-clap were quickly diſperſed by the prudent handling of the other party. *Andrew Wood* was intreated, and brought not onely to be no enemy, but alſo to ſet upon the Engliſh Ships, which he did with his own two onely, and brought in the five Engliſh to Leith. Lennox was defeated by the Lord *Drummond*, whoſe daughter *George* maſter of Angus had married: and the Northern men hearing of it ſat quiet, and ſtirred not. And for concluſion a Parliament was held at Edinburgh the 6. of November, where all that was done at Bannock-burne was decerned to be good ſervice, and that thoſe that were ſlain there, were ſlain through their own default, and that thoſe that had taken Arms againſt them were free from all crime. This had been done before in the Parliament when the King was crowned, but there were ſo few preſent then, that they thought it neceſſary to renew it here, where both parties were preſent. And ſo it was not onely enacted, but ſubſcribed by all that had vote in Parliament. Thus did Angus with the reſt of his aſſociats governe thoſe matters which ſeemed to be very hard to ſettle, both wiſely and moderately. For they uſed not their

Five Engliſh Ships taken by *Andrew Wood*.

A Parliament at Edinburgh 6. November 1488.

their victory and power either cruelly or covetously. They forgave sincerely those that came in and yeelded, and punished gently the more obstinate, fining them in their goods, or taking from them some portion, or parcell of their Lands and Possessions; but there was no man ruined, or wholly undone by them; And so they both pacified things, and did not much displease the parties, who bare it patiently when they called to remembrance for what small faults, and upon what slight pretences men were turned out of their whole Estates in the late Kings time. By these meanes they procured a true and sincere peace among the Subjects, strengthened with a generall love and submission of both parties to the King. And to confirme all the two principalls of the other party *Lennox* and *Forbes* came in, and were received into favour: Many attribute the commendation of all this to the King himself, whose inclination (it cannot be denied) was good; but to speak the truth, as it is, he was but young, and not a Guider, but guided, even by the confession of the adverse partie. Neither could he of himself have carried things so wisely, for all his good disposition; neither was he able to have done it, though he had been skilfull, if there had not been great moderation in those that were about him. Wherefore seeing both common report, and our Histories also make our *Douglasses*, *Humes*, and *Hepburnes*, the chief authors and actors in these matters; I see no reason why we should defraude them of their due commendation of being men that were dutifull to their Countrey, and withall very respective to their King, having laboured all they could to reclaim him, and after he had shut himself up in the Castle, restoring him to his full authority, and even when he was seeking their lives, they did tolerate him a good while, being very loath to come to extremity. And last being forced to it by necessitie for the preservation of their own lives, they had regard to the race of their Princes, yea to himself, and his life in the greatest heat of the battell, ever willing and desirous to save him. And then after the victorie, we see how moderate they were against their detractours, slanderers, and professe enemies that had taken Arms against them, how meek in bearing with them, how carefull too, with calmnesse to reconcile them, how gentle in using of them, how wise and prudent in the whole progresse of pacification. And above all the moderation of their desires is to be remarked; for they did neither increase their estates, nor enrich themselves on whit, by spoiling or violent seizing of any mans Lands or Goods. The Earle of Angus was made Chancellour. But that was after the death of the Lord *Evendale*, and so it was not taken from any other man, neither was there any wrong in it. And on whom could it have been so well bestowed? who was so fit for it? and who so worthy of it? Besides, it seemes that he got it not in the Kings minority, when he had all power in his own hand under the shadow of the Kings name, and so might have extorted it from the King in those troublous times, for he is never termed Chancellour untill the year 1493. which was 5. years after Bannock-burne; and then all the troubles were quieted and pacified, and the King came to be 20. years of age, able to guide his affairs by himself. The Lord *Hume* is also made great Chamberlaine of Scotland, yet that was also in the Kings power to give,

Chamberlain.
Lord *Hume*

give, and belonged to no man. What other casuality, or benefite they acquired by the Kings liberality, we finde not, unlesse it were the Guardianship of the inheritrix of Glenbarvie, which Angus got, whom he married to his son *William*. But suppose they did get any such thing, yet was it without injury to any man and un-reproveably. Wherefore we may say justly, that no Princes minority was ever so moderately and innocently, so justly, wisely, and prudently guided amongst so great troubles and grounds of dissention. This made them that they feared no man, having offended no man, but were even secure in the Kings presence, notwithstanding that he had enjoyned himself a pennance, for being accessarie to his fathers death, which was the wearing of a chain of iron about his middle in stead of a girdle, to which he added every year a new link or ring. Not the lesse of all this, they were never afraid of the King nor jealous of him, but interpreted this well, and took it in good part, not onely because they trusted to the Kings gentle disposition, or because they confided in their own Forces, as being of the stronger faction; but also because they reposed on the conscience of their fact, the necessity of doing what they had done, and innocencie every other way towards every man.

Angus Chancellour.

From this time the Earle of Angus continued Chancellour, so named in all Writs and Indentures untill the year 1496. the 14. of January, at which time he contracts his daughters to the Lord *Harris*, and the Lord *Lile*. He indents with *Hugh Douglas* Deane of Buchan, and sonne to the late Earle of Ormond, in two severall Indentures, whereof the condition of the one is to pursue for the lands of Evendale in the year 1493. the other in the year 1496. the 14. of January, is to this purpose; That the said *Hugh* shall pursue for Glenwhome, Gladstanes, and any other Lands pertaining to the Earles of Douglas, Lord of Evendale, or his father the Earle of Ormond, and that having obtained them he shall resigne them in favour of the Earle of Angus. Other things remarkeable we have none, untill about the time of the Field of Flowden, which makes it seem to be probable (which some allege) that all this time he was confined in Arane. The pretended cause (as they say) was secret intelligence with King *Henry* of England; but the true cause (they say) was his taking *Jean Kennedie*, daughter to the Earle of Cassils out of Galloway, to whom the King bare affection, and to whom the Earle gave infeftement, and seizing of the Lands of Bothwel, although he never married her. As touching the pretended cause it hath no appearance at all, seeing there was alwayes peace and friendship betwixt us and both the *Henries* (the 7. and 8.) untill the warre was denounced, or a very short time before. And concerning that of *Jeane Kennedie*, we have a note of an Indenture betwixt Angus Chancellour, and the Lord *Kennedie*, but they have neglected to set down about what it hath been in the year 1496. So that we are uncertain what to think of it. And contrary to this we finde that the Lands of Bothwel were not in the Earles hands, but in his sonne *Georges*, who got them from the Lord Bothwel in exchange for the Lordship of Liddisdale, which for that cause he resigned into the Kings hands in favor of the Earle Bothwel in the year 1492. so that the Earle could not give her the Lands that belonged

longed to his ſonne. Further our Hiſtories tels us, that when *James* Earle of Aran, who was ſent with the Navy which the King had prepared for a preſent to Queene *Anne* of France, had turned in upon Ireland, and having burnt Knockfergus, was come to Air a Sea-port in Coile, the King offended with his folly, gave the charge of the Ships to Angus for proſecuting of the voyage. But Aran having heard of it, hoyſed ſaile, and was gone before Angus could come to the place where the Ships lay. Now although it ſhould ſeem by this that the King continued his favour toward him, yet there are ſome apparant reaſons to move us to think that it hath been ſomewhat diminiſhed. For *Alexander* Lord *Hume* was made Warden of all the three marches (and that before Flowdon) of which the eaſt and middle march at leaſt had continued under the government of the Earles of Angus, for the ſpace of three or foure generations, deſcending from father to ſonne by ſucceſſion, from Earle *William* in the perſons of *James*, and *George* to this preſent *Archbald*.

Other mention, or monument of him we have none till the Warres betwixt King *James* the 4. and King *Henry* the 8. of England. It is reported by ſome, that the Queene and he did what they could to diſſwade the King from that Warre, but when he could not prevaile with him, he followed him into England. There the King having waſted Northumberland, and taken Norham with ſome few other Caſtles, got a view of the wife of one *Heron* of the Foord, and did ſo fancie her, that he neglected the proſecuting of the warre, and care of his Army, and did nothing but dallie with her. Whileſt the Army lay there idle, the Engliſh ſent a Herauld to the King deſiring that he would appoint a day for battell. But the greateſt part of the Nobility did diſlike it. And the Earle of Angus though he ſaw all this and many moe errours, yet he held his peace all this while, whereas the reſt of the Nobilitie reaſoned with the King, but in vain. For the King told them flatly, he would fight them though they were a hundreth thouſand more, and that he would retire. Then (and not till then) the Earle of Angus hearing his anſwer, and knowing the danger of ſuch reſolution, being the Chief man amongſt them both for years and authoritie, he went about to ſet before the King the reaſons of the counſell given him, hoping by that meane to break him of his determination, in theſe words. Sir (ſaid he) your Majeſtie hath done abundantly to ſatisfie your friendſhip with the King of France, in that ye have made the King of England withdraw the greater part of his Army out of France, and have turned the danger of the War from him without endangering your ſelf. For they cannot keep the fields long in a Countrey that is ſo cold and waſted, eſpecially now when the Winter is ſo near. Neither need your Majeſtie to wonder that the French Ambaſſadour is ſo inſtant with us to fight; he being a ſtranger, it is no ſtrange thing to ſee him prodigall of other mens bloud, who doth not regard the good of the parties, but the benefite that will thereby redound to France. Beſides, his requeſt is altogether impudent and ſhameleſſe: For he requires us to do that which his maſter (a man of great underſtanding) thinks not fit to do for his own Kingdom. Neither ſhould the loſſe of this Army ſeem ſmall, becauſe our number is few, for all

Warre with England, and the occaſion of the Field of Flowdon.

Angus his ſpeech to the King to diſſwade him from fighting.

„ all that are of worth,& excell either in wiſedome or valour in Scotland „ are here, and theſe being ſlain, the vulgar will become a prey to the e- „ nemy. Therefore as it is ſafeſt for the preſent to prolong the Warre, „ ſo is it moſt profitable in generall. For if *Lewis* would have either the „ Engliſh exhauſted with charges, or wearied with delay , what is more „ convenient, then to compell him to divide his Forces, by keeping one „ half thereof continually in readineſſe againſt us,who lye in wait to in- „ vade his Countrey upon every occaſion , ſo to eaſe the French of ſo „ much of their burden ? As for your honour and reputation,which men „ pretend,what can be more honourable , than having razed ſo many „ Forts and Caſtles , waſted and ſpoyled their Countrey with fire and „ ſword,to returne laden with ſuch ſtore of ſpoyle, that they ſhall not be „ able to recover their loſſes, nor their ſoile redeem the former beautie in „ many years,though there ſhould happen to be peace ? What greater „ commoditie can we expect to reap of the Warre, than in ſuch a tumul- „ tuous noiſe of Armes to have leiſure to refreſh our ſouldiers with eaſe „ and quietneſſe,to our credit,and to our enemies ſhame ? Of all the vi- „ ctories that are acquired,that which is obtained more by counſell, than „ force of Armes,is moſt properly the victory of man,and the praiſe of it „ doth onely redound to the Commander and Generall; for in it the „ Armie can claim no part or intereſt. When the Earle had ended his ſpeech,all that were preſent ſhewed by their countenance, that they did approve and aſſent unto his counſell. But the King who had ſolemnely ſworn to give battell,heard him unwillingly,and anſwered angerly; bid- ding him,if he were afraid,go home. Then Angus ſeeing the King ob- ſtinate , and fore-ſeeing in his minde what would be the event of ſuch headineſſe, burſt forth in teares , and after a while having gathered his „ ſpirits again,when he was able to ſpeak, If my former life , ſaid he, „ doth not free me from the imputation of fearfulneſſe , I know not by „ what other evidence I can clear my ſelf; while this body of mine was „ able to endure labour and toyle , I ſpared it not for the defence of our „ Countrey, and honour of our Kings. Now ſeeing my counſell , by „ which onely I am able to do good,can have no place, I leave here my „ two ſonnes,who next after my Countrey are deareſt to me , together „ with the reſt of my friends and kinſmen ; the ſureſt pledge that I can „ give of my affection to your Majeſtie,and to the reſt that are here pre- „ ſent. And I pray God that this my fear may prove frivolous, and that „ I be rather eſteemed a falſe prophet , than that thoſe things happen, „ which I think I ſee before mine eyes. And ſo he took his leave, and departed, leaving behinde him with the King his eldeſt ſon *George*, and Sir *William* of Glenbarvie, whom he exhorted to carry themſelves vali- antly,as thoſe they were come of had ever done , and recommending them to God and their good fortune , he rode home. As the Earle of Angus preſaged, ſo it fell out : for the battell was fought at Flowdon, where the day was loſt, and the King ſlain, yet his body could never be found, which had been eaſily diſcerned by the chain of iron which he ware for a girdle. There were alſo ſlain at this battell *George* Maſter of Angus,and Sir *William* of Glenbarvie, with ſome 200. Gentlemen of the name of *Douglas*.

The field of Flowdon, 1513. Sept. 15.

Their

Their father the Earle went to Saint Mains in Galloway. He lived there a year after, an auſtere and hard life, where he died alſo, and was buried in the Church of Saint Mains, about the year 1514. his heart was carried to Douglas. The years of his age were 61. or 62. by all the conjecture that can be made. So that it hath not been ſo much for his years, as for ſome other infirmitie, that his body hath not been able and fit for ſervice, as he ſayes himſelf at Flowdon. Angus death, 1514.

He was a man every way accompliſhed both for minde and body. He was for ſtature tall, and of a ſtrong compoſition. His countenance was full of majeſtie, and ſuch as bred reverence in the beholders; wiſe and eloquent of ſpeech; upright and ſquare in his actions; ſober and moderate in his deſires, valiant and couragious, a man of action and undertaking, liberall alſo of heart and hand, loving and kinde to his friends; which made him to be beloved, reverenced, and reſpected of all men. He gave proof of his perſonall valour in a duell which is reported to have been thus. The King on a time was diſcourſing at table of the perſonages of men, and by all mens confeſſion the prerogative was adjudged to the Earle of Angus. A Courtier that was by (one *Spenſe* of Kilſpindie) whether out of envie to hear him ſo praiſed, or of his idle humour onely, caſt in a word of doubting and diſparaging: It is true, ſaid he, if all be good that is up-come; meaning if his action and valour were anſwerable to his perſonage and body. This ſpoken openly, and coming to the Earles ears in the worſt interpretation, offended him highly. It fell out after this, as the Earle was riding from Douglas to Tantallon, that he ſent all his company the neareſt way, and he himſelf with one onely of his ſervants, having each of them a hawke on his fiſt in hope of better ſport, took the way by Borthwick towards Falawe; where lighting at the brook at the Weſt end of the town they bathed their hawkes. In the mean time this *Spenſe* happened to come that way, whom the Earle eſpying, ſaid to his man, Is not this ſuch an one, that made queſtion of my manhood, I will go to him, and give him a triall of it, that we may know which of us is the better man. No, my Lord, ſaid his ſervant, it is a diſparagement for your Lordſhip to meddle with him, I ſhall do that ſufficiently, if it will pleaſe your Honour to give me leave. I ſee, ſaid the Earle, he hath one with him, it ſhall be thy part to grapple with him, whileſt I deal with his Maſter. So faſtening their hawkes, that they might not flye away in the mean time, they rode after him, and having over-taken him; What reaſon had you, ſaid the Earle to him, to ſpeak ſo contemptuouſly of me at ſuch a time, doubting whether my valour were anſwerable to my perſonage? When the other would have excuſed the matter, he told him, that would not ſerve the turne; Thou art a big fellow, and ſo am I, one of us muſt pay for it. The other anſwered, If it may be no better, there is never an Earle in Scotland, but I will defend my ſelf from him as well as I can, and will rather kill him, if I can, than ſuffer him to kill me. So alighting from their horſes, they fought a certain ſpace, but at laſt the Earle of Angus with a ſtroake, cut *Spenſes* thigh-bone aſunder, ſo that he fell to the ground, and died ſoon after. The two ſerving-men were very hard at it ſtill, when the Earle came and ſtayed them, ſaying to *Spenſes* man, A duel betwixt Angus and *Spenſe*.

Go thy way, tell my Goſſip the King, there was nothing here but fair play: I know my Goſſip will be offended; but I will get me into Liddiſdale, and remain in the Hermitage till his anger be over. And ſo it is thought he did: whereupon the King, when he was pacified, cauſed the Earle to exchange his Lordſhip of Liddiſdale, with the Lands of Bothwell, alleging that there was no order to be had of the Earles of Angus ſo long as they kept Liddiſdale: What other reaſons the Earle had to move him to this excambion, I know not, nor why he ſhould have preferred Bothwell; but it is certain his ſon *George* exchanged them with his conſent. One fault he had, that he was too much given to women; otherwayes there was little or nothing that a man could have wiſhed to be helped in him, or that was amiſſe.

Archibaldus *Anguſiæ primus.*

Palponum dum turba ferox illudere regi
Non timet; idque palam plebſque patreſque fremunt;
Amiſſum decus imperii; vileſcere ſceptrum;
Omnia turbari tum foris atque domi;
Cochronum *extinxi (caput horum & dux nebulonum*
Is fuit) & laqueo colla ſceleſta dedi.
Talibus infeſtus quod ſim Gnathonibus, atro
Dente petit, famam rodit & aula meam.
Fax hominum, procerum peſtis, Regumque ruina;
Quo magis oblatras, hoc magis illa nitet.

Archbald *of Angus, the firſt of that name.*

Whiles bloudy flatterers did not fear
T'abuſe their Princes name and ear:
Whiles great, and mean, and all repine,
Whiles the Kings honour doth decline,
His rule too much deſpiſ'd by all,
And State affairs to ruine fall.
Cochran their Head was hang'd by me:
And for I puniſht ſuch as he,
They do attempt my name to ſtain
With ſlanders, but theſe dregs of men,
The peſt of Courts, the ſhame of Kings,
Their greateſt hate moſt honour brings.

Of George *Maſter of Angus, and ſonne to* Archbald *the firſt.*

HIs eldeſt ſon (as hath been ſaid) was *George* ſlain at Flowdon, deſigned commonly by the appellation of *Maſter of Angus.* He was married to *Elizabeth Drummond*, daughter to the Lord Drummond of whom we told how he defeated the Earle of Lennox. His children by her were three ſonnes. Firſt *Archbald*, afterward Earle of Angus. Secondly Sir *George* of Pittendrich. Thirdly *William* Priour of Coldinghame.

His daughters were, Firſt the Lady Yeſter. Secondly the Lady Baſſe. Thirdly *Jeane* Lady Glames. Fourthly *Aliſon*, married firſt to *Robert Blackader*, of Blackader, and afterward to Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne. Fifthly the Lady Drumlanerige, as I take it. Alſo they mention a ſixth, married to a Baron in the North, whom they name not, neither do I know who he ſhould be.

His age at his dea th (to reckon from the 15. year of his fathers age in the 1469. to the year of his own death at Flowdon 1513.) was not above 44.

His actions, becauſe he never came to be Earle, are not recorded. Some dealing there was betwixt him as Governour of Liddiſdale, and the Lord Dacres in England, with whoſe Deputies he agrees to meet at Dumfreis, for doing of Juſtice in the year 1489. the year after the King was killed at Bannock-burne. So at Cannabie he met with the Lord Dacres himſelf, where they accorded not well: For they intended both to ſend to the Councels of both Nations to have their determination of their differences. He agrees the ſame year with Sir *Robert Lundie* of Bagonie, Treaſurer for a generall remiſſion to Ewſdalde, Eskdale, and Niddiſdale, which I think ſhould rather be Liddiſdale, for a 1000. pounds, being at this time not above 20. years of age, not out of Curatorie by the Laws, though that was in his fathers hands. Yet we ſee alſo Courts held in his name, by his Bailiffs, as a retoure of *Adam Ker*, to ſome Lands in Selkrig, in the ſaid year, which makes me to think he hath been then married. Alſo he it is, as we told above, that excambes the Lands of Liddiſdale for Bothwell with *Patrick* Earle Bothwell, reſigning the Lands of Liddiſdale, and the King diſponing them upon the reſignation in the year 1492. upon what reaſon either the Earle Bothwel ſhould have affected theſe, or he preferred the other, and not thought himſelf as fit to rule that unruly Countrey as any other, I have not heard. But it was done in his fathers life time, who was no fool when he was in his greateſt vogue, the firſt three years of King *James* the fourth. He allies afterward with this ſame Earl Bothwel, marrying his ſonne *Archbald* to his daughter, but that muſt be long after, except that he hath been married young, as ſome ſay he was.

1489. Cannabie.

1491.

In the year 1510. he indents for the marriage of his fourth daughter *Aliſon* to *Robert Blackaders* ſonne, and apparent heir to *Andrew Blackader* 1510.

of that Ilk. Her portion 300. marks, the terms, 1. at the compleating 40. pounds, and 20. pounds, at the feaſt of Martimaſſe next after; and ſo 20. pounds termly till it were payed. That ſame year he is infeft in Abernethie. And this is all we have of him, which we have ſet down chiefly for his children, and the Hiſtorie that followeth of them.

Of Archbald *the ſeventh Earle of Angus and the ſecond* Archbald.

TO *Archbald* the firſt, ſucceeded *Archbald* the ſecond, his Grandchilde by his ſonne *George* Maſter of Angus.

He was thrice married, firſt to *Margaret Hepburne* daughter to *Patrick Hepburne* the firſt Lord Bothwell, being as yet very young: for at his ſecond marriage he was not old, but a youth, or ſtripling, Adoleſcens. She died in childe-birth within the year (as they ſay) immediatly after the Field of Flowdon. 2. His ſecond wife was Queen *Margaret* relict of King *James* the 4. and daughter to King *Henry* 7. of England. She bare to him a daughter Lady *Margaret Douglas*, who was married to *Matthew Stuart* Earle of Lennox, and bare to him *Henry* Lord Darnly, that married Queen *Mary* of Scotland, and father to King *James* the ſixt of Scotland, and firſt of great Brittain now happily reigning. Lady *Margaret* had alſo another ſonne named *Charles*, who was father to the Lady *Arabella*. 3. His third wife was *Margaret Maxwell* daughter to the Lord *Maxwell*. She bare to him a ſonne and a daughter, who died both of them before they were 8. years old. He had alſo a baſe daughter by a daughter of Traquairs, *Jeane Douglas* married to the Lord *Ruthven*. Some ſay that he begot this daughter in the Queens time, while ſhe lying in of Lady *Margaret Douglas* in England, after her delivery went to London and ſtayed there with her brother King *Henry* the 8. and with her ſiſter the late Queen of France, and then Ducheſſe of Suffolk. Others ſay that it was before. He had alſo a baſe ſonne (as I take it) commonly called *George the Poſtulant* to a by-name, becauſe (I know not upon what claim or title) he did poſtulate and claim the Abbacie of Aberbroth (or Abernethock) and not onely did poſtulate it, but apprehended it alſo, and uſed it as his own.

Having brought the houſe of Angus ſtill increaſing, and growing in greatneſſe, and honour unto this man *Archbald* the ſecond, ſhall we ſuffer it now to decay, or to take halt in his perſon? No, but we ſhall ſee it increaſe ſo much the more, as he approacheth nearer unto that deſcent, which is able to give honour unto baſeneſſe it ſelf, far more to adde and multiply honour upon that which is already honourable. Men do not onely take honour from their progenitors; their poſterity makes them honourable, when they have much honour, and that variable according to the degrees of their honour more or leſſe. Which ſeeing it is undeniable, in what place of honour ſhall we rank this *Archbald*, father to the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, and by her great Grandfather to our Soveraigne King *James* of great Brittain? This one thing is enough to lift him

him up to the higheſt top of honour. All other things are but acceſſary; yet are they additions of great importance. Men are honourable by their marriage: Who then ſo honourable as he? Having married a Queen, a Kings daughter, a Kings ſiſter, a Kings mother. Others alſo of the Subjects of this Countrey have married Queens (I grant) But none of them did marry Queen *Margaret*, a Lady ſo vertuous; None did marry a Queen ſo Royally deſcended, and every way Regall in her father, her mother, her brother, her ſiſter, her husband, her ſonne being all of them Kings or Queens. None did marry a Queen without ſome blemiſh and diminition of her reputation but he. None with the approbation of all men; even of the Queens own chief Kinred, with the allowance, deſire, and exhortation of her Kinsfolks, of King *Henry* the 8. But you will ſay perhaps, that this hath been chance or fortune, or ignorance in her, blindneſſe of an impotent woman, who placed her affection without deſert, or that it hath been ignorance in King *Henry* her brother, a forrain Prince ill informed. Let us therefore hear ſuch witneſſes as were not blinded, either with womanly affection, or with the ignorance of a ſtranger; ſuch as were unpartiall, and who had neither fear nor hope, love or hatred, which are the common cauſes of partiality. Theſe are our hiſtories, which if they record truth (as they are recorders of truth) if there was any more worthy, or before him in any good quality, then let it be accounted folly in her, and weakneſſe in her brother. What do theſe our Hiſtories then ſay? Firſt of his place and deſcent, they ſay he was the firſt of the youth of Scotland for Nobility. Lo here is one good quality, and that a very main one, wherein her choyce and her brothers approbation are juſtified, and he ſhown to be worthy, nay moſt worthy by his place and birth, whereof we have ſaid enough heretofore. But let that be thought of no moment or value if there be no more. What ſay they next? What of himſelf? In himſelf? in his perſonage? The firſt of the youth of Scotland for favour and comelineſſe of perſonage. I dare not conſent to them that make no account hereof. It hath ever been in account; men have thought it worthy, whereon to beſtow a Kingdome. It is yet regarded, it affects all humane creatures, and moves us whither we will or no; They ſay that beaſts diſcern it not. I doubt of it, though we are not able to diſcern their diſcerning of it. But let them be beaſts that do ſo. And let this alſo be nothing in him, if there be yet no more in him; if there be no qualities joyned to it, which it gives luſtre to, as gold to a Diamond. Let it be (as in all men and women) like a ring of gold on a Swines ſnout, ill placed, and matched; unſeemly, and unworthily. Yet it is gold, and gold is ever precious, and to be deſired; although the Swines ſnout of ill conditions be not worthy to be ſo fairly and finely deckt, or adorned. What are then his other properties and qualities of minde and man-hood, ſoule and body? which is the third point. The firſt and principall (ſay they) of the youth of Scotland in all good exerciſe, knowledge, cunning, skill and underſtanding, belonging to a man of his place! for I doubt not there were many more cunning Clerks than he; yet not more ſufficient in uprightneſſe, honeſt vertue, dexterity, and good addreſſe, both in politick matters belonging to the good government of the Countrey; and

Gentleman-

Gentleman-like, exerciſe becoming his eſtate, for body or minde, for peace, or warre. What particulars they are we ſhall ſee in his particuliar actions; *viz.* valour, and true courage, with love and kindneſſe to his Countrey, hereditarie properties from the very root of which he is ſprung. Alſo wiſedome and magnanimity, truth and uprightneſſe in words and actions, with others which will appear, as the occaſion occurres. And ſo we have him by theſe teſtimonies thrice (that is every way) firſt, or chief and principall. 1. Chiefe in Nobility beyond all. 2. Chiefe in perſonage, beyond all. 3. Chiefe in vertue, and all good arts (for ſo is the word) or qualities, beyond all. Worthy therefore whom the Queen ſhould have preferred, and made choyce of to be her husband beyond, and before all. Worthy of whom ſhould deſcend that race of Kings ſo Noble, beyond all. Which as it honours him, ſo doth it not diſgrace or diſparage that Noble and Princely race, to be come of ſuch an one in his perſon; of ſuch ſtock in the whole race and deſcent of that whole Family, ſo noble, ſo worthy, and heroicall every way. Not ſo much private in place, as Princely in worth, all vertue and magnanimity; though otherwiſe Subjects. And thus the honour of the houſe doth riſe in his perſon, whom we ſee accounted by all every way honourable, honourable by bloud, honourable by vertue, honourable by marriage, honourable by affinitie and alliance, honourable by progenie and poſteritie, honourable by all actions, by all valiant, and alwayes worthy acts. As for his greatneſſe and puiſſance, we finde it at his entry and beginning matched (yea over-matched) by the Lord Hume Chamberlaine; But in end harder to be matched by any, nay matching (almoſt) what ſhould not be matched in any ſort, where with no Subject ſhould match himſelf. Which however good or evil it be in uſing, yet it is greatneſſe to have done ſo.

He marries Q. *Margaret.*

To come to his particular actions; The firſt we finde is his marriage, which is not indeed to be attributed to his prudencie, or his purchaſing, yet is it the effect of his worth. She affected him, and he had reaſon not to refuſe the party. Her brother King *Henry* conſents, and writes lovingly to them both. He had his own particular end, which was to counterpoize, or weigh down the French faction, and to hinder the incurſions of Scotland by his means; ſome ſay alſo to ſtay the Duke of Albanie from coming home to be Governour, but that was not yet motioned. And though that were his end, yet the other was the end of his deſire to ſtay Albanie, and his main ſcope; for all that he aimed at by ſtaying of him was but to ſtay the Scottiſh warres, which he by his coming was like to ſet on foot. Things fal out contrary many times to mens intentions. This marriage brought in the Duke of Albanie, and by him had ſtrengthened the French if he had guided wiſely, kept the hearts of men in Scotland, and entertained his home-bringer, the Chamberlain, and given him a thankfull meeting for that work. But there is a providence, if men would obſerve. This plot fails King *Henry*, that fails the Chamberlain, this fails the Duke of Albanie. The King hopes to hinder the French by this marriage; it furthers them to be all the guiders, being brought in by the Chamberlain. The Chamberlain looks to be rewarded, he hath

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his head ſtricken off. The Duke thinks that the Chamberlains death ſhall breed him all quietneſſe, eaſe, and power, it looſeth him the hearts of all men, and at laſt his office. The working of theſe things was thus.

The Queen was by the King her husbands teſtament left Regent during her widow-hood. That laſted not long, from the 25. of September untill the next Spring was ended, ſay ſome: others ſay untill the 6. of Auguſt almoſt a year. Then ſhe marrieth, and ſo fals from that charge. The Earle of Angus did labour to have it continued, and uſed a ſtrong motive, which was, that ſo the peace ſhould laſt with England, which was both profitable and neceſſary. The Queen during her Regencie had procured it; She had written to her brother that he ſhould ſtay the war, and abſtain from troubling his Nephews Kingdome; troubled already „ too much with factions within it ſelf. He had anſwered her, that he „ warred againſt the Scots, when they made war againſt him; and that he „ would keep peace with them when they kept peace with him. This was a magnanimous minde, and a Princely (ſay our writers, not envious of the praiſe of the Engliſh) though indeed it were not without a good policie. For by that meane he had leaſure to proſecute his French intentions without fear of being diſturbed or diverted by the Scottiſh incurſions. But we will not extenuate it: he had indeed the better hand of it, and at this time peace was more needfull for Scotland. And therefore this reaſon brought by Angus for the continuation of the Queens authoritie was ſo much the greater. But it could not move the other party, whereof the Lord *Hume* (Chamberlain) was Chief. They ſhew their „ willingneſſe to honour the Queen. That appeared (ſay they) in this; „ that contrary to the ancient cuſtome of this Kingdome, they had ſuffe- „ red and obeyed her authority, whiles ſhe her ſelf kept her right by keep- „ ing her widow-hood. Now that ſhe had quit it by marrying, why „ ſhould they not chooſe another to ſucceed into the place which ſhe had „ left? which the old laws would alſo have taken from her, which do „ not permit that a woman ſhould govern in the moſt peaceable times, „ far leſſe now, when ſuch evils do threaten, as can ſcarce be reſiſted by „ the wiſeſt and moſt ſufficient men. This they pretended, and touched „ the point that did annoy them. The marrying of the Earle of Angus had ma[illegible] him too great already, the continuing of her authority would make him farre greater.

The Queen looſeth her Regencie by her marriage.

This they can not endure; eſpecially the Chamberlain who was jealous of his greatneſſe, which he thought would impair and leſſen his own, already beginning to decline, by the retiring and with-drawing of Liddiſdale and Anandale from following him, and caſting them again under the wings of the *Douglaſſes*, to whom they had wont to belong. This point being once obtained, that the Queen ſhould governe no more, the next was, who then ſhould be the man. Here alſo was no leſſe ſtrife and contention. The Chamberlains credit carried it away, his own power, his alliance, the Earle of Arane being his brother in law, the Earle of Lennox Aranes ſiſters ſon, joyned to the Prelates, (a Faction ever French, and then more than ever by the King of Englands ſhaking off the yoke of Rome)

Convention about chooſing of a Governour.

Rome) eſpecially the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, a proud Prelate, and ever factious. By theſe men, all Noblemen at home are deſpiſed and balked, and the Office caſt upon *John*, called afterward Duke of Albanie, Couſin-germane to the late King, being then in France, brought up in France, and onely with the French tongue, where his father was baniſhed and forfeited, and he himſelf not reſtored: yet is he by them, who had not ſo much power as to reſtore him in the minoritie of a King (as had been proved in King *James* the ſecond his time, againſt the Earle of March reſtored in his minoritie) ordained to be Governour of the King and whole Countrey. Bent was the Chamberlain that way: And ſo bent he was, that he profeſſed openly at the Convention, that though they would all refuſe, yet he alone would bring him home, and make him Governour. A great word, if he were not able to do it; a great power if he were able. It is interpreted ambition in him, and that deſpairing to have that honour conferred on himſelf, and envying it to any other, he took this courſe. I cannot be of that minde. He that had power to do ſo much for another, had power to have done ſomewhat for himſelf: At leaſt ſo far as to have gotten ſome part of the government with others, as it was cuſtomable, when they could not agree upon any one man, they divided it. It is reported alſo for certain, that the Earle of Angus finding that he was ſo earneſt in that courſe, went to him, and naming him familiarly by his name, „ *Alexander*, ſaid he, what do you mean by this? that man is a „ ſtranger to us, and underſtandeth not our language no more than we do „ his. He will work his own ends, and who knoweth after what manner? „ Whether or not to the Kings prejudice, who is onely between him and „ the Crown. Certainly, he will never regard either of us, whom he will „ rather ſeek to depreſſe than to advance. Go to therefore, let us agree „ amongſt our ſelves. Take you the government of the borders, and of „ all that lieth on that ſide of the river of Forth, and let me have the com- „ mand on the other ſide. A fair offer, and a wiſe conſideration, which the Chamberlain ſhall acknowledge hereafter too late, and ſhall himſelf ſay the like to him that now doth thus admoniſh him. For the preſent he refuſed obſtinately, and (as it may be thought) fatally, perſiſting in his former reſolution. Whereof when I conſider what might have been the cauſe, I think it hath been not any diſtruſt to obtain ſome place in the guiding of affairs, but a doubting how to keep it: if by chance any thwarting or inſociableneſſe of Empire ſhould fall out between them at any time thereafter: in which caſe Angus could not but be the ſtronger by the power of England his allies, they having no partie ſo great to counterpoize them. For this cauſe he hath thought it fit to bring in the French to equall the ballance as principall, himſelf onely as acceſſarie, not doubting of a chief place both by his deſert in bringing him home, and the neceſſitie of his ſervice, which could never be lacking. On this rather than the other ground (as I take it) he hath laid down his courſe. But as well as he laid his grounds, hereupon he built both his ruine before three years were come about, and ſpeedie repentance ſoon after the arrivall of his Governour.

Howbeit upon this occaſion the Duke of Albanie (ſo called afterward)

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is ſent for, arrives, is made Earle of March, Duke of Albanie (which his father had been before, but was forfeited) and Governour untill the Kings ripe years. The Lord *Hume* comes to him, ſome ſay with a huge number (10000. horſe) to Dumbartan, whereupon the Governour ſaid, he was too great to be a ſubject. Others report, that he came very privatly with his houſhold onely (ſome 24. horſe in Kendall Green which was his Livery) and that the Duke ſlighted him with this ſentence, *minuit præſentia famam*; being a man of low ſtature, and carrying no appearance of much ſtuff to be in him by his out-ſide. However he was then welcomed, and what faire and good countenance he got then, it laſted not long. *John Hepburne* Prior of S. Andrews was his enemie on this occaſion. *Andrew Stuart* Archbiſhop of S. Andrews was ſlain at Flowdon. Three divers pretended to the place by divers meanes. *Gawin Douglas* Biſhop of Dunkel, uncle to the Earle of Angus, by the Qneens admiſſion, *Hepburne* by the election of the Chapter, *Andrew Foreman* by the Popes gift. This *Foreman* was Abbat of Dumfermling, and Aberbrothe, Legat from the Pope, and had gotten this to maintain his grandour, or as a reward of his ſervice. The queſtion was hard to decide. All pretended right and reaſon. *Gawin Douglas* had gotten poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and had put ſervants into it; but the Priour was ſtronger about the town, and findes a mean to thruſt them out. *Foreman* cannot get his Bulls proclaimed: none durſt take it in hand ſo long as *Hume* and *Hepburne* agreed. He workes wiſely, having been born under the Lord *Hume*, he flees to him as his Patron, agrees with him as a friend, and gives the Abbacie of Coldinghame to his youngeſt brother *David*. He doth his turne, proclaimeth his Bull, but had no power in Fife to proſecute it any further. Yet it cauſeth *Hepburne* to come to a point, to take compoſition, the Biſhoprick of Murray, and 3000. crownes by year, and a diſcharge for all his by-paſt intromiſſions. So he agrees with *Foreman*, but diſ-agrees with the Lord *Hume*, and deſpites him with ſuch malice, becauſe of that morſell pulled out of his jawes, that he ceaſed not to work him what miſchief he could. He did ſo poſſeſſe the Governour with jealouſie of the Lord *Humes* and Angus greatneſſe, and aſpiring, that he thought there was no way to ſecure himſelf, and his Government, but by ridding the Countrey of them both. Wherefore the Lord *Hume* repairing to him, and finding by his neglectfull carriage, and cold entertainment, the little good-will he bare him, repenting too late his forwardneſſe in his election, and calling to minde what Angus had foretold him, though he had contemned his counſell, yet now ſeeing no other remedie, went to him, and the Queen his wife, condemning his fact, and regrating the preſent eſtate of the King and Countrey, and adviſed them to flie into England with the young King. When the Governour had notice of this conſultation, he uſed ſuch diligence and expedition, that coming to Stirlin unlooked for, he ſurprized the Queen; and removing her, and the *Douglaſſes* from about the King, he gave the keeping of him to the Lord *John Erſkin*, and other three Noblemen. Hereupon the Queen and Angus, as alſo the Lord *Hume*, and his brother *William*, with-drew themſelves into England, and the Governour upon their departure, ſent Ambaſſadours to

The Duke of Albanie made Governour.

Prior *Hepburn* undermines the Lord *Hume*.

King *Henry* to clear himſelf, that he had done nothing why they ſhould be ſo afraid of him, or leave their Countrey. He dealt alſo privately with themſelves by their friends, promiſing and proteſting to give them all content and ſatisfaction, in ſuch wayes, that they beleeving and deſiring to live at home, returned all of them, ſave onely the Queen, who being then near the time of her childe-birth, remained at Harbottle in Northumberland, where ſhe was brought to bed of Lady *Margaret Douglas*. Then aſſoon as ſhe was able to endure travell, ſhe went to London, where ſhe was kindly welcomed, and lovingly entertained by her brother King *Henry*, and her ſiſter *Mary* Queen of France, and afterward Dutcheſſe of Suffolk. But the Governours head being once filled with ſuſpitions, and new cauſes of diſtruſt ariſing dayly, could not be quieted by their return, nor the Queens abſence, neither could he think himſelf bound by promiſes. *Gawin Douglas* Biſhop of Dunkel, uncle to Angus, was committed to priſon: *John* Lord *Drummond* his Grandfather, or mothers brother, & *David Panetier* Secretarie to the late King, were likewiſe laid faſt. *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, and his brother *William*, were executed, their goods confiſcat, their lands forfeited, and their heads affixed on the Citie Gate of Edinburgh, called the Nether-Bow. Being thus rid of the Chamberlain, he did much fear the Earle of Angus, whom he left to governe in his abſence (for he went into France) but joyned with him the Earles of Arran, Argyle, Huntley, the Archbiſhop of S. Andrews, and Glaſgow, together with a Frenchman, named *Antonius Darſius*, commonly known by the title of *Sieur de la Beaute*. To this *La Beaute* he allotted Dumbar, the Shires of Lowthian, and the Merſe, where the Chamberlaines lands and friends were. This *Darſius* was ſlain by Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburn, occaſionally, in the year 1517. the 18. of September. For this Sir *David* was out-lawed, his houſe ſeized, and Sir *George Douglas* (Angus brother) ſuſpected to be acceſſarie, impriſoned in Garvet Caſtle, they not daring to meddle with the Earl himſelf, who was no leſſe ſuſpected to have been conſcious of it (though falſely) becauſe Sir *David* had married their ſiſter *Aliſon*.

Lady *Margaret Douglas* born at Harbottle in England.

Ant. Darſius or *De la Beaute* ſlain 1517.

Not long after this, there fell out an occaſion of great troubles betwixt the Earle of Angus, and the Earle of Arrane. There was ſome queſtion of the Bailiff-ſhip and right of keeping Courts in Jedward Forreſt, the Earle of Angus his Lands, but in which *Andrew Ker* of Farnihaſte challenged a right and priviledge of doing juſtice, and puniſhing male-factors as hereditarie Bailiff. In this controverſie Arrane ſided with Farnihaſte, not for any particular relation, or becauſe he thought his right was good, but onely in oppoſition to Angus, whom he hated inwardly. What the cauſe of his hatred was, we hear not, and they had been good friends before. Arrans baſe ſonne *James Hamilton*, as he was on his way towards Farnihaſte to aſſiſt him, *John Summervale* of Camnethen ſet upon him, killed five or ſix of his company, took thirty men and horſes, and purſued himſelf ſo near, that he was forced to turne in to Hume Caſtle for his ſafetie. This fact was imputed to Angus, on whom *Summervale* did for the moſt part depend, men thinking that it was done by his direction. But it is well known that beſides this quarrell of the Earles, that man had ever a parti-

Diſſention betwixt Arran and Angus.

particular feude with the *Hamiltons*. But if the Earle had been guiltie of this wrong and offence done unto them, it is not likely that he would have been ſo ſlightly accompanied at Edinburgh, and have ſtayed their coming thither with ſo ſmall forces, if he had ſuſpected any ill meaning from them, or known any ſuch deſerving in himſelf. Beſides they having ſo juſt cauſe, they might have complained and gotten redreſſe and ſatisfaction of the Earle by order of law, if they could have made it appear that he had any hand in it, and not have taken this violent courſe. Wherefore in all likelihood this was but a colour and pretext. Hereupon (however) in the year 1520. the 27. of April, a convention being appointed at Edinburgh where *Archbald Douglas* of Kilſpindie (the Earle of Angus his uncle, or Conſin-German rather) was Proveſt: the *Hamiltons* refuſed to come thither, alledging that they could not think themſelves aſſured of their lives in the Town, where he was Proveſt. *Archbald* to cut off their excuſe, and that he might not hinder publick buſineſſe, laid down his office voluntarily, and in his room was choſen *Robert Logane* a Burgeſſe of Edinburgh. Then they came to the City, and finding the Earle of Angus there but meanly attended, and weakly guarded, his friends not being yet conveened, they aſſembled together with the chief Noblemen of the Weſt in Archbiſhop *Betons* houſe in the Black-Frier-Winde (this *Beton* was alſo Chancellour) and there reſolve by all means to apprehend Angus; alledging that his power was ſo great, that nothing could be diſcerned freely, ſo long as he was free. The cauſe was plauſible, their malice great, and the occaſion fair, conſidering his ſingleneſſe, and their multitude.

1520. Skirmiſh in Edinburgh betwixt them.

So ſoon as Angus heard of their conſultation, he ſent to them his uncle the Biſhop of Dunkell, deſiring that if they had any grievance, or juſt quarrell againſt him, they would complain thereof to the convention, to whoſe cenſure he would ſubmit himſelf, and make ſuch ſatisfaction as it ſhould pleaſe them to ordain. And to this purpoſe Dunkell ſpake to Glaſgow the Chancellour, to move the reſt to accept of this offer, and that he would not be an inſtrument of civill diſſention. But he had fair perſwading of him: no man was deeper in it than he, who was ring-leader to the reſt, and very Epiſcopally had put on armour to be preſent at it, and to aſſiſt them himſelf in perſon: yet he ſought to excuſe himſelf, and laid all the blame upon the Earle of Arran, who, ſaid he, is highly offended with the Earle of Angus for many occaſions, but chiefly for the affront done to his ſon by *Sommervale*, and for the ſlaughter of *De la Beaute* committed by his brother-in-law Sir *David Hume*, not without his knowledge, conſent, and councell. For this cauſe Arran will needs have him to go to priſon. There is no remedie, ſayes Glaſgow, upon my conſcience I cannot help it. And in the heat of his aſſeveration he beat his breaſt with his hand, where his conſcience lay well covered with a jack of Maile, or a Secret hid under his Seton or Caſſock. And now being knocked upon, it anſwered with a ratling noiſe, which the plates of iron did yeeld, bearing witneſſe againſt him how little he cared for that inward witneſſe, which be-lyed him when he proteſted he was deſirous to pacifie matters, being indeed thus preparing for warre. Neither did

Dunkell ſtick to tell him ſo, ſaying, *How now my Lord, me thinks your conſcience clatters. We are Prieſts, it is not lawfull for us to put on armour, or bear Arms, it makes us irregular.* And ſo leaving him, he returned to his Nephew, and told him ſhortly that there was no poſſibility of compoſing matters, and as little of eſcaping or fleeing, for the City Gates were ſhut, and his enemies were aſſembling. *For me I am a Churchman, I will go to my Chamber and pray for you.* And ſo he did, but he ſent his ſervants with the Earle to aide him. Some aſcribe this to want of ſtrength, and to his debilitie and old age; but it was indeed, becauſe he held it not lawfull, as a thing forbidden in the Canon-law, and which he had reproached to Biſhop *Beton*. For in the year 1513. his eldeſt brother *George* ſlain at Flowdon was but 44. and *Gawin* the fourth brother not above 38. or 39. ſo that now in the year 1520. he hath not been more than 46. which is no age of Decrepitneſſe. Dunkell being gone to his devotion, Angus without further conſultation reſolves rather to die honourably defending himſelf againſt his enemies, than to be hailed (he and his friends) forth to the Scaffold, and lay their necks upon the block to be be-headed by their proud and inſulting enemies. So he conveens his ſmall troup, tels them what his minde was, and exhorts them to ſtand to it manfully. They all commended his reſolution, and ſhewed themſelves moſt willing to hazzard their lives for his ſafety. Wherefore that they might not be ſurprized in their Chambers, they came forth, and went down the High-Street (for the Earle did lodge at the Straight-Bow) being in all but 80. or 100. at moſt; but they were all of them choice men, valarous, and hardie. Angus was well beloved in the Town, ſo that when he came by the Shops where the Pikes and Speares are made, they had libertie to furniſh themſelves with long Weapons, and many alſo were reached to them by the Citizens out at the Windows, and from the Stairs; which was no ſmall advantage, their enemies having no long Weapon at all. The Chief Street is ſo ſeated that the Gates being ſhut there is no entrie to it, but by ſome few Lanes that reach from the Cow-gate; in one of which called the Black-frier-Winde the adverſe party had conveened. Now that they might not iſſue forth upon him at divers places, and ſo oppreſſe him with their multitude, Angus had cauſed his men to cloſe up and barre the entrances of the Lanes with Coale-horſes, and Ale-barrels, Carts, and ſuch things as would beſt ſerve for that purpoſe, and could be gotten on a ſudden. He placed alſo ſome few men at every Lanes head to defend the Barricadoes; but he himſelf with the choyceſt and moſt reſolute of his company, planted themſelves directly over againſt the Black-frier-Winde, which he had left open for them, and as they thronged out, he aſſailed them with Pikes and long Weapons. There having ſlain many of the formeſt that came out, and ſcattered them all, he drave the reſt down the Lane, which by the narrowneſſe thereof, made their number unprofitable, as had been rightly fore-ſeen by Angus, who knew that a few would be able to make good a ſtraight paſſage againſt many, their multitude availing nothing, ſcarce one of ten having room to fight at once, and come to ſtrokes together. The Earle of Arran and his ſonne *James*

Hamilton

Hamilton (having been apparantly of that number that iſſued forth at the Lanes head at firſt, or elſe he could not have gone that way) croſſing the High-Street, fled down a Lane on the Northſide of the City, and finding a Coale-horſe ſtanding in their way, they threw off his loading, and rode through the North-logh at a foord where there is none known now, and ſo eſcaped eaſily, no man purſuing them that way. The reſt were ſcattered on the other ſide of the Town, of which ſome fled to the Gray-Friers Monaſterie for ſanctuary, the Chancellour fled on foot to Lithgow. In the mean time, while they were at this bickering within the City with great tumult, *William Douglas* Priour of Coldingham (Angus his brother) and Sir *David Hume* (his brother in law) came to the City Gates with 800. horſe which they had brought out of the Merſe; and finding them ſhut, broke open the wicket with Smiths hammers, and ſo entred. But before they could get in, the fray was ended. Angus ſtrengthened and emboldened with this ſupply, becauſe the City was ſtill full of his enemies, cauſed it to be proclaimed with ſound of Trumpet at the Market-Croſſe, that none ſhould be ſeen abroad with Arms but he and his, under pain of death. This enforced them of his adverſe party to crave leave to depart, which was granted unto them. Such was his moderation towards thoſe who had plotted his ruine and overthrow. He had fought for his life and honour, not out of malice, or hatred; and now that theſe were out of danger he lets his enemies go away ſafe and ſound. And ſo there departed of them in one company 800. horſe well laughed at, and derided of the beholders, to ſee ſo many beaten and chaſed by ſo few. Beſides theſe there were many others that had fled before, and divers ſtayed ſtill in the City lurking. This conflict fell out in the year 1520. the laſt of April, in which there were 70. 1520.
ſlaine, and two of note; *Patrick Hamilton* brother to Arran, and the Maſter of Montgomerie. The Chancellour (as we have ſaid) fled diſguiſed to Stirlin to the Queen. After this, Sir *David Hume* returning to the Merſe, and being thus ſtrengthened by the authority and countenance of Angus, found means to take his own houſe of Wedderburne from thoſe that had kept it ſince the killing of *De la Beaute*. He took alſo the Caſtle of Hume at the ſame time which had been ſeized on by the Governour, and was kept by men that he had put into it. And thus was the Earle of Angus partie ſettled and ſtrengthened in the Merſe. Alſo in Lowthian he had no oppoſition or contrary, neither in Tividale, and ſuch other parts of the borders. The *Hamiltons* were the onely great men that had any equality to match him, and were now incenſed by their loſſe at Edinburgh. Some of his friends lay near unto them, *Robert* Lord *Boyde* was his depender, and ſpeciall friend. He was alſo near to him in bloud, for Angus his Grand-mother (*Elizabeth Boyde*) was ſiſter to *Thomas Boyde*, Grand-father to this *Robert*. The Lord *Boyde* was nearer to Arran; for King *James* the third his ſiſter was mother to Arran, and Grand-mother to *Boyde*, as is probable. But *Boyde* followed Angus more than him. His houſe of Kilmarnock in Cunninghame, lay neareſt to their Forces in Cliddiſdale, and fartheſt from the Earle of Angus his power and friendſhip. Therefore they beſiege it, but without ſucceſſe, it being ſo well defended,

fended, that they roſe and went away without getting of it.

1521. The next year (1521. the 18. of July) Angus came to Edinburgh, accompanied with his friends, and eſpecially the *Humes* that were baniſhed, as our writers deſigne them. By which he means ratheſt (as I think) *George* now Lord *Hume* (for he is Lord ever after this) and Sir *David* of Wedderburne with his brothers, who may be ſaid to have been baniſhed, in regard he was denounced Rebell, and out-lawed: but otherwiſe he never went out of the Countrey, but dwelt ever ſtill in ſome part of the Merſe. There Angus (as *Buchanan* ſayes) but (as our folks ſay) *George* Lord *Hume* and Wedderburne, by Angus his connivence, took down the heads of the late Chamberlain, and his brother *William*, and interred them ſolemnly in the Gray-friers. He paſſed from thence to Stirlin, hoping to have found the Chancellour *Beton* there, but he was fled. From thence he returned to Edinburgh.

About the 28. of October, the Governour returned out of France. Angus his power ſeemed to him to be too great. He determines to diminiſh it. For which purpoſe he commands himſelf to go into France, cauſeth his uncle the Biſhop of Dunkell to be ſent for to Rome, as wee have ſaid above. Neither did Angus return out of France, untill the Government was taken from the Duke, who from this time forward doth nothing of importance. For the next year 1522. he went with an Army to Solway to have invaded England; But his Army loved him not; all went unwillingly with him, and againſt the hair. The Earle of Huntly being come within three miles of England, openly refuſed to go any further; ſo that he was forced to move *Dacres* and *Muſgrave* (Engliſh-men) under hand to ſue for peace, that he might have ſome ſhew of an honourable cauſe for his retreat. Wherefore the 10. of October the ſame year, away he goeth again to France having ſtayed one full year in Scotland, and returnes into Scotland the next year 1523. the 22. of September. He brought then with him 3000. foot, and 100. men of arms. Then aſſembling an Army of Scots (the 20. of October) thinking to do great matters with his French aid, but having paſſed Tweed at the Bridge of Melroſſe, he was ſerved juſt as he had been the year before; they refuſed ſtill to enter into England. Thereupon he came back again to the other ſide of the River, and coming along by the bank thereof on Scottiſh ground, he began to batter from thence the Caſtle of Warke ſtanding on the other ſide of the River on Engliſh ground. And having made a breach cauſed his French-men to give the aſſault, who entred the breach, but they were repulſed again, and beaten out. So he left the ſiege, and retired to Lawder in the night. In the ſpring he goeth again into France promiſing to return before September, and taking a promiſe of the Nobilitie that they ſhould not tranſport the King from Stirlin before his return. This their promiſe was keeped with the like fidelity as he had kept his promiſe made to the Chamberlain. For the King was brought to the Abbey of Halyroodhouſe by the Queen his mother; The Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and many others: And from thence with all ſolemnitie of Parliament, to the Parliament houſe, where he did ſolemnly abrogate the Governours authority: by which

Angus goeth into France.

1522.

1523.

Albanies government abrogated.

which mean he ſaved him a labour of returning into Scotland again. He needed not, neither did he return any more to it, nor paſſe the Seas for that errand. He had governed, or rather miſ-governed the ſpace of nine years. He ſpent in his journeyes, and ſtaying in France, five whole years, or ſix of theſe nine, being abſent from the countrey, and leaving it a prey to forreiners, and civill ambition and diſſention, and when he was at home, he abuſed and oppreſſed the Nobilitie by ſlaughter or baniſhment.

But though he returned no more, yet others returned for him, thoſe whom he had cauſed go to France by his authoritie, do now return without his licence, yea without licence or recalling of any other, for ought we read. The Earle of Angus returnes after he had been in France almoſt three years. He returned through England, having firſt ſent *Simon Panango*, and obtained licence of K. *Henry*, by whom he was received lovingly, and diſmiſſed liberally. For K. *Henry* deſired greatly the diminiſhing of the Governours authoritie, & was glad of the alterations in Scotland, & therefore did make the more of Angus, becauſe he knew that he was oppoſite to the Duke. At his returne he found the eſtate of the Countrey in this caſe. We told before, how in the year 1518. the Queen his wife, and he, had with-drawn themſelves into England, and ſtayed at Harbottle, where ſhe bare her daughter Lady *Margaret Douglas*: how her husband having returned into Scotland, ſhe (after her deliverie) went to the Court of England to viſit her brother and her ſiſter, with whom ſhe ſtayed for the ſpace of a whole year. In which time the Earle her husband becomes acquainted with a daughter of Traquair, by whom he had a daughter called *Jeane Douglas*, married afterward to *Patrick* Lord Ruthven. When the Queen came home again, he meets her at Berwick, and brought her to Edinburgh. She having gotten notice of this wrong he had done her, never lived with him in that love they had done before. And now having ſet her affection upon a younger brother of the Lord Ochletrees, whom ſhe intended to create Lord Methven, ſhe was become altogether his enemie: And that ſo obſtinately, that howbeit her brother K. *Henry* wrote to her, that for her own honour, for the peace and quietneſſe of the countrey, and for the advantage of his affaires, ſhe would be reconciled to him; yet ſhe not onely would not yeeld to it, but even ſued for a divorcement before the Pope, at the Court of Rome, alledging that Angus had been affianced, betrothed, or hand-faſted to that Gentlewoman who bare the childe to him, before he had married her, and ſo by reaſon of that pre-contract, could not be her lawfull husband. She prevailed not in her ſute, for her alledgance could not be proved, being alſo untrue: but ſhe increaſed in ſpight and hatred againſt him, and was ſet (by all the means ſhe could) to overthrow him. This drew Arran to be of her Faction; both of them diſliking that Angus ſhould be in the firſt place, and ſuſpecting he would not be contented with the ſecond, bent their Forces to contend againſt him as for dominion and empiring. On the other ſide there were the Earle of Lennox, and Argyle, who had aſſiſted the Queen and Arran, and helped them to abrogate the Duke of Albanies authority, and to eſtabliſh the King himſelf in the Government of the Kingdome.

The Earle of Angus returns out of France.

But

The Triumvirate of Angus, Argyle, and Lennox.

But now finding that the Queen and Arran took all the guiding of the King and Countrey into their own hands onely, and did not admit them to be any way ſharers with them therein, but wholly excluded them from all copartnerſhip, they were glad of Angus his returne: for they knew that by his power they ſhould be able either to break the authoritie of the Queen and Arran, or to diminiſh it in ſome meaſure. Neither were they deceived in their expectation: for having conveened the greater part of the Nobilitie, Angus, Lennox, and Argyle, are choſen Keepers and Governours of the King and Countrey. Hereupon they paſſe forth with great celeritie, accompanied with 2000. horſe, and move Archbiſhop *Beton*, Chancellour, to conſent to the election, who did accordingly, not daring to refuſe. Then to Stirlin they go, and there depoſe all that bare any publick Office, whom they ſuſpected, and placed in their rooms ſuch as were ſure to their ſide. From thence they came to Edinburgh, and made there entrie without violence. The Queen and Arran remained in the Caſtle with the King, confident in the ſtrength of the place, and the Kings (though naked, and unarmed) authoritie: but there being but a ſmall trench caſt up about the Caſtle, they yeelded themſelves, and it, becauſe they were no wayes provided for enduring a ſiege. The King onely was retained, and the reſt diſmiſſed. The order of governing agreed upon amongſt theſe three Earles, was, that they ſhould rule by turnes, each of them his foure moneths ſucceſſively. The firſt place was Anguſes, either by lot, or by conſent. During the time of his preſiding, the Abbacie of Holy-rood-houſe fell vacant, the Abbot thereof *George Creichton* being advanced to be Biſhop of Dunkell. Angus conferres this Abbacie on his brother *William*, Prior of Coldinghame, either by himſelf and his own power, or by moving the King to conferre it upon him, and that without the conſent of the other two, which he thought he needed not, ſeeing he was abſolute Governour for his time. The other two thought themſelves wronged by this balking, and thought that howſoever he was for thoſe moneths to attend the King alone, yet that he ought not to governe, or diſpoſe of any thing of moment by himſelf alone. So they take offence at it, and Argyle retires, and with-drawes himſelf home into Argyle. Lennox would gladly have done the like, but the King detained him for the love he bare him, yet did he utter his diſcontentedneſſe many wayes. Thus is the Trium-virate diſſolved: for which diſſolution Angus is blamed, as having encroached upon the others, and drawing all to himſelf alone. But he ſeemes to be unjuſtly blamed, if this were the time of his Government (as it ſhould appeare it was) and not of attendance onely; for they alſo attended the King at that ſame time. The deciſion of this queſtion depends upon the words of the Act or Contract of their agreement in point of governing, which we have not preciſe. Yet they ſeem to have been too haſtie, in that they did not expect their turne, during the time of which ſome ſuch thing, or perhaps ſome better thing might have fallen in their donation, wherein if he had impeded, or hindered them, then they might have had juſt and undeniable cauſe to complain of him. Now they abandon their charge, and thereby give him occaſion to adminiſter all alone, which is imputed to

The Triumvirate diſſolved.

his ambition. And ſo he takes all upon him, making ſmall reckoning of their offence, which he eſteemed to be unjuſtly taken; and leaning to the greatneſſe of his own power, which was ſuch as we have ſaid; and was now alſo increaſed by having the Earl of Huntly for his ward and pupill, he being left Tutour by his Grandfather Earle *Alexander Gordon*, and having gotten the Wardſhip from the King; ſo that now he had the friends and dependers of the houſe of Huntly to be his.

The ſlaughter of *Patrick*, Archdeacon of Dumblane.

In this mean time fell out the ſlaughter of *Patrick Blackader* Archdeacon of Dumblane, Couſin Germane to *Robert Blackader*, ſometime Priour of Coldingham, and brother Germane to *Robert Blackader* late of Blackader. *Robert* the Priour of Coldingham had been ſlain before by Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, and his brother *John Hume* being in his company, is thought to have given him the deadly ſtroake. This Sir *David* married *Aliſon Douglas* ſiſter to the Earle of Angus, and relict of *Robert Blackader* of Blackader. She had two onely daughters, married to two of Sir *Davids* brothers; the eldeſt to this *John Hume*, and the younger to *Robert Hume*; who claimed, and poſſeſt the Lands of Blackader in the right of their wives, who were heirs of Line. Hence aroſe deadly feude betwixt them, and the name of Blackader, who challenged to be heirs by entailment of the Lands to the heirs male. Wherefore they had laid wait for *John* divers times to have ſlain him: eſpecially at one time he being in a Taverne in Edinburgh, and his men being all abroad, or in another room with a Gentleman or two of his acquaintance, and companions, a Prieſt of Arch-deacon *Blackaders* came into the room where he was. *John*, not knowing who he was, deſired him to drink with him out of courteſie, but he refuſed, and went forth preſently. When he was gone, one of the houſe ſayes to *John*, if ye had known who that man was, ye would not have offered him any wine, for it was ſuch an one. *If I had known* (*ſayes* John) *that it had been he, I ſhould have made him drink his bellie full whether he would or not.* As they were thus talking, a ſervant of the houſe going to the door, eſpies the Arch-deacon coming with a great company of men, and came running to *John* and told him of it, who leaping to the door juſt as they were ready to enter, made good the door, and drave them back, ſo that with much ado, he and thoſe that were with him found means to ſhut it. This attempt ſo incenſed him, that having underſtood of the Arch-deacons coming to Edinburgh at this time, he lay in wait for him by the way, and ſlew him. This ſlaughter was imputed to the Earle of Angus by his enemies; at leaſt ſome aſperſion thereof was rubbed upon him, becauſe (as they alledged) Angus had ſent for the Arch-deacon, and he was come upon his ſending for, and (as ſome ſaid) upon an appointment of agreeance to be made betwixt *John Hume* and him. But *John* ever in all diſcourſe, or conference of that buſineſſe denied that ever there was any appointment, or overture of agreement, or that he ever knew of Angus his ſending for him. That which made it the rather beleeved to be done by Angus conſent, or privity was, becauſe when in the tumult raiſed upon the ſlaughter, divers went out to have apprehended *John*, Sir *George Douglas* (the Earls brother) went out alſo to have taken him at the Earls command, who was

highly offended that he ſhould have committed this inſolencie in his government; whom when the others ſaw, they ſuſpected that he being *Johns* wives uncle, and ſeeing many *Douglaſſes* and *Humes* in his company (who were friends and allied with *John*) was come out, not to apprehend but to defend and aſſiſt him. Wherefore they returned from purſuing of him. Sir *George* alſo returned ſhortly after without finding him; neither was there any ſearch made for him after that: Angus (beſides that he was uncle to *Johns* wife) having almoſt continuall uſe of ſerviceable and active men, being loath to offend his brother Sir *David*, and his other friends in the Merſe. And now were things in working, and a faction making againſt Angus. Arch-biſhop *Beton*, who had joyned with him rather out of fear, than good-will, had quickly fallen off from them: And Angus, to be revenged of him, had brought the King to his lodging in Edinburgh, and intrometted and ſeized on his houſhold ſtuffe for his own uſe. Argyle and Lennox had ſeparated from him: The Queen and Arran were his profeſſed enemies. Theſe had their friends about the King. Lennox was ever with him, and moſt entire of any. His domeſtick ſervants were corrupted by the Queen, who therefore all ſought by all means to alienate the Kings minde from the *Douglaſſes*, detracting and calumniating their actions, ſome juſtly, many of them unjuſtly, aggravating their errours, miſ-interpreting things doubtfull, concealing the good which they did, and traducing all. Thus did the King (though to retain his favour they had uſed him with all indulgence, and had looſed the rains to all delights and pleaſures, even more than was fit) weary of their government. Yet were they ſo incircumſpect, or careleſſe, that they neglected to remove his ſuſpected ſervants, and to place their own aſſured friends about him; either not doubting them that were with him, or being too confident in their own ſtrength and power, ſo that by little and little he became altogether alienate: at laſt he opened his minde to ſuch as he truſted, and began to conferre with them of the way and means how to be ſet free from that bondage, as he was taught to call it. Above all he did moſt eſpecially conferre with the Earle of Lennox. While they are in plotting of theſe devices, Angus (either not knowing, or not caring what they were doing) was much troubled in ſettling and ordering the borders, and the out-laws there. He had made many rodes thither, but effected nothing or litle. Now he takes reſolution (for the better furtherance) to go into Tividale, and (the more to terrifie the malefactours, and to encourage others againſt them) to take the King with him. Being come to Jedbrough, he moves the King to command the chief of the Clannes to bring in ſuch men as were given up by name in writing to him. It was obeyed; and by that mean many were execute and put to death, many pardoned in hope of amendment, and that of the principall malefactours. While all are glad hereof, and their mindes looſed to ſome peace of contentment, the occaſion ſeemed fair, and as it had been fallen from Heaven, to them who were enemies to the *Douglaſſes*, of taking the King out of their hands and cuſtodie.

A faction againſt Angus.

The mean is deviſed thus, that Balcleugh (who dwelt within a little

of

of Jedbrough) ſhould invite the King to his houſe, and retain him there (being not unwilling) till more were come and conveened. But that plot failed by chance, or by diſcovery, the King being brought back to Melroſſe. Notwithſtanding hereof, Balcleugh reſolving to proſecute, what he intended, would aſſay to do by force what he had failed in by craft. He aſſembled about 1000. horſe of his friends and other borderers accuſtomed to theft. He caſt himſelf to be in the Kings way, as he was to paſſe into Lowthian at the Bridge of Melroſſe upon Tweed. The Earle of Angus ſends to him, and asks his meaning, & wils him to retire. He anſwered, he was come to ſhow himſelf, and his friends to the King his Maſter, as other border-men did. Then a Herauld was ſent to him, commanding him to with-draw himſelf out of the way, in the Kings name; but his anſwer was, that he knew the Kings minde as well as he, and would not go away till he ſaw him. The Earle of Angus had not ſo many in number about him as Balcleugh, yet thoſe he had being his choyce Gentlemen, together with the Chiefs of the names of *Hume*, and *Ker*, *George* Lord Hume, and *Andrew Ker* of Ceſford, all valiant and active men, he reſolved to hazzard battell. And becauſe they were all come out on horſe-back, he gave order that they ſhould alight, and fight on foot. The Lord Hume anſwered, he would do ſo if the King would command him to do it. We hear not what anſwer was made, or that the King commanded, but he alighted, and took part very honeſtly with the reſt. Balcleugh alſo alighted, but he had no ſooner joyned battell, than a great number of his men (better accuſtomed to ſteal then to fight) fled away and left him. He himſelf, and his friends, ſtood to it manfully, and continued the fight, which was for a ſpace very fierce and hard; as being in the preſence of the King, who was a beholder, and was to be the reward of the victor. At laſt *Walter Scot* of Balcleugh, being hurt, his whole company turned their backs, there being fourſcore of them ſlain, and having firſt ſlain *Andrew Ker* of Ceſford. Balcleugh eſcaped himſelf out of the Field. Hereupon began deadly feude betwixt the *Kers* and *Scots*; or was renued and continued divers years after, and divers murthers and ſlaughters followed upon it, amongſt which was the ſlaughter of Sir *Walter Scot* himſelf in Edinburgh. There my Lord *Fleming* alſo alighted with Angus, and took part in the conflict; but the Earle of Lennox ſate ſtill on his horſe by the King, as an indifferent ſpectatour, and looker on. He being before a ſuſpected, but now (by this) a declared enemie to the *Douglaſſes* with-drew himſelf from Court. This fell out about the 18. of July 1526.

Conflict betwixt Angus and Balcleuch at the bridge of Melroſſe. 1526.

After this attempt, Angus perceiving ſo many evil-affected toward him, entred into parleying with the Earle of Arran; and having compoſed their old differences, received him to be his partner, and fellow-governour in ruling the Countrey. This did the more incenſe Lennox againſt them both, and his anger made them both the more watchfull and carefull to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt him. The ground of their diſſention was this; Lennox was Arrans ſiſters ſonne (as hath been ſaid) and failing heirs of his own body, was to be his heir, and to ſucceed as well to the Earldome of Arran, as to his right and title to the Kingdome

Arran joynes with Angus, and Lennox makes up a faction againſt them.

of Scotland, after the King and his heires, and there being great appearance of it, Lennox had conceived great hope that he ſhould be his heir, becauſe his uncle Arran had been long married to the Chamberlan *Hume* his ſiſter, and had no children by her. She alſo her ſelf (whether becauſe ſhe was of good age, or becauſe ſhe had been ſo long barren) had loſt all hope to conceive, whereupon her husband (either by her advice, or not without her conſent, as is thought) divorceth from her, pretending he had before he married her, lien with a kinſwoman of hers, that was ſo near in bloud, as made his marriage with her inceſtuous, and ſo could not be brooked by him with a good conſcience. So being divorced, he marries one *Beton*, daughter to Creigh in Fyfe, who was brother to *Beton* Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes. This was a great ſtop in the Earle of Lennox his hopes, chiefly concerning the Earledome of Arran, for as touching the Crown, the report went, that the King would entaile that to him, out of his own favour. Neither was his hope of Arran quite given over, if the divorcement could afterward be quarrelled either in ſubſtance, or formality, which Lawyers might readily do in a ſubject of this nature, which is ſo full of queſtions and doubts. Theſe things wrought jealouſie, that contrariety, and alienation of mindes, which ſoone begat hoſtility and hatred. The diverſity of faction increaſed it, and it bred and increaſed the faction. The King held firm for Lennox, or was held firm by him, and ſent him many private Letters to many of the Nobilitie, with whom he dealt, and drew a great faction. In which being very confident, he aſſembled them at Stirlin, where was Arch-biſhop *Beton*, and divers other Biſhops. There he propounded in plain terms, the ſetting of the King at liberty; which they decreed and appointed a day for the performance and execution thereof. Angus ſo ſoon as he had found the winde thereof, and had begun to ſmell it out, had written to the Earle of Arran to come to Lithgow, where they might meet, and take ſuch order as was needfull. Arran was not ſlow, but gathered his Forces quickly, and kept the appointment. Lennox hearing of it, reſolved (though the day were not yet come that was appointed for his aſſociats to conveen at Stirlin) to adventure to ſet upon the *Hamiltons*, before Angus (who was at Edinburgh) ſhould joyne with them, with ſuch power as he had ready about him. The *Hamiltons* having notice of Lennox his intention, advertiſed the Earle of Angus thereof. Angus made ready, and addreſſed himſelf for the journey, but he got many letts and impediments. The King alſo did hinder and ſtay him not a little, for he lay long a bed, pretending indiſpoſition and ſickiſhneſſe, he marched ſlowly, and ſtayed often, and made many halts by the way, as being weary, and troubled with looſeneſſe of his belly, which moved him often to untruſſe, which he did onely for an excuſe of purpoſe to ſtay them. Angus perceiving it, and fearing leſt he ſhould come too late, left his brother Sir *George*, and ſome few with him to attend the King, made all the haſte he could to joyn with Arran in time. In this mean while, Lennox was come from Stirlin ſtraight to Linlithgow; and the *Hamiltons* iſſuing out of the Town, had manned the Bridge, which is a mile from the Town; and the reſt had put themſelves in order of battell along ſome ſmall hils

not

not farre from the Bridge. This forced Lennox to forſake the paſſing of the River by the Bridge, and to croſſe the water at a foord a little above, near to the Abbey of Machlein. He exhorted his men to aſſaile the *Hamiltons*, before Angus ſhould come to aſſiſt them: and they made haſte, but by too much haſte they broke their ranks, and having the little hils to climbe up, they were out of winde when they came to ſtrokes, and withall the cry aroſe that Angus did approach. So the *Hamiltons* aſſailing them with long Weapons from a ground of advantage, and the *Douglaſſes* alſo coming upon them on the other hand, Lennox his men were over-thrown, being ſore wounded. This was done ere Sir *George Douglas* could come to them, who deſired greatly to be with his brother, but was held back by the Kings pretences. It is conſtantly reported, that Sir *George* ſeeing the King linger thus, and knowing that he did it of purpoſe, ſaid to him in great fury, *It is as much as our lives are worthy, if our enemies get you from us to day; which, rather than they ſhall do, we will hold faſt one half of you, and let them pull away the other.* Theſe words the King never forgot, nor forgave; neither would ever hear of pardoning him; when he ſeemed not to be implacable towards the reſt. When the King could not ſtay Augus any longer from going to aide the *Hamiltons*, he ſent *Andrew Wood* of Largoe to have ſaved Lennox life by all means. But he was ſlain in the chace by the Earle of Arrans baſe ſon *James Hamilton*, who uſed the victory cruelly, and whom afterwards a Groom of Lennox wounded almoſt to death, having ſtabbed him in five or ſix places, in revenge of his Lords death. He was lamented of his uncle Arran with many tears; by Angus with ſorrow and ſadneſſe of heart; but above all, the King took his death ill, ſeeing his care to ſave him not to have ſucceeded. It is ſaid that when he was coming from Stirlin, Arran ſent to him, and prayed him not to come forward, but to ſtay, otherwiſe that he would force him to fight him, which he deſired not to do. To which Lennox anſwered; That he would not ſtay, but would go and ſee the King maugre him, and all that would take his part. But his purpoſe was directly to fight the *Hamiltons*, and not to go to the King; for he could not go to him, and leave them ſtrong behinde him, having the *Douglaſſes* before him. There were ſlain with him the Laird of Howſtoun, and the Maſter of Glencarne was ſore wounded, and hardly ſaved by the Earle of Angus, whoſe Couſin he was (brother and ſiſters children) as is ſaid above. After the Battell, thoſe that had born arms againſt the King were enquired after, and ſummoned to compeere in judgement; but ſome of them compounded for money, ſome became dependers to the houſe of Angus, ſome to the Earle of Arran. The obſtinate were purſued by Law, ſuch as the Earle of Caſſils, who alledged for himſelf, that he had the Kings Letter to ſhow for his warrant, to do what he had done; whereupon they deſiſted from further proceſſe againſt him; which I ſee no ground why they ſhould have done upon a private Letter; and as little reaſon is there why they could not charge him with the hurting or ſlaying of ſome man, ſeeing he was in the Battel. It ſhould ſeem they would not have been ſo malicious, & vehement againſt men, as our writers give out; or not ſo pregnant

Conflict at Linlithgow. Lennox and *Hamilton.*

Lennox ſlain.

in

in the inventing of crimes and quarrells,as men are now a dayes. Cassills was slain by the Sheriffe of Aire his friends (a little after) at the instigation of Arrans bastard,who had killed Lennox at Linlithgow,because he stood to justifie himself , and refused to become a depender of the house of Arran. His son betook himself to the protection of the *Douglasses*, came to *Archbald Douglas* of Kilspindie (who was then Thesaurer to the King) and was kindely received by him, and lovingly entreated, as one who for his noble birth and towardlinesse he intended to make his son-in-law. Now the Earle of Angus knowing well that Archbishop *Beton* was one of the chief stirrers up of the Earle of Lennox in this enterprise against him,remembring also how he had before stirred up Arran in the same manner,and his assisting of him at Edinburgh, and many other times,goes now to S. Andrews,takes the Castle by force, and pillageth it, but could not apprehend the Fox himself , who fled from hole to hole,and linked secretly amongst his friends. The Queen also (lest she should come into her husbands hands)kept her self hid and solitarie. These escaped their search.

After this he went to the Border , where he caused the principall of every Name to give pledges and hostages for their good behaviour , and keeping of good order. And first he went into Liddisdale with an army, where they came and yeelded themselves to him ; and the rest of the Borderers followed their example. And now had the Earle of Angus settled all things,in all appearance. His enemies were overcome on the East hand at Melrosse ; on the West at Lithgow ; the Earle of Lennox was dead,and his Faction dispersed and broken , the Queens authoritie dashed,and Bishop *Beton* beaten out of the cock-pit , both put to save themselves by hiding,all husht,and under hatches; no partie, no faction, no men to make head against him. An estate highly esteemed , greatly affected,and much sought for by men. But as in our bodies, fulnesse of health hath the own danger, so in our estates , too great prosperitie and ease are the fore-runners of change,which (as experience doth teach) is even then at the doores when there is least appearance otherwise. It fell out just so now while the *Douglasses* were thus secure of all danger,knowing too well, and leaning too much to their own strength , no partie to take the King from them,no place strong enough to keep him in when he were taken,nor to keep them out,no meanes to effect either the one or the other,and threupon grew slothfull in attending him, are often abroad about their businesse,he findes first the place, then the means to escape, then the party to maintaine it,and at last to over-throw them. The Queen (his mother) had the Castle of Stirlin as a part of her dowrie , which, while she (for fear of the *Douglasses*) hides her self , was left emptie and waste,and yet not seized on by them,who were neither so greedie,as men would have them to appear,by so much ; neither so circumspect as wise men should have been,to secure themselves, knowing the fitnesse of the place for such a purpose,the disposition of the owner,and the inclination of the King toward themselves. Now her fear being somewhat abated, and the coasts being clear of them, the Queens servants returned thither, and furnished it more for show , than sufficient resistance of any Force.

The beginning of a change with Angus, and his discourting.

The

The King making (wiſely) choice of it, knowing there was no other place ſo ſtrong, pretending the conveniencie of hunting (even to her) tranſacts ſecretly with her, and gives her Methwen in exchange for it, with other Lands about Methwen, no leſſe convenient and profitable for her. And ſo he had gotten his firſt point, a place of retreat. The meanes how to retire, were eaſie, which was the next. He was in Falkland, which was not far from Stirlin, in a countrey not ſubject to the *Douglaſſes*, nor near their forces and power. Angus, and Sir *George* his brother, are both abſent about affairs of the Countrey, and none of theirs we hear of, that were to attend the King, or few and negligent they were, as men are wont when they are ſecure. So he goeth from Falkland, to Stirlin in the night, with a few of his familiar ſervants, as ſecretly as he could. Having gained theſe two points of them by their errour, there reſted the third (without which theſe errours had been no errours to them, nor advantage to him, they had been of no effect nor importance) that was a partie to maintain the retreat. This is the main point, and their main errour, the cauſe, and the ground of the other two errours, that made them ſlothfull in ſeizing that houſe, in attending the King, becauſe they laid their ground, there could be no partie in Scotland. And *Buchanan* writes concerning the Earle Bothwels refuſall to be Lieutenant againſt them, that he ſaw them a little before to be ſuch, as all the reſt of Scotland were not able to match them. But they took not heed, nor conſidered, that then the King was with them. However his minde was againſt them, he was in their cuſtodie and power, and if any had been ill-affected to them, he could be no warrant to any Faction, having no aſſurance of his life, which was at their diſpoſing, and therefore he could not be a Head to any: Theſe conſiderations being of no ſmall conſequence, as the event now proves: for he is no ſooner gone from them, than he findes a partie againſt them, now that he could be a Head to a partie. He writes for many of the Nobilitie, they come all to him: others upon the firſt news of his retiring, came without ſtaying till they were ſent for. So that he quickly found himſelf free, and out of danger to be forced. Then by their advice he cauſeth make a Proclamation, that the *Douglaſſes* abſtaine from all adminiſtration, and handling of publick affairs, and that none of them, or their dependers, come within twelve miles of the King, under pain of death. This Edict being brought to them, as they were on their way toward Stirlin, many of their friends adviſed them to go forward, but the Earle himſelf, and Sir *George*, reſolved to obey, and perſwaded the reſt to do ſo. A dutifull and wiſe reſolution, if there was not ſufficient power with them to go forward, which others that counſelled them to go on, have thought ſufficient: And if withall they had reſolved to lay down their necks under the yoke, and beare whatſoever ſhould be laid upon them. But that they did not reſolve to do, as appeareth afterward, therefore they loſt here alſo the occaſion which might have procured them peace on better and more equall termes. They returned to Linlithgow to remain there till they ſhould hear farther from Court. This their retiring, and not going forward to Stirlin, is ſuch an over-ſight, as a man could ſcarce have looked for at ſo wiſe and reſolute heads and hands. But where ruine is determined,

The King eſcapes to Stirlin Caſtle.

Angus and the *Douglaſſes* baniſhed from the Court.

termined, wiſedome is taken from the wiſeſt, and hearts from the hardieſt. They will diſobey more out of time hereafter. The King makes uſe of that reſpit of time, aſſembleth more and more Forces, ſummonds a Parliament in September. They go to Edinburgh, and aſſemble alſo their friends more fully. Both parties aimed more at their own ſecurity, and to defend themſelves, than to offend the other, yet they give place again, and the ſecond of Auguſt leave the City, which day the King entred with diſplayed banner: from thence (by entreatie of friends) he ſent conditions to them, which if they would obey, there was ſome hope ſhowne of clemencie and gentle dealing towards them. Theſe were, That the Earle of Angus himſelf ſhould be confined beyond Spey, and his brother Sir *George*, together with his uncle *Archbald* of Kilſpindie, ſhould go to priſon to the Caſtle of Edinburgh. But they rejected the conditions, and thereupon were ſummoned to compeare at the Parliament in Edinburgh the ſixth of September. In the mean while their Offices are taken from them, the Chancellorſhip from the Earle, which we hear not when it was given to him. Archbiſhop *Beton* had been Chancellour in the Governours time, he had conſented to the Triumvirate, and afterward had left and forſaken them. Then hath it been taken from *Beton* (as far as we can conjecture) and given to Angus. It was now given to *Gawin Dumbar* the Kings Pedagogue in law matters, one who was no ill man, but who was thought to be a greater Schollar, than wiſe and prudent for government. The Theſaurers place was taken from Kilſpindie, and given to *Robert Carnecroſſe*, a man better knowne by his bags of money, than for his vertues. Thus driven to their laſt hopes, they labour to hinder the meeting of the Parliament, by taking of Edinburgh where it was to ſit, and from whence the King was returned to Stirlin. For this end they ſend *Archbald* of Kilſpindie, with ſome troops of horſe, to aſſay what he could do. A poor ſhift, if they had gotten it. But the King had prevented them, and ſent thither *Robert Maxwell*, who with his friends and dependers, aſſiſted by a great number of the Commons, excluded them, and with watch and ward kept the town till the Kings return. Hereupon Angus retired to his houſe at Tantallon. The day of the Parliament being come, they were cited, accuſed, condemned, and forfeited; the Earle, Sir *George*, Kilſpindie, and *Drummond* of Carnock. The main cauſe, and cleareſt evidence given in againſt them, was, that the King ſwore he was ever in fear of his life, ſo long as he vvas vvith them. It is ſtrange that his feare ſhould have ſeemed a ſufficient cauſe and evidence of forfeiture. Their abſence was no cauſe, for they were prohibited to come vvithin 12. miles of the K. & they had forgotten to releaſe them from that command & interdiction. Sir *John Ballandine*, who was then one of their dependers, & afterward Juſtice-Clerk, knew it well, and did freely and courageouſly proteſt in open audience, that nothing done there ſhould be hurtfull, or prejudicial to the Earle, becauſe he had juſt cauſe of fear, & ſo of his abſence, which ſhould be declared in the own time; which was both an honeſt part toward his patron, and a wiſe and ſtout part in it ſelf. Upon this proteſtation the forfeiture was reduced ſeventeen years after this. But for the preſent it goeth on, and an act was alſo made againſt ſuch as ſhould receive,

Parliament at Edinburgh the 6. of Sept. 1528.

The *Douglaſſes* are forfeited.

ceive them, that they ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment of forfeiture. Soon after this, *William*, Abbot of Halyroodhouſe (Angus his brother) died through ſickneſſe which he had contracted by grief and ſorrow for their eſtate. The reſt, ſeeing no appearance of pardon, make now for open violence. Who can think but it was as unfit now, as fit to have uſed it when they ſtayed from going to Stirlin? But then they have had hope of more favour, which hath marred all their courſe. Better late wiſe than never, time was driven, but they counted it not loſt, becauſe by their ſo long patience they had given proof of their goodwill; now they will ſhew their enemies what power they had then; and that it was willingneſſe, not weakneſſe, made them to forbeare doing more than they did. They burn Cowſland, and Cranſton, and daily rode about Edinburgh in view of the City, ſo that it was in a manner beſieged, the mean ſort ſuffering for the faults of the great ones. By this their proceeding, the theeves and broken men of the borders, and elſewhere (whom they had before reſtrained in their government) looſed from all fear of them, waxed bold to come out of their lurking places, and greatly moleſted the Countrey people about them. Many outrages were committed by many, in many places; oppreſſion, theft, murders, and robberies. All was imputed to the *Douglaſſes*, and called their doing by the Courtiers, thinking thereby to pleaſe the King well. There was a Ship (called the *Martin*) which being loaden with rich Ware, brake about the Skate-raw, and the common people came and took away the goods from the owners; this was laid alſo upon them, and their faction and followers, though nothing of it came to their uſe, unleſſe it were that ſome of their ſtragling horſemen, happening to be there at that time, might perhaps get their ſhare with others.

About this time the King reſolves to beſiege Tantallon Caſtle in Lowthian, ſome ſixteen miles from Edinburgh, and for that purpoſe cauſes bring Ordinance, Powder and Bullet from Dumbar, which was then kept by the ſervants of the late Governour the Duke of Albanie, as a portion of his patrimony. There was in Tantallon one *Simeon Penangoe*, with a competent number of men, well furniſhed and provided both of Victuals and Munition. The Earle himſelf remained at Billie in the Merſe, within his Baronie of Bonkle, not willing to ſhut himſelf up within the Wals of any ſtrength, having ever in his mouth this maxime (which he had received from his Predeceſſours) That it was better to hear the Lark ſing, than the Mouſe cheep. The Caſtle was well defended for certain dayes, none hurt within; many without were wounded with ſhot from the Caſtle, and ſome burnt and ſcalded with their own Powder, which took fire unawares, and divers killed. The beſiegers were troubled without by the horſemen, who aſſaulted them daily at their trenches, ſo that ſeeing no hope of carrying it, they raiſed their ſiege, and retired. In their retreat they were ſet upon in the Reare by Angus his horſemen; and one *David Falconer* (a principall Cannonier) ſlain with ſome other hired Musketiers, and two of the Cannons cloyed. This the K. took ſo highly (eſteeming it an affront and ſcorn put upon him) that he ſwore openly, that ſo long as he lived, the *Douglaſſes* ſhould never be re-

Tantallon beſieged.

ceived into favour. He was then young, and in his hot bloud, and ſaw not their worth, or at leaſt looked upon it through the proſpective of an angry paſſion; but before he died, he ſaw it more ſetledly and clearly, and that their ſervice was more ſteadable than all theirs that were now about him. Being come to Edinburgh, he adviſeth what was next to be done. It was thought fit to keep a company at Coldingham, which needed not to be very great, but onely to lye there conſtantly, to preſerve and protect the common people from their incurſions. But that was to *Bell the Cat*; a good deſigne, but difficult to proſecute. Billie (where Angus made his reſidence) is within five miles of Coldingham, and all the Countrey about did favour him; yea, ſome in that ſame Town it ſelf did bear him good will. The task to execute this concluſion, was laid upon the Earle Bothwell, who was the moſt powerfull man in Lowthian. He refuſes it abſolutely, as that which he was not able to perform. So is the King driven to think of another. The Earle of Arran was the greateſt in power and friendſhip; but he had ſlain the Earle of Lennox at Linlithgow, and was in ſocietie with the *Douglaſſes*. He doubts with what zeal or fidelity he would proſecute the buſineſſe. Argyle was in great account, for warrelike and politick wiſedome; But he lay farre off, in the North-Weſt parts of the Kingdome. There is no remedie, he muſt be the man; he is made Lieutenant, and (as our Writers ſay) by the Lord Humes aſſiſtance drove Angus out of Scotland. But all our ancient men, who lived in thoſe dayes, and were preſent at thoſe doings, and actors in them, ſay the contrary, That he did no good, but came to Dumbar, and ſome of his companies going before, were ſet upon at the Peeths, and three or fourſcore of them ſlain. Hereupon was made this rime in deriſion, beginning thus:

Argyles expedition againſt them fruſtrated.

The Earle of Argyle is bound to ride
From the border of Edge-bucklin bray,
And all his Habergeons him beſide,
Each man upon a ſonke of Stray,
They made their vow that they would ſlay, &c.

Neither did the Lord Hume take any particular dealing againſt him; neither did he leave Scotland, being compelled thereto by force (as our traditioners ſay) but upon the King of Englands deſire, who wiſhed him ſo farre to obey and yeeld to his Prince. He alſo cauſed him to render Tantallon up to the King. What warrand the King of England had, and what promiſes by word (for it ſtood not with his honour to give any thing in writ, that his clemency might be free and voluntary, and not by capitulation) our Hiſtory doth rather glance at it, than expreſſe it in theſe words: *That the Caſtle of Tantallon being rendred, the King ſhould under his hand-writing aſſure them of the reſt of their petitions.* Yet the Caſtle being rendred, the reſt were not (for all that) ſincerely kept. What he ſpeaks of the rendering of the Caſtle, our old men (acquainted with theſe myſteries) ſpeak alſo of the Earles leaving Scotland; That both were done upon theſe promiſes. They tell alſo what the promiſes

Angus returneth to England.

ſes were, that they ſhould be received again, pardoned, and get their peace (the Kings honour being once thus ſalved by his going out of the Countrey, and rendering of the Caſtle) within ſuch a ſpace as was agreed on. Our Hiſtories alſo ſignifie no leſſe by the exception which it makes in this: The reſt (ſayes he) were not ſincerely kept, except that favour was granted to *Alexander Drumond* to return, &c. Then his return hath been one of the conditions, ſeeing it is accepted as one of them that were performed. Neither hath the condition been that he alone ſhould return; but that they ſhould be brought home all of them. He ſignifies alſo, that *Drumonds* return was not permitted out of any reſpect to the promiſe, but at the requeſt of *Robert Bartaine*. So that the exception is no exception; and ſo nothing hath been keeped. But the King of England (to whom the promiſe was made) was not at this time diſpoſed to exact the performance of it, and to back his exacting of it with 40000. men, as Princes promiſes ſhould be urged. Men ſay he had other work in hand, and buſineſſe of his own to requeſt for; which was to deſire his Nephew *James* to be quiet, and not to trouble his Kingdome while he made Warre againſt the Emperour *Charles*. Yet afterward in the year 1532. he ſought it directly amongſt the conditions of peace, that the *Douglas* (according to his promiſe) ſhould be reſtored. For King *Henries* own part he entertained them with all kinde of beneficence and honour, and made both the Earle and Sir *George* of his privie Councell. He and Sir *George* Privie Counſellours there.

The Kings anger ſtill continued againſt them in ſuch ſort, that nine years after, in 1537. he was contented that *Jeane Douglas* Lady Glames (who was Angus ſiſter) ſhould be accuſed by falſe witneſſes, condemned and execute. The point of her accuſation was, that ſhe, and her husband (*Archbald Campbell* then) and her ſonne and an old Prieſt, had gone about to make away the King by Witch-craft. Their ſervants were tried and racked, but confeſſed nothing, the accuſer *John Lion* (a Kinſman of her firſt husband) when he ſaw how they were like to be uſed, and that the houſe of Glames would be ruined, repenting of what he had done, confeſſed to the King that he had wronged them; but it did no good. She was burnt upon the Caſtle hill with great commiſeration of the people, in regard of her noble bloud, of her husband, being in the prime of her years, of a ſingular beauty, and ſuffering all, though a woman, with a man-like courage, all men conceiving that it was not this fact, but the hatred the King carried to her brothers, that had brought her to this end. Her husband ſeeking to eſcape over the wall of the Caſtle, fell, and broke his leg, and ſo died. Her ſonne was kept in priſon, becauſe he was ſo young that the law could not ſtrike againſt him. Others were committed to Ward, as Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne (who was Angus his ſiſters ſon) to the Black-Neſſe, for whom his mother Dame *Aliſon Douglas* coming often to entreat the King for him, though he alwayes uſed her courteouſly, and gave her good countenance (and that almoſt onely to her of all their friends) ſo that his language was by way of excuſing without deniall, yet ſhe could obtain nothing till a little before his death about the rode of Fawla, when hee began to miſſe *William.* Glames burnt.

their ſervice, then he ſet him at libertie. His implacabilitie did alſo appear in his carriage toward *Archbald* of Kilſpindie, whom he (when he was a childe) loved ſingularly well for his ability of body, and was wont to call him his *Gray Steell*. *Archbald* being baniſhed into England, could not well comport with the humour of that Nation, which he thought to be too proud, and that they had too high a conceit of themſelves, joyned with a contempt and deſpiſing of all others. Wherefore being wearied of that life, and remembring the Kings favour of old toward him, he determined to trie the Kings mercifulneſſe and clemency. So he comes into Scotland, and taking occaſion of the Kings hunting in the Park at Stirlin, he caſts himſelf to be in his way, as he was comming home to the Caſtle. So ſoon as the King ſaw him afar off, ere he came near, he gheſſed it was he, and ſaid to one of his Courtiers, yonder is my *Gray Steell*, *Archbald* of Kilſpindie, if he be alive. The other anſwered, that it could not be he, and that he durſt not come into the Kings preſence. The King approaching, he fell upon his knees, and craved pardon, and promiſed from thence forward to abſtain from all meddling in publick affairs, and to lead a quiet and a private life. The King went by without giving him any anſwer, and trotted a good round pace up the hill. Kilſpindie followed, and (though he wore on him a Secret, or ſhirt of Maile for his particular enemies) was as ſoon at the Caſtle gate as the King. There he ſat him down upon a ſtone without, and entreated ſome of the Kings ſervants for a cup of drink, being wearie and thirſtie: but they fearing the Kings diſpleaſure, durſt give him none. When the K. was ſat at his dinner, he asked what he had done, what he had ſaid, and whither he was gone? It was told him, that he had deſired a cup of drink, and had gotten none. The King reproved them very ſharply for their diſcourteſie, and told them, that if he had not taken an oath, that no *Douglas* ſhould ever ſerve him, he would have received him into his ſervice, for he had ſeen him ſometime a man of great abilitie. Then he ſent him word to go to Leith, and expect his farther pleaſure. Then ſome kinſman of *David Falconer* (the Cannonier that was ſlain at Tantallon) began to quarell with *Archbald* about the matter, wherewith the King ſhewed himſelf not well pleaſed when he heard of it. Then he commanded him to go to France for a certain ſpace, till he heard farther from him. And ſo he did, and died ſhortly after. This gave occaſion to the King of England (*Henry* the 8.) to blame his Nephew, alledging the old ſaying, *That a Kings face ſhould give grace*. For this *Archbald* (whatſoever were Anguſes or Sir *George* his fault) had not been principall actor of any thing, nor no counſellour or ſtirrer up, but onely a follower of his friends, and that no wayes cruelly diſpoſed. He cauſed alſo execute Sir *James Hamilton* of Evendale, for divers reaſons: but that which incenſed him moſt, was his correſpondencie, and ſecret trafficking and meeting with the baniſhed *Douglaſſes*, eſpecially with Sir *George*, whom he met with in the Park-head, as the King was informed. There was no man that he could hear had but received them into his houſe, but he cauſed apprehend, and execute the rigour of the law upon them. He cauſed the Laird of Blackader bring in *John Nisbet* of the Spittell, and

Kilſpindie dieth in France.

and made him to be executed to death, for receiving (as was alledged at leaſt) the Earle of Angus into his houſe. Theſe many executions proceeding from many reports and delations given to him, bred great ſuſpition in his minde, all the woods ſeemed full of theeves. Many were put to death for the *Douglaſſes*; this was a token that they had many favourers: many were offended by theſe executions, and ſo many ill-willers by being offended. So his ſuſpition againſt the Nobilitie was daily increaſed; his jealouſie growes, cares multiply, his minde is diſturbed, which would not ſuffer him to ſleep ſound, but troubled his head with dreames and fanſies.

In the mean time the Warres began with England by mutuall incurſions on the Borders. The King ſent *George Gordon* Earle of Huntley to the Border to repreſſe the Engliſh. But they ſeeing his Forces ſo ſmall, came forward to have burnt Jedburgh. The Lord *Hume* hearing of their intention, went and lay in their way. The Earle of Angus had been ſent down to the Border by the K. of England, to wait for occaſion to do ſomething againſt Scotland, and was now with theſe Engliſh here. Hee diſſwaded them from fighting, and told them, that the Lord *Hume* would not flee, nor his men leave him, and that they would all die at his feet. But they would needs fight, and were overthrowne. The Earle of Angus himſelf was almoſt taken, for he was caught about the neck, and rid himſelf again with his dagger, and ſo eſcaped. There were ſome ſlaine, more taken, all ſcattered and chaſed. The King was ſo glad hereof, that he gave the lands of the Hirſell to Sir *Andrew Ker* of Little-dean for bringing the firſt newes hereof: but he that was the chief actor the Lord *Hume* got nothing. This was at Halden rig. Then was the rode of Fawla, where the Nobilitie did flatly refuſe to fight, and ſuffered the Engliſh to retire, and eſcape without battell or skirmiſh. The King being there in perſon, was ſo enraged hereat, that he burſt forth into open railing againſt them, calling them cowards, and beaſts that were not worthy of their places or Predeceſſours; and withall told them, that he ſhould bring home thoſe that durſt and would fight, meaning the Earle of Angus and his friends. Then followed on the neck of this the defeat at Solemne-Moſſe, where *Oliver Sinclar* being deſerted by the Nobility, was fain to flie, and ſo loſt the day, and many were taken priſoners; many alſo yeelded themſelves to the Engliſh. The King, who was not farre off, when he heard of it, was wonderfully commoved, having his minde diſtracted with indignation, anger, grief and ſorrow; now thinking how to be avenged on them that had dealt thus traiterouſly with him; then of new preparation for the Warres, & how it ſhould be managed. For which he ſaw now there was but one way left, which was to bring home the Earle of Angus, upon what ever terms; ſeeing at laſt what a ſubject he had thruſt from him, and repenting him, ſaid he ſhould bring him home, that would take order with them alſo. But it was too late, for his death enſuing ſhortly after, hindered the execution of that purpoſe. He died the thirteenth of December 1542. leaving one onely daughter *Mary* his heir behinde him, a childe of five dayes old.

Haldenrig.

Hirſel lands given to *A. Ker.*

Fawla.

Solemne Moſſe.

K. *James* the fifth dieth. 1542.

But although he lived not to effect his determination, yet he gave them

them an honourable teſtimony of their worth, and withall made a confeſſion of the wrong he had done to them, and gave them a clear abſolviture from all former imputation. And ſo for their part they reſt ſatisfied with it, and ſeek no other. The King was dead, who had purpoſed to have brought them home, his will is enough to them; they ſtand not on ceremonies, they come home now unſent for. There were taken priſoners at the Solom-Moſſe, ſeven Earles and Lords, foure and twenty others of inferiour, but good place and quality. When King *Henry* of England had triumphed a while over them (cauſing to lead them from the Towre of London to Court through Cheapſide Street the 20. of December upon Saint *Thomas* day) he rebuked them as breakers of Covenant by a long harangue of his Chancellour; who magnified the Kings mercy, who did (ſaid he) remit much of the rigour he might juſtly have uſed againſt them. After this they had ſome more freedome; and when the news of the Kings death was come, he dealt kindly with them, and told them his intention; which was to have their Kings daughter married to his ſonne Prince *Edward*, that ſo the Nations of England and Scotland might be joyned together by that alliance; for affecting of which match he takes their promiſe to favour his deſigne, and to ſet it forward at home as farre as they might without dammage to their Countrey, or reproach and infamy to themſelves. So (having firſt taken pledges and hoſtages of them at New-Caſtle, by the Duke of North-folke, for their return, in caſe the peace were not agreed on) he ſent them home to Scotland the firſt of January 1543. with theſe returned our *Douglaſſes* (the Earle and Sir *George*) after fifteen years exile, and were received of all with great joy and gratulation. Onely they were not welcome to the Cardinall. They had been ever at variance, they ranne divers courſes in policie, he ſuſpected their Religion, ſpecially Sir *Georges*. He knew they would not approve nor ratifie the Kings teſtament which he had forged, wherein he was made Protectour and Governour, with three Noblemen to be his Aſſeſſours. He doubted not, but that they would oppoſe him in the Parliament; and therefore here he found means to be choſen Governor before their return. Yet his fraud was detected before they came home, and he debouted, and put from that authority. In his place *James Hamilton* Earle of Arran was choſen, as being the man to whom it properly belonged, as next heire, and beſt beloved, partly becauſe they had a good opinion of his towardly diſpoſition; and that he was not averſe from the reformed Religion (whereof he willingly read the controverſies) partly becauſe they hated the Archbiſhop *Beton* and his prieſts crueltie, which put every man in fear of their government. That buſineſſe was ſettled ere they came home. The next point was the marriage of the young Queen, which they were to ſet forward with England. The Queen-mother, and the Cardinall, and the whole faction of the Prieſts, oppoſe this way with all their might and power. But they prevailed not; and the Cardinall becauſe he troubled all, and would ſuffer nothing to be done orderly, he was ſhut up in a Chamber till the matters were concluded, and pledges promiſed to bee given to the Engliſh Ambaſſadour Sir *Ralphe Sadler* for performance.

Hamilton Governour.

Ambaſſadours

Ambaſſadours alſo were ſent into England to treat on the conditions. They were, the Earle of Glencarne, Sir *George Douglas*, Sir *William Hamilton* of Machane, and the Secretarie of eſtate. Theſe remained foure moneths in England, agreed at laſt, and concluded all articles and conditions. But in their abſence, the Cardinall was ſet at liberty, who troubled all, gathered a contribution of the Clergie, and what by bribing, what by other practices uſed by him, and the Queen, turns the Nobilitie quite an other way. When thoſe that had been ſent into England were returned, and found things in this eſtate, they were much grieved at it, and laboured to recall things, and to perſwade them to keep their promiſe made to King *Henry*. " To move them hereto, Sir *George Douglas* ſpake to them very earneſtly, and told them the apologue of the aſſe, which a King did love ſo dearly, that he had a great minde and deſire to have her to ſpeak: and having dealt with divers Phyſicians to make her to ſpeak, they told him it was a thing impoſſible, and gainſt nature; but he being impatient, and not enduring to have his deſire croſſed, ſlew them becauſe they told him the truth. At laſt he trying about what others could doe, one, who was made wiſe by their example, being required to do it, he undertook it; but withall he ſhew him, that it was a great work, and would be very chargeable. The King being ſet upon it to have it done, told him he ſhould have what allowance he pleaſed, and bade him ſpare for no charges: and that beſides he would reward him liberally. The Phyſician told him that it would prove alſo a long cure, and could not be done in a day; ten years were the feweſt that could be allotted to it. The King conſidered of it, and was contented to allow him that time for performing it; and ſo they agreed, and the Phyſician began to fall to work about his aſſe. His friends hearing of it, came to him, and asked him what he meant, to take in hand that which could not be performed in nature. He ſmiled, and ſaid unto them, I thought you had been wiſer than to ask me ſuch a queſtion: if I had (ſayes he) refuſed to take it in hand, he had put me to death preſently, now I have gained ten years time, before which be expired, who can tell what may happen. The King may die, the aſſe may die, I my ſelf may die; and if any of theſe happen, I am freed. In the mean time I ſhall be in good eſtate, wealth, honour, and the Kings favour. Even ſo (ſayes Sir *George*) ſtands the caſe with us at this time: if wee refuſe and leap back from the conditions that are propounded and agreed on, wee enter into preſent Warre, for which we are very unfit, and ill provided. If we embrace them, we gain time, we ſhall enjoy peace and quietneſſe during the Queens childe-hood, and before that be expired, Prince *Edward* may die, our Queen may die, King *Henry* may die, or the parties when they come to age, may refuſe one another, or then perhaps (as things may fall out) it may be thought the beſt way by us all. But he could not perſwade them to it, the Queen mother, and the Cardinall, the Popiſh and Politick Faction ſtanding for France, and drawing all to that end, had ſo wrought the matter, that there was no place left to any wholeſome councell. Theſe two for ſtrengthening of their party had ſent to France, and moved

Sir *George Douglas* his ſpeech concerning marrying with England.

that

Lennox comes home out of France.

that King to ſend home *Matthew* Earle of Lennox a competitour and counterpoyſe to the houſe of Hamilton. He came, being put in hope of the Queens marriage, and to be made Governour, but when he ſaw himſelf deluded, and *Beton* preferred to the government, in effect upon agreement of Arran, and the Cardinall (wherein Arran had renounced the controverted heads of Religion, and addicted himſelf fully to the Queen and Cardinall, to be ruled by them) he forſook them, and ſo did alſo the Governours chief friends leave him, and turne to Lennox: And now Lennox had made a ſtrong party againſt the Governour and the Cardinall, but at laſt he was drawn to come to a Parley with them, firſt at Edinburgh, and then at Linlithgow, where finding that they intended to intrap him, he fled in the night, firſt to Glaſgow, then to the Caſtle of Dumbartan. About this time the *Hamiltons* and *Douglaſſes* were reconciled: and for further aſſurance of ſincere and firm friendſhip, Sir *George Douglas*, and *Alexander Cunninghame* Maſter of Glencarne, were given as pledges (the one for his brother, and the other for his father) to the Governour *Hamilton*, upon promiſe to be releaſed within a few dayes, but they were kept till the Engliſh Army came. Angus himſelf alſo, and the Lord *Maxwell* going to mediate a peace betwixt the Governour and Lennox (a dutifull part of a Nobleman, and of a good Patriot) was retained; and both ſent out at a back-door at Glaſgow, to Hamilton, while their followers did wait for them at the ordinary fore-gate of the Governours lodging. Angus was ſent afterward to the Black-Neſſe, and kept there a cloſe priſoner. Thus were both he and his brother in the hands of their enemies: neither did their wiſedome or experience, the examples of their Predeceſſours, or their own maximes and rules ſave them from being intrapped. But who can keep himſelf from deceit: What wiſedome was ever able to do it? we heard before in the Lord Hume (Chamberlain) how he was catched, and therefore no wonder, though the young *Douglaſſes* (put to death in Edinburgh Caſtle) were deceived. It is wrong to impute it to want of fore-ſight, as theſe two (who were at other times wary enough) may witneſſe. They may thank God more than their own good guiding, if they eſcape with life; but that God doth worke it out, where their wiſedome failed. He ſends in the Engliſh Navie, which was bound for Bologne, under the command of the Earle of Hartford. Some ſayes that they were ſo directed by King *Henry* to relieve the Earl and his brother; ſome, that it was to revenge the rejecting of his affinitie. However it was the mean and occaſion of their releaſing. For having landed at Leith unlooked for, the Governour and Cardinall were forced to flee out of Edinburgh, which they burnt, being abandoned by them, and the Citizens being moſt of them abſent about their Traffick. The Governour, either required to do ſo by the Earle of Hartford (who threatned to deſtroy more of the Countrey after the ſame manner if he refuſed) or of his own motion, ſo to regain their favour, and ſervice of their followers, ſet them all at liberty, Angus, *Maxwell*, Glencarne, and Sir *George*. Their wiſedome ſaved them not from being catched, but their worth releaſeth them, either in the judgement of King *Henry* (if it were his requeſt)

Angus and Sir *George* made priſoners.

They are releaſed again.

queſt) or in the eſtimation of their enemies, if it came meerely of themſelves, who ſaw how ſteadable, yea how neceſſary their favour was to them. That which had brought them home, if King *James* had lived, procures their liberty from this Governour now when the King is dead. Envie committed them, true valour brings them out of priſon. So it is ſeen ere long: for Lennox being forſaken by the French, and his partners overthrowne by the *Hamiltons*, he fled into England, and was well received and entertained by King *Henry*, who gave him alſo his ſiſters daughter by the Earle of Angus, Lady *Margaret Douglas* to wife. On her he begate *Henry* Lord Darneley, who was married to Queen *Mary* of Scotland. He ſought to have married the Queen Dowager, he is rejected; but he fares better, and comes to reigne in both the Realmes by his Poſteritie. Let men look on it, and ſee the deepneſſe of providence, and learne not to diſtruſt in whatſoever ſtrait, ſeeing the worſt doth often occaſion the beſt; for even in exile being condemned and forfeited, he was laying the foundation of this returne.

Lennox goes to England.

Marries Lady Margaret *Douglas.*

Of theſe diſſentions at home, the Forrein enemie takes advantage, the K. of England ſends an Armie to Scotland, burnes Jedburgh, and Kelſo, takes Coldinghame, and fortifies the Abbay and ſteeple thereof. Thither goes the Governour *Hamilton* with 8000. men in winter, and batters the ſteeple one whole day and night, all the Company ſtanding all that while in Armes. The next day he took horſe, and went to Dumbar with all the ſpeed he could, accompanied onely with a few of his moſt familiar friends, without acquainting the Nobilitie or Armie with his departure. What it was that moved him hereto, is uncertain, whether it were ſome rumour of the enemies approaching, or that he feared leſt his own Armie (whom he had offended many wayes) ſhould have delivered him into the hands of the Engliſh. This troubled them all ſo much the more, becauſe they knew not thereaſon of it. Wherefore they began to adviſe what was next to be done: Some thought it beſt that every man ſhould go whither he would, and leave the Ordnance a prey to the enemie. Others thought it was better to charge them double, and ſo to break them, that they might not be uſefull to the enemie. Thus is the caſe brought to an exigent, this is the place for the Earle of Angus to ſhew himſelf to be a *Douglas* of the right ſtamp. So he doth; he rejects both theſe wayes as diſhonourable, and exhorts them, that they would not adde this groſſe errour in Warre to their ſhamefull flight. But when he could not perſwade them either by reaſon or authoritie, he cryes out aloud, that they might all hear, *For my part* (ſaith he) *I had rather die honourably, than live with ſhame, though with never ſo much riches and eaſe. Ye that are my friends and companions in armes, do what you think beſt, but I ſhall either bring home this Ordnance, or ſhall not bring home my ſelf alive, and one and the ſame day ſhall end both my life and my honour.* Having ſpoken thus, he commanded them to go on with the Ordnance, and he with his Companie, and ſome few moe that ſtayed with him for ſhame, marched after, to keep off the Engliſh that purſued them, and ſo brought them ſafely to Dumbar. Then turning him to the Maſter of the Ordnance, *Take them there to thee* (ſaith he) *better thus, than either broken, or left behinde.* A ſober and gentle re-

The Governour and Angus at Coldinghame.

proof to thoſe that had abandoned him, yet ſuch as might put them in minde of their fault.

The honour was his, but the fault (more obſerved oftentimes) redounded to the diſcouraging of the Countrey, and emboldening of the Engliſh, which gave new occaſion of ſtirring up in him the ancient vertues proper to the name, valour, and love of his Countrey. Sir *Ralph Ivers*, and Sir *Brian Laiton*, had made divers in-rodes into Scotland, in the Merſe, Tividale, and Lawderdale, with good ſucceſſe, finding no man to oppoſe or make head againſt them. The Inhabitants of thoſe places, had for the moſt part yeelded and taken on the badge of England, the red Croſſe, or at leaſt kept themſelves in ſtrong places in ſafetie from the enemie. They eſteemed all conquered, and for that which reſted, they made account to conquer all unto Forth. So to Court they go, and ſue to the King for a reward of their ſervice, the inlarging of his Dominions. The Duke of North-folk, who had made warre in Scotland divers times, and knew the faſhion of the Countrey, how eaſie a matter it was to make the Commons (when they wanted a Head in time of Civill and inteſtine diſſention) to yeeld to any conditions; but withall know alſo, that they would preſently caſt off the yoke ſo ſoon as they found any to lead them into the field, he perſwades the King to beſtow upon them for their reward, all the Land that they had conquered, and to encourage them to go on, promiſeth unto them all the Land that they could conquer more thereafter. They come to the Borders full of hopes, and increaſe their Forces by the addition of 3000. hired ſouldiers, with intention to go on with their conqueſt. This did greatly grieve ſuch Scots as remained true Scots indeed. The flight from Coldingham had diſcouraged them; they could look for no good from the Governour. But he who had his Roſe Garland unſtained there, muſt be the man to do the turn here alſo. Angus had large poſſeſsions in the Merſe and Tividale: therefore he had his particular intereſt, and could not ſo eaſily leave his lands for a prey to the enemy, nor ſuffer ſo great an indignitie in publick, and reproach to his Countrey. Being moved with both theſe conſiderations, he goeth to the Governour, and layeth before him the greatneſſe of the danger, and how he did ſuffer in his own reputation for the buſineſſe at Coldingham, and would now ſuffer more if he ſat ſtill and did nothing at this time: Wherefore he exhorteth him to take ſome courſe for the ſafety of the Countrey, and to repair his own honour. The Governour bewailes his own eſtate and condition, that he was not able to do any thing; being deſerted by the Nobility, whereof he complained heartily. Angus replyed, and told him it was his own fault; For „ they (ſaid he) would willingly hazzard and beſtow both their lives and „ fortunes for the defence of their Countrey, but you contemn their coun- „ ſel, and have given your ſelf over to be guided by a company of Prieſts, „ who are unfit to go abroad to the Warres, and are ſeditious at home; „ being free from perill themſelves, they live on the fruits of other mens „ labours like Drones; abuſing and ſpending all upon their own plea- „ ſures. From hence doth ſpring this ſuſpicion and jealouſie betwixt „ you and the Nobilitie, that none of you doth beleeve or truſt other,

Sir *Ralph Ivers*, and Sir *Brian Laitons* expedition.

Angus ſpeech to the Governour.

„ which

„ which is the bane of all actions , and hindreth the atchieving of any „ matter of moment. But if you will apply your ſelf to them , and con- „ ſult with them , who will not ſpare to ſpend their lives in the executi- „ on of things ; I do not diſtruſt but as honourable acts may be per- „ formed by us now, as have been done at any time by our Predeceſſours. „ But if by ſloth and negligence ye ſuffer the enemy thus to encroach by „ piece-meal , he will at laſt force us either to yeeld to him , or forſake „ the Countrey: of which two it is hard to ſay which is the moſt miſera- „ ble and ſhamefull condition. As for us two , I know we are traduced „ by our enemies , they accuſe me of betraying my Countrey , and you „ of cowardiſe , but if you will reſolve throughly and ſoundly to do „ that now, which you muſt needs do ſome time, it ſhal not be a flouriſh- „ ed ſpeech, and painted words, that ſhall confute their calumnies, but the „ flouriſh of Armes , and a Pitched field. The Governour conſidering the truth , and honourable counſell given him , promiſed to follow his and the reſt of the Nobilities advice. Hereupon Proclamation is made and ſent into all the Provinces about, commanding the Nobiltie to repair to the Governour with all the haſte they could , whereſoever he ſhould happen to be. There came not above 300. horſe , with theſe they march toward England ; and by the way ſome few of Lowthian , and ſome of the Merſe joyn with them. So they come to Melroſſe upon Tweed, where they intended to ſtay , and wait for the reſt that were coming. The Engliſh were come to Jedbrough before , and now being adverti- ſed of the ſmall number of the Scottiſh Army , they march toward Mel- roſſe, having 5000. men in their Army , in great confidence to defeat ſo ſmall a number as was with the Governour , who beſides that they were ſo few , were alſo wearied with their journey. The Scots had no- tice of their coming , and thereupon retire to the next hils , where they might with ſafety eſpie what courſe the enemie would take. The Eng- liſh fruſtrate of their hope (which was to have ſurprized them) ſtay a- bout the Town and Abbey of Melroſſe , which had been ſpoyled not long before, to ſee what more ſpoil they could light on, untill it were day; for this was in the night time. As ſoon as it was day , they began to march back toward Jedbrough , and the Scots (to whom had now joy- ned *Norman Leſly* with 300. Fifemen , and Sir *Walter Scot* of Balcleugh, with a very few of his domeſticks) encountered them by the way. Both Armies alighted from their horſes, and fought on foot. The Engliſh con- fiding in their number , and hoping with a few houres travell, to perchaſe honour and riches with peaceable and quiet poſſeſſion of the Lands that were granted to them by their Kings gift , fought very valarouſly. They had divided their Army into three battels; and ſeeing the Scots Grooms (who rode up the hill with their maſters horſes , which they had put from them) they ſuppoſing they had been the Scottiſh Army fleeing, made great haſte to overtake them. And ſo ere they were aware , they were hard upon the Scottiſh battell, which ſtood in array in the valley at the foot of the hill unſeen till now. At the firſt encounter their Fore- ward was beaten back upon the middle , and both together upon the Reer-ward; ſo that their Ranks being broken , and all in confuſion, they

were conſtrained to flee, and the Scots following hard upon them in groſſe, ſlew them down right without reſiſtance. At night when the Scots were returned from the chace, every man repairing to his Colours, they found but two of their own ſlain; & of the enemie (beſides Sir *Ralph Ivers*, and *Brien Laton*) 200. or (as others ſay) 800. amongſt whom there were divers Gentlemen of good note and qualitie. There were taken priſoners 1000. or as others 2000. (with all their baggage which had been left at Melroſſe) of which there were 80. of good birth and qualitie. It was no little furtherance to the victory, the advantage which the Scots had of the Sunne going down, and ſo beating full in the eyes of the enemy: as alſo of the Winde that blew the ſmoak of the Powder on their faces likewiſe, ſo that they were blinded two wayes. They had alſo marched ſo faſt to overtake the Scots, that they were quite out of breath almoſt ere they came to ſtrokes; and when they came to them, at the firſt joyning, the Scots that were on their ſide fled without fighting. It is ſaid that the Earle of Angus was ſo reſolute and void of feare, that when they were going to joyn battell, he perceiving a Heron flie over their heads, cryed out aloud; "O that I had my white Goſe-hawke here, we ſhould all yoke at once. The honour of the victorie was wholly given to him, and the profit came to the Governour. But the more honour that Angus got at home of his own countrey-men, the more hatred he had of the Enemy the Engliſh. King *Henry* blamed him, ſaying he was ungratefull, and vowed to be avenged of him for it. As if any gratitude could binde a man to betray his Countrey, or any benefite tie him to omit his duty toward it: Angus had never learned ſuch gratitude of his Predeceſſours, nor could his noble heart ſtoop to ſuch mercenarineſſe. And as for his threatnings, he looked upon them with the ſame courage and reſolution. "Is our brother-in-law offen-„ded (ſayes he) that I am a good Scottiſh man? Becauſe I have revenged „the defacing of the tombes of my Anceſtors at Melroſſe upon *Ralph* „*Ivers*? They were better men than he, and I ought to have done no „leſſe: And will he take my life for that? Little knows King *Henry* the „skirts of Kirnetable, I can keep my ſelf there from all his Engliſh „hoſte.

The newes of this victory being come to France, the King ſent Monſieur *de L'orge* Earle of Montgomerie into Scotland with 3000. foot, and 500. horſe, to aſſiſt againſt England. He gave him alſo commiſſion to beſtow the order of the Cockle (or S. *Michael*) on the Governour, Angus, Huntley, and Argyle, which he did accordingly. *De L'orge* arrived about the fourth or fifth of July 1545. and moved the Governour to aſſemble ſome power of men, about 15000. which were muſtered at Hadington. From thence they went to the Borders, and encamped over againſt Warke, an Engliſh Caſtle upon Tweed. But they did nothing to any purpoſe. Hereupon the Count Montgomerie returnes into France the reſt of that year, and the next following, with a good part of the year 1547. there was nothing done abroad, or at home, ſave that the Cardinall was buſied in cauſing execute ſuch as were of the reformed Religion, whereupon followed his own tragicall death, and the French Galleyes coming,

coming, beſieged S. *Andrewes* Caſtle, and carried away the authors of the Cardinals ſlaughter into France. The Earle of Angus hath had no hand in all theſe broyles; for he is never mentioned in any of them. Only his naturall ſon *George* is ſaid to have gotten the Abbacie of Arbrothe. But then (if he got it) he might have been called Abbot, and not Poſtulat, or Poſtulant, which implies, that he was ever asking it, but got it not.

In the ſame year 1547. in Auguſt, King *Henry* of England dying, his ſon *Edward* (a childe of ſome eight or nine years of age) ſucceeded, and his Uncle the Earle of Hereford was created Duke of Sommerſet, and made Protectour of England. He levied two Armies to come againſt Scotland, one by ſea, another by land, in which he came himſelf in perſon, and with him the Earle of Warwick. It contained 18000. men. He pretended for the cauſe of his coming, the performance of the marriage betwixt the King his Nephew, and the young Queen of Scots, together with the obſervation of the Articles agreed upon with the Scottiſh Nobilitie in the Treatie of Peace with King *Henry*. The Governour was mightily perplexed herewith. He had no forraigne aide, and he diſtruſted his Countreymen at home. Notwithſtanding he cauſeth it to be proclaimed, that they ſhould aſſemble themſelves to reſiſte the common enemie. They had their randezvous at Edinburgh, and there came thither to the number of 30000. men. From thence they march to Muſclebrugh, which is ſeated at the mouth of the river of Eske in Lowthian ſome foure miles from Edinburgh. The Engliſh lay at Preſton within two miles, and their Fleet ſailed along the Coaſt, ſtill in the view of the Land army, & ready to ſecond or ſuccour it. The Protector looking down from Carberrie Hill, and perceiving the Scottiſh Army to be greater than he had expected in regard of the civill diſcord and diſſention that was amongſt them, called a Councell of Warre, to adviſe about the Battell; and in the mean time he ſends a Letter to the Governour, to try if things could be taken away without blood. The ſumme of the Letter was, that he was come to crave the performance of the marriage, and the obſervance of the conditions agreed unto by the Scots. If they would not yeeld to that, yet if they would but promiſe not to enter into terms of marriage with any other forrain Prince, nor carry her out of the Countrey till ſhe were come to years of diſcretion to chooſe her own husband, they ſhould return in peace, and make ſatisfaction for any dammage their Army had done. This was very reaſonable; but it ſhould have been treated of before they came from home, and rather by Ambaſſadours than in the field and camp. It hath never been the cauſe of their coming with an Army, but rather hope that no head could have been made againſt them (in reſpect of the diſſention for Religion and other diviſions) which perſwaded them to come: Now the ſight of an Army which was a ſufficient party for them, had taught them wiſedome and moderation in their conditions. If the Governour could alſo have moderated his hope of victorie, which aroſe from his confidence in the number of his men, the bargaine had been agreed on, and the buſineſſe had ended without blood. But his councell of Warre (his baſe brother

Occaſion of Pinkie field.

the

the Biſhop of S. Andrews, *George Durie*, Abbot of Dumfermling, *Archbald Beton*, and *Hugh Rigge*) puffed him up with idle hope of a ſure victory. So the Letter is ſuppreſt, and preparation made for battell. The Armies were thus ordered. The Engliſh were divided into three battels; Whereof Warwick led the Vaunt-guard, together with Sir *Francis Brien*, who commanded 800. light horſemen which were in the wings. The Protectour himſelf commanded in the mid battell, having with him Sir *Peter Mewtas* with 600. Musketiers, and *Famboas* a Spaniard with 1000. horſe with Carabins. The Reer was conducted by the Lord *Dacres*, to whom was joyned Sir *Richard Manners* with 600. light horſemen. The men at Arms, and demilances, were commanded by the Lord *Gray*. The Scottiſh Army was alſo tripartite, of which Angus had the Vaunt-guard; to whom were joyned Coile, Carrict, and Cunningham, with Stirlin-ſhire, and Stratherne, to the nnmber of 10000. in all. The like number was with the Governour in the middle Ward, and as many with the Earle Huntley in the Reer. The Engliſh had reſolved on a fair retreat toward Berwick, thinking it not fit to hazzard a battell upon ſuch diſadvantage in the number of men; and not being able to ſtay without fighting, for want of vivers, which they could not bring in out of the Countrey by forraging, in regard of the neerneſſe of the enemy. In the mean time they perceive Angus with the Vantguard coming marching up the hill againſt them. He made no great haſte at the firſt, knowing they could not ſtay long, thinking it better to aſſaile them in their retreat. But the Governour ſent him word to advance, and yet for all that he marched but leiſurely, till he ſent to him again, and commanded him to mend his pace, aſſuring him that he and Huntley ſhould be hard at his hand to ſupport him. Then he marched ſo faſt that the Engliſh beholding them from the hill, beleeved they had been all on horſeback. Wherefore the Lord *Gray* was ſent with his men at Arms, and demilances, on barbed horſes, to ſtay them, and (if he could) to break their Ranks. The Scots were cloſe joyned together (as their manner is) and carried long ſpeares, not unlike the Macedonian Phalanx: Angus encourages them, exhorts them to fight manfully, & adviſeth them to kill the horſes by pricking them in the belly, for they were armed in the Counter. Theſe men (ſaid he) ſhall be our prey if ye do ſo. They followed his counſell, charged the enemy fiercely, and kept their Ranks ſo whole and cloſe, that 200. of the Engliſh were brought to the ground and killed; the reſt retired to their companies. The Protectour commands the Lord *Gray* to charge again, but he anſwered; that *he might as well command him to runne againſt the walls of Boloigne, for it was as impoſsible to break through the Scots Ranks, as to break through a Brick-wall.* Hereupon the Protectour reſolved either to retire, or flee as they could, & called for ſome Scots in his army, who knew the wayes, to be their guides. One of theſe was named *Thomas Lorraine*, a Tenant to the Laird of Red-brayes in the Merſe, of whom many have often heard this report. The Earl of Warwick adviſeth to try another way; he cauſeth *Famboas* the Spaniard with his Carabins to ſet upon them in flanke. Hereupon they, leſt they ſhould break their Phalanx, turned ſoftly toward him, from the right aſcending

of

of the hill, which way they were in before. The Governour with his mid battell ſeeing them declining from the ſtraight way which led to the enemy, and which they had been in before, ſuppoſed they had fled, and ſo brake their own Ranks, and fled firſt themſelves. Huntley with his Reer followed the Governours example, and fled likewiſe. The Vaunt-guard thus deſtitute of all ſupport was overthrown, and moſt of them all killed. The Engliſh Ships had greatly annoyed the Scots Reer with ſhot from the Sea, for there was one Galley, and two Pinnaces, that came ſo near to the Shore, that they reached the enemy with their Ordnance, and Lochinvarre was ſlain by one of their ſhots. This the Governour and Huntley alledged for their not coming to ſuccour the Vaunt-guard after the firſt charge, becauſe their men (chiefly the High-landers) refuſed to go with them being ſo troubled from the Ships. There were ſlain in this battell a great number, and thoſe of the Flowre of the Scottiſh Nobility; amongſt whom were the Maſters of Ereskine, Grahame, Methvane, Oglevie, Levingſton, and Roſſe; the Lords, *Fleming*, Glencarne, the Lairds of Lochleven, and Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne. The Earle Angus his brother, Sir *George*, and Glenbarvie were commanded to keep themſelves on horſeback, and ride about the companies to exhort them and keep them in order. It was ſo much the more eaſie for them to flee, yet Glenbarvie was hardly purſued for the ſpace of foure miles, being taken for the Earle of Angus, becauſe he rode on a py-bald horſe that was known to be the Earles. Angus himſelf eſcaped, and came that night to Calder, very heavie and ſorrowfull for the loſſe of the battell, and of his friends. Many fled to the Caſtle of Dalkeeth, amongſt whom was *James Douglas* Earle of Morton, afterward Regent of Scotland; and *David Hume* of Wedderburne, brother to Sir *George Hume* that was ſlain in the field. The Caſtle was beſieged by the Engliſh, and defended a while, but wanting proviſion of victuall for ſuch a number of men as had fled thither, and having no hope of any relief to come to them againſt a victorious Army, it was rendered, and theſe fore-named made priſoners.

Defeature at Pinkie.

The Earle of Angus complained heavily that he had been thus abandoned by the Governour and Huntley, and laid the blame on them of the loſſe of the day, and of his ſo many dear kinſmen and friends, eſpecially to the Queen-mother, whom he went to viſit at Stirlin. She ſeemed to be much grieved therewith, but was thought not to be diſcontented that the *Hamiltons* had ſuffered this diſgrace, and their pride and authoritie was thus abated, which made for the ſetting forward of her project, which was to wring the Government out of their hands, and winde in her ſelf into that place; as alſo to bring in the Frenchmen, under the pretext that the Countrey was not able to maintain the warre againſt the Engliſh, who had fortified Inſh-Keith, Saint *Columbs* Inſh in Forth, Broghtie on Tay, Hadington on Tine; at Lawder and Roxburgh built Forts, and taken the Caſtles of Hume, and Faſcaſtle. The French were ſent for, and came into Scotland at her requeſt, theſe places were all regained by their aſſiſtance, the young Queen *Mary* was conveighed into France, to be married to the Daulphine, *Francis* the ſecond afterward. Then the Queen-

Queen *Mary* ſent into France.

Queen-Mother Governour.

Queen-Mother dealt with the Governour to demit his place, which he did at laſt, and ſhe was ſubſtitute into it as her daughters Deputie, having Monſieur *D'Oſelle* (a Frenchman) for her Counſellour and adviſer in all affaires. This was done in a Parliament in the year 1555. the 10. of April. All this while we hear nothing of the Earle of Angus, ſave at the ſiege of Hadington, where when the wals were battered and made aſſaultable by a ſufficient breach, the French (who were there) refuſing to enter the breach, (becauſe they being far from home, they could not eaſily repaire their loſſe of men) the Earle of Angus moved with indignation hereat, left them, and went to Tantallon to remain there. And again, when Monſieur *de Termes* beſieged Broghtie upon Tay, Angus is ſaid to have been with him, and lying at Breeghen with ſome horſemen to have skirmiſhed daylie with the enemie. At laſt both Broghtie, and another Caſtle near unto it were taken, and almoſt the whole Garriſons ſlain that were in them.

And now the Queen-Mother being Regent, all her care and endeavour was to bring Scotland into ſubjection of the French. For this purpoſe a motion was made, that all men ſhould be taxed proportionably, according to their meanes, and the moneyes levied thence, ſhould be imployed to wage ſouldiers for the defence of the Countrey, that ſo the Gentlemen and Nobilities travell and bloud might be ſpared. None liked of this courſe, but every one eſchewed to be the firſt refuſer and oppoſer of it. At laſt the ſmall Barons ſent Sir *James Sandilands* of Calder, and the Laird of Weemes to her, whoſe ſpeeches are ſet down at length. Thus our Writers ſay: But the ancient men report, that the Earle of Angus was the man that made the refuſall (it may be he joyned with them) and that he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with 1000. horſe, which was againſt her Proclamation, whereby it was forbidden that any man ſhould have any moe in train then his domeſticks and houſhold ſervants, which was to make way for, and was another meane of their intended tyranny. She reproved him for tranſgreſſing the Proclamation by being ſo accompanied. He anſwered; "That the Knaves would not leave him, that „ he would gladly be rid of them, for they did eat all his Bread and his „ Beefe: that he would think himſelf much bound to her, if ſhe would „ make him free and quit of them. Concerning the tax which ſhe deſi„ red to be made, he ſaid briefly; We will fight our ſelves, and that bet„ ter than any hired fellows; our Prededeceſſours have done it, and ſo will we do alſo. They tell alſo how at another time, ſhe deſired of him to have his Caſtle of Tantallon to keep warders, in or upon I know not what pretext, or for what uſe. To this hee gave no direct anſwer for a long time, but having a Goſe-hawke on his fiſt which he was feeding, ſpake of her, ſaying ſhe was a greedy Glad, "that ſhe had already too „ much, and yet deſired more. But when the Queen inſiſted (not under„ ſtanding, or not willing to underſtand his meaning) he told her, Yes „ Madam, why not, all is yours, ye ſhall have it, it is at your ſervice: „ But Madam, I muſt be Captain and keeper of it: I ſhall keep it for „ you as well as any man you ſhall put into it. They tell alſo how the Queen Regent had intention to make the Earle of Huntley a Duke;

The devill is in this greedy Glad ſhe will never be full.

whereof

whereof when ſhe was diſcourſing with Angus ſhe told him, how Huntley had done her very good ſervice, for which ſhe intended to advance him and make him a Duke, to which he anſwered, "Why not Madam, "we are happy that have ſuch a Princeſſe, that can know and will ac- "knowledge mens ſervice, and is willing to recompenſe it: But by the might of God (this was his oath when he was ſerious and in anger, at other times it was by Saint *Bride* of Douglas) *if he be a Duke, I will be a Drake* (alluding to the word Duke, which in Scotland ſignifies a Duck as well as that title and dignitie, which being the female, and the Drake the male, his meaning was he would be above and before him) "Our Predeceſſours (ſayes he) have done as good ſervice as he or his, "for which they have the priviledge to be the firſt of the Nobilitie after "thoſe of the blood Royall, and I will not loſe it in my time upon "any ſuch pretext. So ſhe deſiſted from further proſecuting of that "purpoſe.

Not long after this he died in Tantallon, and was buried in Aberne- Angus dyes.
thie, when he had lived from his marrying the Queen in the year 1514. in continuall action, all the minority of King *James* the fifth, his majority, all the time of the Duke of Albanie, of the Governour *Hamilton*, and of the Queen-Mother, till the year 1556. or 57. the ſpace of 44. or 45. years; to which if we ſhall adde his age at his marriage (of which we have no certainty) and ſuppoſe it to have been 20. years, hee hath lived ſome 64. years. He was a man (beſides his other vertues ſpoken of) of greater wiſedom than he made ſhow of, or then did appear unto men. His brother Sir *George* (who died before him) was more learned, and of greater eloquence, with whom he entertained alwayes brotherly love and friendſhip, and would ſeem to be guided much by his counſel, ſo that when any ſuit was made to him, his anſwer was, We ſhall adviſe with our brother. But his brother would tell them (who came to entreat him to mediate with the Earle) in plain language, that if he had referred it to his adviſing with him, it was a thing he intended not to do: for (ſayes he) what he mindes to do, he never adviſeth with me. Neither was he hereby accounted leſſe wiſe indeed; for even this was a point of wiſedome, that he would have his brother ſeem more wiſe, which did no whit diminiſh nor derogate any thing from him. It was of this brotherly affection, that he eſpouſed his brothers quarrell againſt *George* Lord *Hume* about the Lands of Cockburnſpeth, or Colburnſpeth, as ſome will have it termed. The Lands were poſſeſſed by one *John Hume*, who was a near Kinſman to the Lord *Hume*, but for ſome unkindneſſe or hard dealing and uſage of the ſaid Lords towards him, he choſe rather to ſell them to Sir *George Douglas*. To put his brother in poſſeſſion (or to keep it) the Earle aſſembled out of Cliddiſdale, Tividale, and other parts to the number of 3000. men. He was alſo aſſiſted by Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, and the Laird of Blackader, together with the reſt of Wedderburnes father brothers, all of them except Broom-houſe, who followed the Lord *Hume*. Angus brought with him field-pieces, and all proviſion of Warre. The Lord *Hume* with his forces came to the Moor above the Park-gate of Cockburnſpeth, and

alighting from their horſes, put their men in order of battell. But when he ſaw Angus begin to march toward him, and that none came between to bring the matter to a Parley, he ſhrunk back over the ditch that was near by. Hereupon Angus (thinking it enough to retain his brothers poſſeſſion) ſtayed his Companies, and ſtood ſtill. The Lord *Hume* retired, and going homeward, ſcattered his Company, and the Earle did the like. Here a quarrell was like to have ariſen betwixt *John Hume* of Blackader, and one *Douglas* of Jedward forreſt. For when Angus began to march againſt the Lord *Hume*, this *Douglas* ſayes to Blackader; *Now we of the Forreſt, will teach you of the Merſe to fight.* The other anſwered a little angerly onely for the time: but when all were retired, he challenged *Douglas* for thoſe words: to whom *Douglas* anſwered, *were ye angry at my words?* when the other ſaid he was, *It is well* (ſayes he) *that ye were; for I was afraid you would not have been half angry, nor have fought half eagerly, there being ſo many* Humes *on the other ſide.* Beſides his wiſedome and brotherly affection, the Earle of Angus is alſo reported to have had a great dexteritie in conciliating mens favour. There was no man whom he would not winne with his courteſie and affabilitie, no man but he would take notice of him; and pretended to know either himſelf, or his father, or his Grandfather, or ſome of his friends, whom he would praiſe unto them, and tell what honeſt men they had been, and what good ſervice they had done in ſuch and ſuch a place, at ſuch and ſuch times. Of which they relate this inſtance, how being in Edinburgh talking (in the Tolbooth) with the Lord *Drummond*, there came a friend to *Drummond*, and took him aſide to ſpeak with him a little. When the Gentleman had ended, and was going away, Angus takes him kindly by the hand, and ſpake familiarly to him as if he had been of his acquaintance. After he was gone, my Lord *Drummond* asked Angus whether he knew the Gentleman or not; he anſwered, that he knew him not at all, and had never ſo much as ſeen him before. *How comes it then* (ſayes *Drummond*) *that ye ſpake ſo familiarly to him?* He anſwered, *I ſaw he was a friend of yours, and your friends are my friends: And beſides, this doth gain mens hearts, If I were now in danger, or had to do, yonder man would aſſiſt me, and take my part.*

Archibaldus *Secundus.*

Quam præſtans animi juvenis formâque decorus,
Et fuerim tantis, tunc quoque dignus avis.
Teſtis erit thalamo quæ me dignata Superbo,
Nympha, parens Regis, filia, ſponſa, ſoror.
Conſiliis promptumque manu Teviotia laudat,
Quæ ſtratas acies vidit Ivere *tuas.*
Atque tuas Latone: *loquetur nos quoque fortes*
Eſca lothi, & dextra hac me meruiſſe mori.
Quin jam victor eram, ni Prorex Gordoniuſque,
Sive metus trepidæ ſuaſit abire fugæ.

Sed

Seu dolus aut error, liquiſſent turpiter hoſtem,
Dum premo qui fugiens jam mihi terga dabat.
Summus at hinc mihi ſurgit quod ſanguine Creti,
Sint noſtro reges terra Britanna tui.

Archbald the ſecond Earle of that name.

How lovely was my ſhape! how ſweet a grace
Dwelt in my looks! how like the *Douglas* race!
How gallant was my minde! what hopes were had
Of my freſh youth! witneſſe the Royall bed
Of her who had been daughter, ſiſter, wife,
To three brave Kings; how my enſuing life
Made good theſe hopes; how wiſe my projects were,
Ivers and *Laiton* vanquiſh'd, witneſſe beare.
Pinkie beheld my ſtrength, there had I gain'd
The field, but Huntley, and the Regent ſtain'd
Their honour: fear or errour made them flee,
Ev'n when I wonne ground of the Enemie:
Yet do not theſe ſuch height of honour bring
As t' have been Grandſire to Great Brittains King.

Of David *the eighth Earle of Angus: And of his father* George, *called Sir* George *of Pittendrigh.*

TO *Archbald* the ſecond, dying without heires male of his own body, his brother Sir *George* of Pittendrigh ſhould have ſucceeded, if he had out-lived him, wherefore we will ſpeak a word of him. He got the Lands of Pittendrigh by marriage. His children by the heire of Pittendrigh (whoſe name was *Douglas* alſo) were *David*, who ſucceeded to the Earledome of Angus, and *James* Earle of Morton, and Regent of Scotland. This *James* got the Earledome of Morton by marrying the third daughter to the Earle of Morton, who was *Douglas* alſo, and ſo was made Earle by proviſion. Her other two ſiſters were married before, one to the Lord *Hamilton* Governour, and the other to the Lord *Maxwell*. He had alſo a naturall ſon, called *George* of Park-head, becauſe he married the heire of Park-head in Douglas, ſhe was alſo *Douglas* to name, of whom he begat *James*, afterward Lord Torthorall, by marriage likewiſe, and Sir *George* of Mordington. He had alſo a naturall daughter by the Lady Dundas, in her husbands time, called *Elizabeth*, who was married to *Smeton Richeſon*. Of this Sir *George* we have ſpoken above in his brothers life, and how he died before his brother.

His ſon *David* married *Elizabeth Hamilton* daughter to *John Hamilton* of Samilſton, called *John* of Cliddiſdale, brother German to Duke *Hamilton* who was Governour. She bare to him one onely ſon called *Archbald*, and two daughters, *Margaret* firſt Lady Balcleugh, then Counteſſe of Bothwell; and *Elizabeth* Lady *Maxwell*. His wife after his death

married the Laird of Whitelaw, and had before been married to the Laird of *Johnſton.*

This *David* lived not long, was little above a year Earle of Angus, neither hear we of any of his actions, being ſomewhat ſickly and infirme of body. He died in Cockburnſpeth in the year 1558.

The ninth Earle of Angus, Archbald *the third, and of his Uncle and Tutour* James Douglas, *Earle of Morton.*

TO *David* ſucceeded his ſon *Archbald*, a childe not above two years old. His Tutour and Guardian was *James Douglas* Earle of Morton his Uncle, and mother to *David.* Wherefore it is no wayes out of our way, or impertinent for our Hiſtory, but rather neceſſary and moſt requiſite, that we ſhould firſt ſpeak of him, being a branch and a brother of the houſe of Angus, and in effect, Earle of Angus, as well as Morton, though under the name of Tutour, or Guardian.

Of his marriage, we have told before, how he was married to *Douglas* his wife, and daughter to the Earle of Morton. She bare to him divers children (ten as is reported) but none of them lived long, but died all young, ere they came to perfect age. She her ſelf became diſtracted of her wits, and would not company with her husband, alledging he was not her husband, but that he was Maſter *Archbald Douglas*, who was brother to *William Douglas* of Whittinghame, that her husband was dead, and that Maſter *Archbald Douglas* had killed him. She was kept and entertained by him as became her place, and had her reſidence at Tantallon, but he being deprived of her Company, looſed the rains to others, and begat three naturall Children: 1. *James* (whoſe mother was one High in Dalkeeth) who was made Captain of Black-Neſſe Caſtle, Priour of Pluſquardain; and afterwards became Laird of Spot, by marrying the heir thereof, *Anna Hume* onely daughter to *George Hume* of Spot. 2. His ſecond ſon was *Archbald*, whom he provided to the eſtate of Pittindreigh, which belonged to his father Sir *George.* 3. The third ſon was named Maſter *George Douglas* who was lame of his feet. Thus much his Children.

His lurking and being a Greeve.

Touching himſelf, during his childe-hood and youth he lived obſcurely, and lurked for fear of the King (*James* the fifth) who had baniſhed his Father, and Uncle, cauſed burn his Ant (the Lady Glames) and had profeſſedly ſet himſelf againſt the whole name of *Douglas* utterly to ruine, and extirpate them. We do not hear that his elder brother *David* did thus hide himſelf, or if he did, it hath not been ſo obſerved of him: but of this *James*, it is certainly known that all the time of his fathers baniſhment and exile, he lurked under the borrowed name of *James the Greeve*, or *James Inneſſe*: Firſt with his Couſin of Glenbarvie, afterward, for fear of being diſcovered with ſo near a Kinſman, with ſome Gentleman in the more Northern parts of Scotland. And as he bore the name, ſo did he alſo execute the office of a Greeve, and over-ſeer of the Lands and Rents, the Corne and Cattell of him with whom he lived.

Neither

Neither was this (howſoever mean) imployment without great uſe, as nothing elſe in providence ever is , if it be rightly obſerved. It fitted him for thoſe weighty matters , which afterward he was to meddle in, and ſchooled him for that charge in which he was to be employed ere long. For by this meane he became acquainted with the humours and diſpoſition of the vulgar and inferiour ſort of the common people, which knowledge is uſefull and neceſſary to greateſt Governours, that ſo they may know how to deale with them , and manage them according as they ſhall have occaſion. He attained alſo hereby ſuch skill in husbandrie, and ſuch perfection in œconomy and thriftineſſe , that having acquired a habite of frugalitie , he not onely repaired the decayed and ſhattered Eſtates of theſe two Earledomes (Angus and Morton) but alſo helped to recover , and augment the revenues of the Crown and Kingdome, more than any other Regent.

So long as his uncle , father , and brother were alive , we do not hear any thing of him , neither is there any mention at all made of him , ſave that in the year 1547. as hath been ſaid, after the battell at Muſcleburgh, he yeelded up to the Engliſh his Caſtle of Dalkeeth, together with himſelf their priſoner, and was by them carried into England , being then about ſeven and twenty years of age , or thereby : How long he ſtayed there , we cannot affirme , but it ſhould ſeeme he remained there certaine years , for during that time , he learned the Eſtate of that Countrey , together with the Engliſh tongue , and tone , which he did ever thereafter much delight to uſe.

He is a priſoner in England.

At his return , after the death of his brother *David*, he being Tutour, and Guardian to his Nephew *Archbald* Earle of Angus , finding both his own, and his pupils Eſtate greatly burdened with debt , he lived privately , and retired for a while with a very ſmall retinue of his domeſticks onely, neither going to Court,nor intermedling with any publick affairs, to avoid the charges which otherwiſe he muſt have undergone. Wherfore his firſt care was to reduce theſe two Earledomes to their former integritie,by frugall parſimonie in the beginning,& not to laviſh out the remainder by untimely magnificence,eſteeming wiſely that means & money are the ſinews,not onely of Warre, but alſo of all civill and politick actions. Now beſides the burden that was on the Lands, his Nephews title to the Earledome of Angus was queſtionable. For if the entailement were not very ſtrong(as it ſeems it was not) Lady *Margaret Douglas* Counteſſe of Lennox had the better right, and was before him , ſhe being ſole heir of Line to *Archbald* that married the Queen, and ſo inheritrix of Angus. It is true ſhe lived in England with her husband Lennox,who was baniſhed, but who knew how ſoon he might be recalled and reſtored? Wherefore to prevent that danger , and to ſtrengthen his Nephew and himſelf againſt their attempts hee contracts him to Monſieur *D'Oſels* daughter, that by his means and friendſhip (he being a French man) he might have the Queens favour and good-will to uphold him againſt their claims. But this contract took no effect, for ſhe was married afterward to Monſieur *D'Aubeſpine* , and Angus to others , as wee ſhall hear in his life.

Returnes.

Lives retired and privately at home.

After

He comes abroad, and begins to deal in publick affairs.

After that he had thus ſettled his affairs at home, he began to come abroad and to have a hand in publick buſineſſe. In the year 1559. he with Duke *Hamilton* do mediate a truce between the Queen-Mother, and the Lords, from the 24. of July, untill the 10. of January. Some Writers ſay that he aſſiſted, and ſided with the Queen; but it ſhould ſeem that they have miſ-taken the matter: for not long after, he joyned openly with thoſe that were againſt her, and the French Faction; and is now reckoned among the Noblemen that ſent to the Queen of England for her aide and aſſiſtance. Theſe were the Duke of Chattelraut, *James Stuart* brother to the young Queen (afterward Earle of Murray) the Earle of Arran (ſon to the Duke) *Argyle*, *Glencairne*, *Rothes*, *Sutherland*, *Monteth*, *Huntley*, *Caithneſſe*, *Arrol*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſe*, *Caſsils*, *Eglinton*: The Lords *Ruthven*, *Oglebye*, *Ereskin*, *Drummond*, *Hume*, *Roſſe*, *Creighton*, *Levingſton*, *Sommervale*, the whole Nobilitie almoſt. Their cauſe and their company being ſo good, Morton could not but take part with them: The common liberty of their Countrey againſt the French, and Religion was no leſſe dear to him than it was to them. In matter of Religion, he was ſo forward, that the Book of Diſcipline being compiled by ſome appointed for that purpoſe, though divers refuſed to approve of it, and to ſet to their hands, yet he did it with the firſt, & received it willingly. Wherefore theſe two (then which there is nothing dearer unto men) being in danger, he was forced in a manner to lend his helping hand for their defence, *pro aris & focis*, as the common ſaying is. And that the rather, for that he ſaw there was no hope of peace, ſeeing the truce which he had procured till the 10. of January was not kept. For before the middle of September Monſieur *La Croque*, being ſent out of France to certifie the Queen of the new Forces which were in levying for her aide under the leading of Marqueſſe *D'Elbeufe* her brother, ſhe began to fortifie Leith with thoſe French which were already in the Countrey. Not long after arrived *Octavian* (a French Colonel) with 1000. men, and immediatly followed him at the heeles *La Broſſe*, Knight of the Cockle, with 2000. more. The next ſpring came alſo the Count Marqueſſe of the houſe of Luxemberg, afterward Duke *D'Eſtamps*, with 1000. foot, and ſome horſe. Theſe all remained and abode in Leith, which they had fortified; but the Queen to ſecure her own Perſon, retired to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, though the Captain thereof, the Lord *Ereskin*, were on the contrary part. The Nobilitie aſſembling themſelves at Dalkeeth Caſtle, which belonged to Morton, hard by Edinburgh, from thence do write to her, deſiring that ſhe would diſmiſſe the French, who were forrainers; and ſet open the Town of Leith, that the Natives might have free recourſe and commerce thither. When they could not obtain theſe things at her hands, the Engliſh, to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand being already entred into Scotland, they ſate down before Leith the 4. of April 1560. About the eight of June, the Queen-Mother dying in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, a peace was concluded, the Town of Leith was ſurrendered, and the French men returned home into their own Countrey. In the beginning of Winter, Morton, together with Glencairne, and Sir *William Metellan* of Lithington, Secretary, were ſent to thank the

The Queen-Mother dieth.

Morton Ambaſſadour in England.

Queen

Queen of England for her ready ſuccour. Morton had alſo a private meſſage from the Earle of Arran, ſonne to Duke *Hamilton*, to lay out marriage to her, but it is not likely that he would deliver it, being ſo unprobable, and ſuch a propoſition as he knew would not be very acceptable unto her. In this journey, Morton procured of his Couſin Lady *Margaret Douglas* Counteſſe of Lennox, her renunciation of all claime and title ſhe had to the Earledome of Angus, in favours of his Nephew *Archbald*, but being done without the conſent of her husband (*Matthew* Earle of Lennox) it was renewed again afterward.

Queen *Mary* arrives in Scotland.

The ſixteenth of Auguſt 1561. Queen *Mary* returned out of France to her native Countrey and Kingdome of Scotland, her husband *Francis* the ſecond of France, being dead before in December. The Nobilitie was ſtill divided concerning matter of Religion, and although now having their native Princeſſe at home, her husband being dead, there was no great cauſe to fear the power or empire of ſtrangers, yet did they ſuſpect that ſhe would be too much ruled and counſelled by her Uncles the Cardinal of Loraine, and the Guiſians. The Heads of the parties were *Iames* the Queens brother, and *George* Earle of Huntley, the firſt a zealous Proteſtant, and wholly bent to maintaine the received Reformation, and the other no leſſe forward to reduce the Romiſh Religion. The Queen inclined to favour Huntleyes cauſe, but the Reformed Religion was eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament, which had been ratified by her own conſent. Huntley, as he was a craftie and turbulent man, ſo was he alſo eſteemed to be by the Queen, and her uncles, who (like unto themſelves) made but a cloak of Religion to attain his own ambitious ends and deſignes. Wherefore howbeit they thought him a fit inſtrument to bring their own purpoſes to paſſe, and made uſe of him, yet did they not truſt him. *Iames* Earle of Murray by the contrary was ſincere, upright, truſtie, and faithfull in all his actions, but he ran a courſe directly oppoſite to that which they intended. The Earle of Morton entred into ſtrait bonds of friendſhip with Murray, which continued ſo long as they lived together. They had the ſame friends, and the ſame enemies, the ſame ends and aimes, the good of their Countrey, and maintaining of Religion. They ran the ſame hazard in all perils and dangers, never ſeparating their counſels, nor failing to aid and aſſiſt one another. Wherefore Murray being ſent by the Queen againſt the out-lawes upon the Borders, being aſſiſted by Morton and his friends (who lay near unto theſe places) he came to Hawick upon the Fair-day of that Town, and having apprehended fiftie of the moſt notorious Theeves which came to the Market fearing nothing, he did ſo terrifie the reſt, that thoſe parts remained peaceable and quiet for a long time after. This ſucceſſe as it increaſed his reputation, ſo did it alſo more and more kindle the hatred and envie of his enemies. And now beſides thoſe at home, the Guiſards did alſo plot his ruine. Their quarrell was Religion, their inſtrument Huntley, their hope, his power and greatneſſe, which was given out to them to be rather more than it was indeed. Wherefore they write to the Queen (their Neece) to feed Huntley with large promiſes, and to entertaine his ſonne *Iohn* with hope of marrying her, and fair countenances, that ſo they might be drawne

Friendſhip betwixt Morton and Murray.

drawn to do what ſhe liſted, to make away Murray and Morton, with their complices. The Popes Letters were to the ſame effect. She had ſent to him for moneys to make Warre upon thoſe that had ſpoken of the yoke of Popiſh obedience; and his anſwer was, that ſhe ſhould not want his help; ſo that ſhe would do it ſeriouſly, that was (according to the Cardinall of Lorains Gloſſe) ſo that firſt of all ſhe would cauſe make away thoſe whoſe names were given her in writing. Theſe Letters ſhe ſhewed unto Murray and the reſt; either becauſe ſhe ſuſpected they had notice of them ſome other way, or to lull them aſleep in ſecurity, that being thus perſwaded of her ſincerity and good meaning, they might the more eaſily be over-reached and entrapped. So the project goeth on; and all things being ſufficiently fore-caſt, and prepared for the accompliſhing of their intentions, the Queen takes her Progreſſe into the North.

Their ruine plotted.

The Queen goeth to the North, they accompany her.

Murray behooved to accompany her, and Morton would not forſake Murray. Who can imagine that their counſels ſhould be diſappointed? The Forces which Murray and Morton had, were very ſmall, and they were farre from their friends, which dwelt in the ſouth parts of the Kingdome. Huntley commanded all in thoſe quarters, being Lieutenant and Sheriff by inheritance: and compaſſed about with his friends and dependers: So the Game ſeemed ſure. But what can prevaile againſt that which God hath ordained? He had decreed to fruſtrate them, and that by themſelves. The Queens intentions and Huntleys did not jumpe in all things: they had their ſeverall ends. They agreed in their deſire of being rid of thoſe who oppoſed the re-eſtabliſhing of Poperie, but Huntley had a further drift. He propounded to himſelf as the reward of his ſervice, no leſſe than the Queens Perſon, to be married to his ſonne *John*, and ſo in effect the Crown and Kingdome. But howſoever the Queen by her carriage toward the young man, was contented they ſhould pleaſe themſelves with that conceit; yet neither did ſhe ever go ſo farre as to promiſe any ſuch thing, neither was it indeed her meaning: for ſhe deſired no leſſe to be rid of Huntley, and hated him much more than ſhe did Murray, having had many proofs of his perfidious dealing both toward her father, and her mother. Beſides, ſhe thought him too great and more powerfull than was fit for a Subject, or ſafe for the Prince. Wherefore before ſhe began her journey into the North, ſhe left his ſonne *John* in priſon behinde her. The pretext was, becauſe he had hurt the Lord *Oglebie* in a Skirmiſh on the Street of Edinburgh; but the true cauſe was, that he might be kept there as a pledge of his Fathers fidelitie, and that he being abſent, Huntley might not conſtraine her to marry him, nor force her to any thing ſhee had not a minde to. But *John* made an eſcape out of priſon, and followed the Queen, that his abſence might not bee any hinderance to the marriage. So Huntley and his ſon gather their Forces together to meet the Queen, and to cut off Murray and Morton, as they would have her beleeve, but their main aim was withall to compel her to marry if ſhe ſhould refuſe. This the Queen knew well enough: ſo that when the Counteſſe of Huntley did tell her from the Earle her husband, that he was ready to put in execution what had been determined, the

Queen

Queen told her, that there was one thing which Huntley muſt needes do firſt of all, before any thing elſe were taken in hand. His ſonne *Iohn* had broken priſon, which was a manifeſt contempt of her authoritie, and ſuch a thing as ſhe could not in honour wink at, and therefore he behooved to returne and enter himſelf priſoner in the Caſtle of Stirlin, though it were but for ſome few dayes, to ſhew his obedience and ſubjection to the Lawes. Huntley would none of that, for he ſaw that ſo his ſon ſhould be made to anſwer for whatſoever ſhould be done contrary to the Queenes liking, ſo there was a demurre in the buſineſſe. In the mean time the Queen goes from Aberdene to Bawhan, the houſe of one Maſter *Leſlie* a Gentleman, ſome twelve miles from the Town. This was thought a fit place to execute their deſigne upon Murray and Morton: but the Gentleman, though he was Huntlies friend, would upon no termes give way to have done in his houſe. Then the Queen went toward Strabogie (a houſe of Huntleyes, where he had reſolved to make an end of all) but by the way ſhe told the Earle, as they rode together, that unleſſe his ſon would returne to his priſon, ſhe could not in honour go to his houſe. But he not condeſcending thereunto, though ſhe were within ſight of Strabogie, ſhe turned another way, and went to a houſe of the Earle of Athols; from thence to Innerneſſe, where thinking to have lodged in the Caſtle, Huntleys ſervants that had the keeping thereof, ſhut the gates againſt her. Then did ſhe perceive what danger ſhe was in, being conſtrained to lodge in an open town, which had neither wall, nor rampart, nor ditch, the Countrey about being wholly at Huntleyes devotion, whoſe ſon *Iohn* was in the fields with a thouſand armed men, beſides the countrey people, who were ready to joyne with him. Wherefore now ſeeing that her own ſafetie conſiſted in her brothers; having none elſe on whom ſhe could relie & truſt into, ſhe began to make much of him & Morton. Theſe two cauſed ſet a watch, and placed a ſtrong Guard at all the entries of the town, by which means Huntleyes ſpies and intelligencers were taken: The next morning the *Clon-chattans*, with the *Fraſers*, and *Monroes*, and many High-landers, underſtanding that their Princeſſe was in danger, came to her aide, and forſook Huntley. With theſe ſhe took the Caſtle of Innerneſſe, and cauſed execute *Alexander Gordon* the Captain thereof, which was a ſufficient teſtimonie of her alienation from Huntley. All this did not quail the Earle, or divert him from his purpoſe. His ambition ſpurred him on before, neceſſitie doth now drive him forward. He had gone too far to thinke of a retreat. Therefore he followes the Queen from Innerneſſe to Aberdene, watching for ſome oportunitie to effect his intentions. He lay not far from the town with his Companies, and had his intelligencers within it, the Earle of Sutherland, Maſter *Leſlie* of Bawhan, black *Alexander* (or *Arthur*) *Forbes*. The townſmen were moſt of them, either of his kinred, or allied to him; and all of them ſo affected, as that they neither would, or durſt oppoſe him. But letters being intercepted, which Sutherland and Bawhan wrote to him, their plots were diſcovered, and they defeated of their intendments once more.

The Queen at Innerneſſe.

Alexander Gordon beheaded.

She goes to Aberdene.

Then Murray and Morton thinking it both tedious and perillous, to be alwayes on their guard, and to be defenders only, reſolved to take

their turne of aſſailing, and purſuing, if ſo happily they might break his Forces, and diſperſe them. And howbeit they had not of their own, that they could truſt to above an hundred horſe, yet being armed with authoritie, and the Majeſtie of their Soveraigne, for the ſafetie of whoſe perſon they were to fight, having gathered together of *Forbeſes* and *Leſlies*, to the number of ſeven or eight hundred, and hoping that albeit they inclined to favour Huntley, yet their duty and allegiance to their Princeſſe would not ſuffer them to betray her, they took the fields. Theſe made great ſhow of forwardneſſe in conveening, and gave out great words and brags, that they alone would do all. Huntley with his men had taken a plot of ground, incloſed about with mariſhes, ſo that he was in a manner encamped. Murray and Morton, with the truſtieſt of their Friends, retired to a little hill, to behold the iſſue of this Battell, committing all to thoſe who had taken it upon them: Onely they ſent ſome horſmen a by-way, to cloſe up the paſſages of the mariſh, that Huntley being overcome, might not eſcape that way. So thoſe boaſters begin to march toward the enemie, and by the way they pluckt off the heath (or hather) which growes in abundance in thoſe parts, and ſtuck it in their Helmets, and Head-pieces, according as it had been agreed upon betwixt them and Huntley. Wherefore, he thinking now (theſe being for him) that there was no power to reſiſt him, came out of his Strength againſt them, who preſently turned their backs, and came fleeing with their ſwords drawn, and crying, Treaſon, treaſon, as if they had been betrayed, when indeed themſelves were the traitours. They had thrown away their ſpears and long weapons, wherefore Murray and Morton, though they were aſtoniſhed at the firſt ſight of theſe hather-topped traitours, who came running toward them, with Huntley at their heels, yet they took courage, and reſolved to ſtand to it. For as they were about to ſave themſelves by flight, and were calling for their horſes, *William Douglas* of Glenbarvie, (who was afterward Earle of Angus) requeſted them to ſtay (as is reported) ſaying, *No horſes, my Lords, we are ſtrong enough for Huntley, and theſe men, though they flee, yet will they not fight againſt us. Wherefore let us preſent our pikes and ſpears to keep them out, that they come not in amongſt us, to break our ranks, and the reſt will prove eaſie.* This advice was liked, and followed, ſo that Huntley expecting nothing leſſe, than to finde reſiſtance, and being deſtitute of long weapons, was forced (ſome of his men being ſlain) to give ground, and at laſt to flee as faſt as before he had followed the counterfeit fleers. Then the Hather-tops perceiving that Huntley fled, turned upon him, and to make amends, ſlew moſt of them that were ſlain that day, which were ſome hundred and twentie, and an hundred taken priſoners, amongſt whom was Huntley himſelf, and his ſonnes *John*, and *Adam*. The Earle being an aged and corpulent purſie man, was ſtifled with his armour, and for want of breath in the taking. Some ſay, that he received a ſtroke on the head with a piſtoll, but it ſeemes to be falſe: for it is reported, that when Huntley ſaw his men routed, he asked of thoſe that were by him, what the name of the ground was upon which they fought, and having learned that it was commonly called Corraighie, he repeated the name thrice, Corraighie, Corraighie, Corraighie, then God be

The battel at Corrighie, 1562.

be mercifull to me. The name of the place put him in minde of a reſponſe or oracle (if we may ſo call it) which was given by a Witch in the Highland, to whom he had ſent to enquire of his death, and ſhe had told, that he ſhould die at Corraighie. But whether the meſſenger, or he himſelf miſ-took the word, he underſtood it of Creigh, a place which was in his way to Aberdene, and which (riding thither) he alwayes did ſhunne, by reaſon of this Sooth-ſayers ſpeech; or if at any time he did adventure to go by it, he was ſure to be well accompanied, and to have the fields cleared before. But this event diſcovered his miſtaking. It was alſo told him by ſome of the ſame profeſſion, that the ſame day, on which he was taken, he ſhould be in Aberdene, maugre thoſe that would not ſo, neither ſhould one drop of his bloud be ſpilt. This ſeemed to promiſe him a ſucceſſefull journey; but the ambiguitie thereof was cleared by his death: for he was indeed that night in Aberdene, being carried thither upon a paire of creels, or panniers, and that againſt the will of all his friends, who would not have had him brought thither in ſuch a guiſe. Neither did he loſe any bloud, but was choak'd for want of breath. Such are commonly the anſwers of ſuch ſpirits, ambiguous, and of no uſe to the receivers; yet mens curioſitie is ſo prevalent, that poſterity wil take no warning of former examples. Murray being glad of this ſo-unlooked-for-victory, ſent to the Miniſters of Aberdene, to be ready againſt his coming, to go to the Churches, and give God thanks for that dayes ſucceſſe: which they did very ſolemnely, and (no queſtion) heartily, as men are wont to do while the memory of a great delivery is yet freſh in their mindes. The next day *John Gordon* (the Earles ſon) was execute, and his brother *Adam* was pardoned in regard of his youth. *George* the eldeſt brother fled to his father-in-law Duke *Hamilton*, and afterward being arraigned & condemned of high treaſon, he was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of Dumbar: Who doth not ſee through this whole journey, but eſpecially in this cataſtrophe, an over-ruling power and providence doth either willingly ſhut his eyes, or elſe hath his underſtanding blinded by partiality or prejudice. Five ſeverall times (at Bawhan, at Straboggie, at Inner-Neſſe, at Aberdene, and laſt of all, at Corraighie) did Huntley attempt to cut off theſe men, who were many degrees weaker; and five times is hee diſappointed. And that neither by their wiſedome nor ſtrength, but by him who confounds the wiſedome of the wiſe, and who delivers without the help of the arme of fleſh. Neither were they delivered onely, but their enemies were alſo taken in the trap, and fell into the pit which they had digged for them. Let men obſerve it, and let them learne not to confide in their own (never ſo ſeeming wiſely grounded) projects, leſt they be thus diſappointed as Huntley was. This fell out in the year 1562. After this they returned with the Queen to Edinburgh, where we will leave them in reſt, and ſo in ſilence a year or two.

In the year 1564. *Matthew Stuart* Earle of Lennox returned into Scotland after 22. years exile, and was reſtored to his eſtate in a Parliament. Not long after, his ſonne *Henry* Lord Darnely, having obtained leave of the Queen of England for three moneths, came to do his duty to

Lennox and *Henry* Lord Darnely come home.

the Queen as his Princesse and Kinswoman. Hee being a proper and handsome young man, and her Cousin Germane by his mother, Lady *Margaret Douglas*, the Queen began to think him a fit husband for her, and ere long did propound the matter to the Nobilitie, craving their consent and approbation thereto. They were divided in their opinions. *Hamilton* and Murray were against the match, fearing alteration in Religion, he being a Romane Catholique, as the Queen also was. Besides, they thought it not fit to conclude any thing without the Queen of Englands consent. Morton was for it, and thought it great reason that shee should have her libertie in her choyce of a husband. He liked also the party, being his near Kinsman, the Lady *Margaret Douglas* and he being brothers children. Wherefore having endeavoured to draw those that stood against it to be of his opinion, when he could not prevaile, he professed openly he would do what lay in him to set it forward; and speaking to the Duke and Murray, *It will be long* (sayes he) *ere you two agree on a husband for her, if she marry not till you do, I fear me she marry not these seven years*; and so he left them. The rest bound themselves to withstand it. Her Uncles of Guise did also oppose it, intending to bestow her on some forraine Prince, so to strengthen themselves by some great alliance. The Queen of England did not so much dislike it, as she desired to have some hand and stroke in it. Notwithstanding all this opposition the marriage was consummate the 27. of July 1565. about some six moneths after he came into Scotland. Whatsoever the motives were that induced the parties thus to hasten it, so it pleased God in his wisedome and providence, to dispose of things that by joyning of these two, this happy conjunction of the two Kingdomes which we now see and enjoy, should spring from them without all controversie or question. The eldest daughter of King *Henry* the seventh of England, *Margaret*, had but two children; *James* the fifth by King *James* the fourth, and *Margaret Douglas* (born at Harbottle) by *Archbald* Earle of Angus her second husband. *James* the fifth left behinde him but one childe, *Mary*, sole heire to the Crowne of Scotland. Lady *Margaret Douglas*, being brought up with her Uncle *Henry* the eight, was married to *Matthew Stuart* Earle of Lennox, who being banished, and living in England, had by her *Henry*, Lord Darnely, and *Charles*, father to *Arabella*. So that by this marriage of Queen *Mary* to *Henry* Lord Darnely, the whole right that was in Queen *Margaret* to the Crowne of England (failing the heires of King *Henry* the eight) was combined and united in the persons of these two, and their off-spring. What eye is so blinde as not to see evidently the hand of the Almighty in this match? In taking away her former husband (the King of France) in bringing her back again into Scotland; in sending Lennox into England, there to marrie Lady *Margaret Douglas*, in bringing him and his sonne (*Henry*) home again after 22. years absence, and in moving Queen *Mary* to set her affection on him. I make no question but this consideration (of strengthening the title to England) hath been amongst the motives that drew on this match, though we finde none, or very slender mention thereof in our writers.

Proposition of martiage with the Queen.

They marry the 27. of July 1565.

The next day after the marriage, they were proclaimed with sound of Trumpet

Trumpet at the Market-Croſſe of Edinburgh by a Herauld, *Henry* and *Mary*, King and Queen of Scotland. This was ill taken both of the Nobility and Commons. A King made by Proclamation! The voice of a Herauld to be in ſtead of a Parliament! King *Francis*, her former huſband had not done ſo; he had ſought a matrimoniall Crowne from the three eſtates, and hardly obtained it, after he had been refuſed at firſt, yet not without conſent of a Parliament. But by this it appeared they made no account of the eſtates, nor bare no reſpect unto the cuſtomes of the Kingdome. Every man thought it a great neglect and derogation to their priviledges, but the male-contented called it, a tyrannicall uſurpation. Thus many of the Nobility being diſcontented withdrew themſelves, and the want of their preſence and countenance in guiding of affaires, did alienate the people. The principall male-contents were *Hamilton*, *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Rothuſe*, *Glencairne*. Againſt theſe the King goeth to Glaſgow with 4000. men. They lay at Paſley; and though they were together, yet they were not all of one minde. The *Hamiltons* would not hear of any peace, alledging there could be no true and firme reconciliation with Princes once offended. The reſt were not of their opinion: they ſaid that matters had been hitherto carried without bloud; neither were their differences ſuch, but that they might be compoſed without ſtroke of ſword; eſpecially in regard that there were ſome about their Princes, that would both mediate their peace, and endeavour to have it faithfully kept, The conſtant practice of their Predeceſſours, and the rule they had ever followed had been this; To paſſe by, and not to take notice of the ſecret and hidden faults of their Princes, and to ſalve thoſe things which were doubtfull by a favourable and charitable conſtruction; yea even to tolerate and beare with their open faults and errours, as far as might be, without the ruine of the common wealth; of which nature they eſteemed theſe ſlips in government to be proceeding from their youth, and want of experience, which might be redreſſed by calme and fair means. Duke *Hamilton* himſelf did like of their moderation, but the reſt of the *Hamiltons* refuſed to aſſiſt them upon theſe terms; wherefore they departed all of them, ſave the Duke, with ſome ſixteen that attended his Perſon. By this departure they were ſo weakened, that not daring to abide the Kings coming, they went firſt to *Hamilton*, and the day following toward Edinburgh, but being ſhot at from the Caſtle, they took their way through Bigger to Dumfreis, to the Lord *Harris*, who had deſired them to do ſo, and had made them many faire promiſes. But he failing them, they diſmiſſed their Troupes, and fled into England. All this way the King with his Companies dogged them at the heeles, whereupon it was called, the Runne-away Rode (or runne-about) and, the wilde-gooſe chaſe. The King returned to Edinburgh in the latter end of October. The Runne-about Rode.

All this while the Earle of Morton took part with the King and Queen, but he was ſuſpected to favour the other ſide, which he did indeed ſo farre, as to wiſh that the matter might be ſo taken up, that none of their lives were endangered. Otherwiſe he was in a good place, and Chancellour for the time. But theſe male-contented Lords being thus Morton Chancellour.

removed,

removed, his houſe of Tantallon was ſeized, that it might not be a receipt and place of refuge for the Rebels, if they ſhould happen to take it: But the true cauſe was, *Rizio* (commonly known by the name *Signior David*) had put the King and Queen in ſome jealouſie of Morton; the occaſion whereof was this, This Italian (or *Pied-montoiſe*) was of a Muſician, riſen to ſuch favour, that he was become Cabin-Secretary to the Queen; and Sir *William Metellan* (Secretary of eſtate) finding himſelf prejudiced by him, who had encroached upon his office, as alſo out of the love he bare to Murray (to whom *Rizio* was a profeſſed enemy) bethought himſelf how to be rid of him. Wherefore he appointed a meeting with Morton, and the Lord *Harris*, in which he uſed all the perſwaſions he could to induce them to cut off that baſe ſtranger, who took upon him to diſturb the Countrey, did abuſe the Queens favour, and ſet all in a combuſtion, to the diſhonour of the Prince and Nobilitie; telling them, that it belonged to them, and ſuch as they were, to have a care that ſuch diſorders were not ſuffered unpuniſhed. And the more to incite them thereto, he alledged the examples of former times, omitting nothing which he thought might move them to undertake it. But Morton (as the Proverb is) was as wiſe as he was wilely: He told him flatly, he would take no ſuch violent courſe, he would do what he could by fair meanes for Murrays peace and reſtitution: but as for that way, it would offend the Queen highly, and therefore he would not meddle with it. *Metellan* ſeeing that he could not draw him to it by perſwaſion, caſts about how to drive him to it by neceſſity. He betakes himſelf to *Rizio*, makes ſhew as if he were very deſirous of his friendſhip, and proffers him his ſervice ſo farre as he was able. After he had ſo inſinuated with him, that he began to have ſome truſt with him, he told him that the place he had (to be the Queens Cloſet-Secretarie) was neither gainefull, nor uſuall in this Countrey, and that he might eaſily come by a better: *The Lord Chancellours office* (ſayes he) *is the moſt honourable, which is in Mortons hands, a man no wayes fit for the place, as being unlettered and unskilfull. Do but deal with the Queen to eſtrange her countenance from him, as one that favours Murray a Rebell, and with the King to inſiſt in his right to the Earledome of Angus, Morton will be glad to ſue to you for your favour, and to obtain your friendſhip, will be content to demit his place of Chancellour in your behalfe: Onely, in regard that the place (being the chief office in the Kingdome) muſt be poſſeſſed by a Scottiſh Nobleman, you muſt firſt be made a free Denizan, and naturalized, and have the title of an Earle, which the Queen may conferre upon you of her ſelf.* This *Metellan* thought would incenſe Morton againſt *Rizio*, and force him to do him a miſchief. *Rizio* began to follow this advice, in ſo much that the Caſtle of Tantallon was ſummoned, and delivered into the Kings hands. Likewiſe the King entred heir to his Grandfather *Archbald* Earle of Angus. The Queen alſo intending to create *Rizio* an Earle, would have bought Melvin Caſtle with the Lands belonging thereto for the firſt ſtep of his preferment, but the owner would by no meanes part with them. And it is very probable, that he would have proſecuted the reſt of the Plot, if he had not been interrupted, and diſpatched before he could bring it to paſſe: for his credit increaſed ſo farre

Rizio.

farre with the Queen, that like too big a Saile for a fmall Barke, he was not able to bear his good fortune; but being puft up therewith beyond meaſure, he forgot his duty to the King, and carried himſelf ſo inſolently toward him, that the King reſolved to rid himſelf of him upon any terms. So he imparts his minde to his friends, that *Rizio* muſt needs be made away. Thoſe whom he firſt acquainted with his purpoſe, were *George Douglas* (commonly called the Poſtulate) a naturall brother of his mothers, an underſtanding and active man; the Lord Ruthven who had married a naturall ſiſter of his mothers, and the Lord Lindſay, who was his Couſin German, and had to wife a ſiſter of the Earle of Murrayes; and his own father the Earle of Lennox. Theſe had concluded to lay hold on him as he came from the Tenneſſe-Court, where he uſed much, but he having gotten ſome inkling hereof, kept a Guard about him of ſome fifty Halbards, which conſtrained them to think of a new courſe. And becauſe their power was neither ſufficient to effect it, nor to bear it out when it were done, they thought good to joyne the Earle of Morton. He being ſomewhat alienated, and diſcontented with the Kings inſiſting in his claime to the Earledome of Angus, they ſent to him *Andrew Ker* of Fadunſide, and Sir *Iohn Ballindine* Juſtice-Clerk to deal with him, who prevailed ſo farre, that he was content to come to Lennox Chamber where the King was. There they came ſoon to an agreement, the King and his father for themſelves, and undertaking alſo for Lady *Margaret Douglas* (whoſe conſent they promiſed to obtaine, and that ſhe ſhould renue and ratifie what had been done by her ſelf before) renounced all title, right, intereſt, or claim they had or could make to the Earledome of Angus in favours of *Archbald* ſonne to *David*, ſometime Earle thereof. Having obtained this, he conſented to aſſiſt the K. with all his power on theſe conditions. 1. *That nothing ſhould be altered in the received Religion, but that it ſhould be eſtabliſhed as fully, and in as ample manner, as it was before the Queen came home out of France.* 2. *That the baniſhed Lords ſhould be brought home and reſtored.* 3. *That the King would take the fact upon himſelf, and warrant them from whatſoever danger might follow thereon by the Queens diſpleaſure.* Theſe Articles were given him in writing to ſubſcribe, leſt afterward out of his facilitie or levitie he ſhould either deny it, or alter his minde; which he did very willingly, and even eagerly. Preſently hereupon Lennox went into England to acquaint the baniſhed Lords herewith, and to bring them near to the Borders of Scotland, that when *Rizio* were ſlaine, they might be ready to lay hold of the occaſion for their reſtitution. And now the day of the Parliament drew near, in which they were to be forfeited; and *Rizio* did beſtirre himſelfe notably to bring it to paſſe. He went about to all thoſe that had vote in Parliament, to trie their mindes, and to terrifie them, by telling it was the Queens pleaſure to have it ſo, and that whoſoever voted to the contrary ſhould incurre her high diſpleaſure, and no waies do any good to the Noblemen. This made them haſten his death, to prevent the ſentence which the Parliament might have given out againſt the Lords by *Rizio* his practiſes. Wherefore that they might take him, when his Guard was from him, and that it might the more clearly be ſeen, that the King

Rizio his death plotted by the King.

was

was the chief authour of it, they determined to take him along with them, who ſhould bring him out of the Queens Chamber, from whence he ſhould be carried to the City and have his triall by aſſiſe, and ſo legally and formally (for they had matter enough againſt him) condemned and executed at the Market-Croſſe of Edinburgh. So Morton aſſembled his friends, and going to the Abbey of Halyroodhouſe (the 8. of March 1566) in the evening, he ſeized the Keyes of the Palace, and leaving a ſufficient number in the Inner-Court below, to keep in the Noblemen that were lodged in the Palace, and were not on the Plot, he himſelfe went up to the preſence, and there walked up and down. The King went directly to the Queens Chamber by the privie ſtaires, and with him the Lord Ruthven, and ſome five more all armed. The Queen was at ſupper, and there was with her, her naturall ſiſter the Counteſſe of Argyle, and *Rizio* with ſome few other ſervants. She was at firſt ſomewhat amazed to ſee them come into her Bed-Chamber being armed; but becauſe the Lord Ruthven had been ſick of a burning fever, ſhe thought he had been diſtracted with the vehemencie of the fit, ſo ſhe asked what the matter was. Ruthven made no anſwer, but laid hold on *Rizio*, and told him it did not become him to be in that place. He ranne to the Queen, and claſped his hands about her to ſave himſelf, but the King taking her ſoftly in his arms, told her they had determined to puniſh that villaine; who had abuſed both them and the Countrey, and withall unclaſping *Rizio* his hands, he delivered him to Ruthven, who carried him from thence into the Privie-Chamber, and then to the Preſence. In the mean time the Earle *Bothwell* and *Huntley* (who were oppoſite to this courſe) being lodged in the Palace, and hearing how things went on the Queens ſide, would have made reſiſtance, by the help of the under-officers of Court, Butlers, Cooks, Skuls and ſuchlike, with Spits and Staves, but they were quickly rambarred, and beaten back by thoſe that had been left of purpoſe in the Court by Morton. So *Huntley* and *Bothwell* fled out at back-windowes. *Athole* was perſwaded to keep his Chamber by Secretary *Metellan*, who was on the Plot, and ſupped that night with *Athole*, partly to keep him from ſtirring, leſt he might have offered or ſuffered violence; partly and chiefly that he himſelf might not be ſuſpected to have a finger in the Pie, having *Athole* to be a witneſſe of his behaviour therein. He had given order to his followers, that they ſhould remaine quiet till it came to be acted, and that then they ſhould arme themſelves, and runne haſtily, as it were to an unknown and ſudden fray and tumult, but if there were need, to aſſiſt Morton and thoſe that guarded the Court. The noiſe of the ſcuffling which *Huntly* and *Bothwel* made below in the Court, coming to the eares of thoſe that were above in the preſence, and had *Rizio* in their hands; they not knowing what it might import, but feaming that he might be reſcued from them, they fell upon him, and ſtabbed him with their daggers, ſore againſt the will, and beſides the intention of Morton, and the reſt of the Noblemen, who thought to have cauſed execute him upon the ſcaffold, ſo to have gratified the common people, to whom it would have been a moſt acceptable and pleaſant ſight. It is conſtantly reported that he was adviſed by one *Damicote* (a

Rizio killed.

1566. Martii 8.

French

French Prieſt, who was thought to have ſome skill in the black Art) that now he had gotten good ſtore of means and riches, it was beſt for him to return home to his native Countrey, where he needed not to feare the Nobilitie of Scotland, whoſe hatred he could not be able to ſtand out againſt long; but he contemned his counſell, ſaying, *The Scots were greater threatners, than doers.* They ſay alſo, that one *Signior Franceſe* admoniſhed him to carry himſelf more ſoberly, and not to irritate the Nobilitie; for as he underſtood they bare him no great good will, and would not faile to do him ſome miſchief one time or another; but he anſweredhim in Italians, *Parole, parole,* all was but words, he feared them not, they were no body, they were but like Ducks, which if ſome of them be ſtricken down, the reſt will lie in. To whom the other replied, *Take heed you finde them not rather like Geeſe, of which if you ſtirre but one, all the reſt will flie upon you, and ſo plume you, that they will leave you neither Feather, nor Down.* So when he was deſired by ſome Diviner, or Sooth-ſayer, to beware of the Baſtard, he ſaid, *That Baſtard ſhould not have power to do much hurt in Scotland, ſo long as he lived*; underſtanding it to be ſpoken of *Murray*, who was Baſtard-brother to the Queen. But the Baſtard that ſlew him, was *George Douglas* (as is the moſt received opinion) who ſtabbed him with the Kings dagger, having none of his own then about him. This brought Morton into great trouble; for the next day being the day of the Parliament, the baniſhed Lords compeered in the Parliament-Houſe, as they had been ſummoned, where finding no accuſer, now that *Rizio* was gone, the Parliament was deſerted, and the Queen reconciled unto them, intending to uſe their help againſt the ſlayers of *Rizio*. Wherefore ſhe went firſt to Seton, then to Dumbar, where ſhe aſſembled a ſufficient number of men, ſo that Morton, Ruthven, and their partners, were fain to flee into England, but ſome of them lurked in the High-lands. Their Goods were confiſcated, their places and Offices diſpoſed of to others. Their friends, who were no wayes acceſſarie to that fact, were committed to priſon. Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, onely becauſe he was Mortons kinſman, was ſent firſt to Dumbar, then to the Ken-moore in Galloway. It is true, it was his brother-in-laws houſe, and Loghen-varre was indeed a loving brother, yet was it farre from home, neither was he ſet free without bail to re-enter when he ſhould be required.

Morton flees to England.

Thus were the dice changed. Morton was at Court, when Murray and his complices were baniſhed: now they are in Court, when he and his aſſociats are diſ-courted, and forced to flee. He had favoured them, but had not joyned with them: they favour him, but think it not good to take part with him. Yet had they more reaſon to do it, for his fact had wrought out their Libertie, theirs had made him to be ſuſpected. But whether they would not, or could not do him any good, or that they thought the time was not fit, and a better time was to be expected, the King (who was the chief authour and firſt mover of it) having forſaken him, he was conſtrained to with-draw himſelf into England, as we have ſaid. There he did not remain long in eaſe and quiet, for about the beginning of May, the Queen ſent Maſter *John Thornton* (Chanter of Murray) deſiring that he and the reſt, might not be ſuffered to harbour within the

Queen of Englands Dominions. She ſent the ſame *Thornton* alſo to France with the like meſſage, but it needed not, for they never meant to go thither. Queen *Elizabeth* ſent one of her ſervants (*William Killigrew*) and by him promiſed to cauſe them voide her Realme before Mid-ſummer. It was ſo done in ſhew, they were warned to depart, and did depart from Newcaſtle, abſtained from converſing in publick, but they lurked privately in a place not far from Anwick. No ſearch was made for them, and the Meſſenger had whiſpered them in the ear, when he commanded them to be gone, that England was broad and wide. Before they came from Newcaſtle, he loſt his good friend the Lord Ruthven, whom God called to his reſt in mercy. Thus was he baniſhed from Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, yet did he lurk ſtill in England.

The Lord Ruthven dies there.

But he lurked not long; for matters were in brewing at home, which gave occaſion to his returne. The Earle Bothwell was now become the Queens favourite, all men followed him, all preferment came by him. His thoughts were high, his ambition no leſſe than to injoy the Queen, if ſhe were free from a husband. To bring this deſigne to paſſe, ſhe was content to forget all private quarrels with Morton, and he preſumed that Morton being abandoned of the King, and ingaged to him for his return and reſtitution, as alſo being led with hope of his further goodwill, to gratifie him in any thing that might be procured from the Queen, would be induced either to become his friend, or at leaſt not to be his enemy, nor to raiſe, or to ſide with any Faction againſt him; which he eſteemed a great point, & of much importance. There was amongſt Bothwels followers one M. *Arch. Douglas*, a brother of the houſe of Whittingame, by his mediation all former quarrels were taken away on both ſides, & Mortons peace procured from the Q. on condition he ſhould not come within a mile of the Court. This reſtraint he reckoned to be rather beneficiall, than hurtfull to him; ſeeing that by that mean, he ſhould be the farther off from whatſoever ſhould happen amiſſe. Wherefore being returned before the Q. was brought to bed of her ſon *James* the 6. (which was the 19. of June 1566) he becomes a ſpectatour, beholding a farre off what would be the iſſue of things. To ſit on the ſhoare, & to behold others at ſea toſſed with winde and wave, though it cannot but ſtir our pity and commiſeration in common humanity, yet when we reflect upon our ſelves, and conſider how happy we are that are on firme land, free from theſe fears and dangers, the joy and contentment we have in our own ſafety, doth ſwallow up the former conſideration of anothers danger. So it was with Morton, he ſaw what a fearful tragedie was like to be acted at court, but not being able to hinder it, he choſe to keep at home. He was the Kings kinſman, yet could he do him no good, having had experience of his weaknes and inconſtancy in his forſaking of him, after the killing of *Rizio*. He was beholding to Bothwell for his reſtoring, and therefore bound not to oppoſe him, in honeſty and dutie he could not aid nor aſſiſt him in ſuch courſes. Wherefore he uſeth the benefite of his confining, and becomes a looker on.

Bothwell the Queens favourite.

Morton returnes.

King *James* borne. 1566. 19. June.

To declare the eſtate of thoſe times, and to dilate it, let them do it that can delight to blaze the weakneſſe of thoſe, whom they ought to love

and

and honour, and who have that task imposed upon them, by whatsoever necessitie. For my self, neither am I any way necessitated thereunto, neither could my soul ever delight in the reproach of any. I wish I could cover the sins of the world, they should never be uncovered, or known, but where necessity did require it, that so they might be taken away by order. My endeavour should rather be with the blessed sons of *Noah*, to overspread, with the mantle of silence and oblivion, the nakednesse of those to whom we owe even a filial dutie & pietie. Concerning that Princesse, my heart inclineth more to pitie; I see good qualities in her, and love them: I see errours, and pity them: I see gentlenesse, courtesie, humilitie, beautie, wisedome, liberalitie; who can but affect these? If they be carried to inconvenience, who can but lament it? In that sex, in that place, in that education, in that company: a woman, a Princesse, accustomed to pleasure, to have their will, by Religion, by sight, by example, by instigation, by soothing, and approbation. Happie, yea thrice happy are they who are guided through these rocks without touch, nay, without shipwrack. I do advert more than I finde set down by Writers, while I search into all the causes which might have drawn on these lamentable events. Besides the secret loathings in the estate of marriage (which who knows but the actors?) bringing forth dislike, then quarrels on both sides, then crossing & thwarting, then hatred, then desire to be freed; besides all this, impotencie, and desire of revenge, being seconded with shew of reason, and backed with a colour of law and justice; what wil it not do? Her husband had killed a servant of hers, whom he had dragged violently out of her bed-chamber. Behold him therefore (as Lawyers, or such as pretended skill in law would alledge) guiltie of death in their judgment. He was not crowned, but proclaimed King only by her sole authority, never acknowledged by a Parliament, so was he but a private man, & a subject to her his Soveraigne, as are the wives and children of Kings. Wherefore his Fact (in slaying *Rizio*) was flat treason, for which he might have bin arraigned; and suffered according to law. But bearing the name of a King, & having many friends and kinred, a legall proceeding could hardly be attempted without great difficulty, and might have caused an insurrection, and much bloud-shed with uncertain event. Wherefore in wisedome the most convenient way was to do it privatly and secretly; secret justice, is justice notwithstanding; formalities are but for the common course of things. This was an extraordinary case. Justice is absolutly necessary, the form (whether this, or that way) is indifferent, it may be altered, or omitted; the Princes power may dispense with forms in case of necessitie or conveniencie, so the substance be observed. Well, I conceive that a Prince upon such suggestions, upon dislike, in anger and indignation, might be drawn by his counsellours, neither can I but conceive, that these colours have been here represented to perswade, or to sooth. To be short, that fact so lamentable, and (which I can never remember without affliction) every way in her own, and her husbands person, done by the Earle *Bothwell*, he murdering her husband, she marrying him, the matter seemed extreame strange and odious in the eyes of many. It is true, *Bothwell* was cleared, or rather not filed by an Assise; but the Nobilitie judging

The King murdered by Bothwell.

him not to be ſufficiently cleanſed, but rather being fully perſwaded that he was the authour of the murder, thought themſelves bound in duty to bring him to a further triall. And howſoever he had married the Queen, yet did they not take themſelves to be ſo farre bound in obedience to her, as in that regard to deſiſt from all further inquiring into that Fact. Nay, it did rather move their indignation to ſee him who had committed ſo vile and execrable a murder, not onely to eſcape Scot-free, but to reap ſo large and rich a reward, as was the Queens own perſon. Beſides, they thought the conſequent might prove dangerous, if he who had maſſacred the father, and married the mother, ſhould alſo have the ſon (the onely barre and lett of his ambition, to eſtabliſh the Crown to himſelf and his poſteritie) in his power and cuſtodie. Theſe were given out as the cauſes of their taking arms, which were very plauſible to the vulgar, eſpecially the ſafetie of the young Prince *James*. There is no queſtion, they had alſo their own particular reſpects, which are ſeldome wanting, and do commonly concurre with the publick cauſe: wherefore there joyned together the Earles of Argyle, Glencairne, and Marre, the Lords Lindſay and Boyde. Theſe bound themſelves to purſue Bothwel, and to aſsiſt one another againſt whoſoever would oppoſe them, eſpecially to keep the young Prince from coming into Bothwels power. But Argyle repenting him, went the next morning to the Queen, and revealed all the matter, and the Lord Boyde alſo was at laſt perſwaded with many fair promiſes, to forſake them, and joyn with Bothwell. The reſt notwithſtanding remained firme, with whom Morton took part. He thought he could do no leſſe, being ſo near a kinſman to the late King, and ſo to the young Prince. It is true, he had been beholding to Bothwell, but no benefit could binde him to aſsiſt him in this caſe: for by ſo doing, he ſhould have given ſome colourable ground to that report, which had ſo ſpred it ſelf, that it was beleeved a while about the Court of England, that Murray and he were authours of the Kings murder. To have remained neutrall, would have been but ill taken on both ſides. The Lord Hume, Cesford, and Balcleugh, though they had not ſubſcribed with the other Lords, yet did they hate Bothwell, and were ſuſpected to incline to the contrary Faction. The year preceding, Bothwel had made an in-rode upon Liddiſdale, for the ſuppreſsing of theeves, and apprehending of out-lawed Borderers with bad ſucceſſe, for he was wounded, and hardly eſcaped with his life. This year he reſolves to repair his honour, and by ſome notable exploit, to gain the good-will of the people, which that he might the more eaſily do, the chief men of the name of *Scot*, and *Ker*, who were likely to hinder him, were commanded to enter into priſon in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and there to remain till his returne. But they fearing ſome worſe meaning, went home to their houſes.

The Nobilitie bands againſt Bothwell.

The Lord *Hume* alſo being ſummoned to enter, would not obey. Notwithſtanding *Bothwell* goeth on with his intended journey, and ſo the Queen and he come to Borthwick Caſtle, there to make all things ready for this expedition. The adverſe party thought this place was not unfit to ſurprize him in it: and therefore they appointed their Rendezvous at Liberton, whither Morton onely came. The Earle of Atholo

(whither

(whither through his naturall ſlowneſſe or fearfulneſſe) by his not keeping that appointment, cauſed the reſt to break alſo, and to ſtay ſtill at Stirlin. The Lord *Hume* in hope to have been ſeconded, went directly to Borthwick, and lay about the Caſtle; but ſeeing no appearance of their coming, he kept ſuch negligent watch, that the Queen and *Bothwell* eſcaped, and went back to the Caſtle of Dumbar. The Lords thus fruſtrated, went to Edinburgh to practiſe the Citizens there, and to draw them to their ſide, which they eaſily effected. The Caſtle was kept by Sir *Iames Belfoure* (whom *Bothwell* had made Captain thereof, and who had been his intimate friend, and privie to all his ſecrets: But upon ſome diſtaſte or diſtruſt, *Bothwell* had ſought to put him out of the place; which he finding, had made himſelf full Maſter thereof: and he was now entred in termes of agreement, and capitulation with the Lords to put it into their hands, but had not yet concluded and tranſacted with them. There were in the City at this time of the other party, *Iohn Hamilton* Biſhop of S. Andrews, the Earle of Huntley, and the Biſhop of Roſſe *Iohn Leſly*. Theſe when they heard that the Lords were come into the Citie, came forth into the Street, hoping the Citizens would aſſiſt them and help them to expell the Lords; but when they ſaw that few or none did reſort to them, they fled to the Caſtle, where they were received (the Captain thereof not having as yet agreed with the Lords) and ſome few dayes after were let out at a poſterne, and ſo eſcaped. In the mean time the Queen had ſent abroad to aſſemble her forces. There came to her out of Lowthian, the Lords Seton, Yeſter, and Borthwick, ſmall Barons, Waughton, Baſſe, and Ormeſton. Out of the Merſe, Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, with his Uncle *Blackader*, notwithſtanding their Chief the Lord *Hume*, and his Couſin German Morton, were on the other ſide. Beſides theſe, they had 200. hired Souldiers under the leading of Captain Anſtrudder, mounting in all to 2000. and 500. with theſe they ſet forward from Dumbar, with intention to go to Leith, that ſo they might be nearer the enemy, and loſe no opportunity of taking advantage of them. A wrong courſe, and ill adviſed: Whereas if they had but ſtayed a ſpace in the Caſtle of Dumbar, the Lords not having ſufficient forces to aſſault them there, nor Ordnance, or any other neceſſary proviſion for a ſeige, had been conſtrained to diſperſe themſelves, and retire home to their own houſes. Which if they had done, they might eaſily have been overthrown being ſeparated and ſcattered, before they could have joyned their forces again. But there is a directour of all things, who had not ordained that *Bothwell* ſhould proſper in his wayes; which fell out alſo by his own temeritie, and the counſel of Maſter *Edmond Hay* (his Lawyer) who is ſaid to have adviſed him thus, alledging that the Lords neither would nor durſt abide their coming, but would preſently flee upon the firſt noiſe of their approach; and that if they did but once ſhew themſelves in the fields, the Commons would all come flocking to them. But it fell out clean contrary, for neither did the people concurre with them (becauſe they hated *Bothwell*) and the Lords having once taken Arms, were enforced by neceſſity to fight for their own ſafety. Their number was about ſome 2000. moſt part Gentlemen of good quality

The Queen and Bothwell at Borthwick.

Carbury hill.

quality and ranke; of the which, the chief were Morton, Marre, Athole, Glencairne, Montroſe; the Lords, Hume, Lindſay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanwhere; Small Barons, Cesford, Drumlenrigge, Tillebardine, Grange. They had no Artillerie, neither any Musketiers, ſave a few from Edinburgh. They cauſed to be drawn on their enſignes, the late King lying dead, and his young ſon the Prince *James* ſitting on his knees, with his hands heaved up to Heaven with this Motto, *Judge and revenge my cauſe, O LORD.* While they were in Edinburgh, word was brought to them about midnight, that the Queen and *Bothwell* were come to Seton and Salt-Preſton, within ſix miles of them. Whereupon they made haſte, and having armed, went ſpeedily toward Muſcleburgh, leſt the enemie ſhould ſeize the Bridge and Foords of the River which was within two miles of Preſton. So having paſſed it without diſturbance a little after the Sun-riſing, finding that the enemy did not ſtirre, they took their refreſhment, and broke their faſt at leaſure. Not long after, thoſe whom they had ſent before to currie the fields, and to give notice what the enemie was about, having perceived a few horſemen without the village, drove them back again, but not daring to follow them for fear of ſome ambuſcade, could learne nothing elſe, ſave that the enemie was ready to march. Hereupon the Lords alſo began to ſet forward toward them, and being now without the Towne of Muſcleburgh they perceived the enemy, ranged in order of battell all along Carburie hill, ready to encounter them. The hill was ſteep, and the aſcent difficult on that ſide, wherefore they turned a little to the right hand, where they might with more eaſe and leſſe diſadvantage aſcend, the hill being there much plainer, and the ground more levell. This deceived the enemy, who ſeeing them turn aſide, ſuppoſed they had fled to Dalketh, which belonged to Morton, and lay on that hand. But they being come where they would have been, ſet their men in order, having the Sun on their backs; and in the face of the enemie, which was no ſmall advantage, for the day was exceeding hot, being the fifth of June 1567. beſides, the Townes-men of Dalkeeth did furniſh them ſufficiently with drink, together with other villages that lay on that hand. But on *Bothwels* ſide it was not ſo, there was no ſuch alacrity and readineſſe in the people to ſupply them; no foreſight in themſelves to provide, no chearfulneſſe in the Army, but moſt of them wavering between their duty to the Queen, and their ſuſpicion of *Bothwels* guiltineſſe. Yet did they not offer to forſake her, neither would they have done it for any thing we hear of, if *Bothwell* durſt have ſtood to it. But his ſelf-accuſing conſcience, ſtruck his minde with ſuch terrour and dread, that knowing what he had deſerved, he judged other mens mindes to be accordingly affected toward him; and ſeeing head made againſt him beyond his expectation, he began to doubt of the fidelity of thoſe that were come to take part with him. Eſpecially he diſtruſted Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, in regard of his friendſhip and Kinred with the Lord *Hume*, and Earle of Morton. Wherefore he moved the Queen to ask him whether he would abide conſtantly by her, and performe his part faithfully. He anſwered freely, that he was come to ſerve her, as his Soveraigne out of duty, and in ſincerity, which he would

The battell of Carburie hill.

1567. June the 5.

would do to the utmoſt of his power, againſt whomſoever, without reſpect of whatſoever friendſhip or kindred with any. *Blackader* ſaid the like, and added withall, ſpeaking to *Bothwell*, *I wiſh my Lord, you ſtay as well by it, as we ſhall.* That which made them the more to fear Sir *David* was, becauſe a ſervant of his, as he went to drink at a well not farre from the enemie, was taken, and brought to Morton, who hearing whoſe man he was, diſmiſſed him, and bade him tell his Maſter from him; *That if he were the man he ſhould be, he alone might put an end to that dayes work, which is like enough he might have done, if either he would have revolted to the Lords, or forſaken* Bothwell, *and gone home.* The reſt of the Nobles and Gentlemen being in like manner exhorted by the Queen to fight valiantly, promiſed that for their own parts they would do it faithfully, but they ſaid, the hearts of the common Souldiers were averſe from *Bothwell*; and thought it more reaſonable that he ſhould adventure his own Perſon in his own quarrell for maintaining his innocency, then that either her Majeſtie, or ſo many of her good Subjects ſhould adventure or endanger their lives for him. But if ſhe were reſolved to trie the hazard of a battell, it was her beſt to deferre it till the next day, that the *Hamiltons*, who were on their journey, might joyne with them. As they were about to joyne battell, the French Ambaſſadour (*La Croque*) would have mediated a Peace, and came to the Lords, promiſing to obtain their pardon at the Queens hands for what was paſt, and that none of them ſhould ever be called in queſtion for their taking Armes againſt her, ſo that they would now lay them down, and proceed no further: Morton made anſwer, that they had not taken Armes againſt the Queen, but againſt *Bothwell*, who had murthered their King, whom if her Majeſtie would be pleaſed to abandon, they would quickly make it appear, that they deſired nothing more than to continue in all dutifull obedience and allegeance to her, as became Loyall Subjects; but ſo long as *Bothwell* remained unpuniſhed, they could not in duty and conſcience be ſo forgetfull of their late King, as not to avenge his murther. *La Croque* not being able to perſwade them, retired to Edinburgh. All hope of peace and agreement being cut off, *Bothwell* being jealous of his Souldiers, and either intending in good earneſt to fight, or for a Bravado, ſent a Trumpet to the Lords to declare his innocency, in confidence whereof, if any would accuſe him, and ſtand to his allegation, he was ready to maintain his cauſe againſt whoſoever would attach him, in Duel, and ſingle Combate. There were two of the Lords faction that undertook to make it good againſt him, *William Kirkadie* of Grange, and *James Murray* brother to Tilliberdine; but he rejected theſe as not being his equals, and Peeres, he being an Earle, and they but Gentlemen onely. Wherefore he challenged Morton by name. He accepted of the challenge, and appointed the Weapons two-handed Swords, and to fight on foot. But the Lord *Lindſay* ſtepping forth, beſought Morton and the reſt, that for all the ſervice that ever his Predeceſſours, or himſelf had done, or could do unto the country, that they would do him that honour as to ſuffer him to undertake that Combate; which he ſaid did alſo duly belong unto him, in regard of his nearneſſe in bloud to the defunct King. They condeſcended,

and

and *Bothwell* having nothing to accept againſt him, they prepared on both ſides. Morton gave *Lindſay* the Sword which had been Earle *Archbalds* (called commonly *Bell the Cat*) wherewith he cut aſunder *Spenſes* thigh, as is ſhewed in his life. With this (which *Lindſay* wore ever after) and a buckler, as the manner then was, he preſents himſelf before the Army, to attend *Bothwels* coming. But the Queen would not ſuffer him to fight, and interpoſing her authority, commanded him to deſiſt. Then ſhe ſent a Herauld to the Lords, requiring them to ſend Grange to her, that ſhe might conferre with him, and that in the mean time the Army ſhould ſtand quiet. While the Queen did Parley with Grange, *Bothwell* (as it had been fore-plotted) conveyes himſelf ſecretly out of the Army, and fled to Dumbar. When the Queen had talked ſo long with Grange, as that *Bothwell* had time enough to eſcape, and be out of their reach, free from all danger of being overtaken, ſhe went with him to the Lords: and deſiring them to ſuffer her Army to depart in ſafetie (which they eaſily granted) ſhe diſmiſſed them. Then ſhe requeſted, that ſhe might go to the *Hamiltons*, who were not farre off, at Corſtorphing, to give them thanks for their good will, promiſing faithfully to return, whereupon ſhe deſired Morton to paſſe his word, and be ſuretie for her. A ſtrange requeſt for her to ask in ſuch a caſe; farre ſtranger for them to have granted, or for Morton to have undertaken that which lay not in his power to, ſee performed. *Bothwell* had eſcaped to their great grief and diſcontentment; the Queen onely remained, the pledge of peace, and foile of their enemies; who wanting her did want a head. Therefore her ſuite was denied, and ſhe brought to Edinburgh.

There a conſultation was held, what were fitteſt to be done with her. Amongſt great diverſitie of opinions, Morton would by no means yeeld to have her life meddled withall, deſiring onely that ſome ſuch courſe might be taken, as that the profeſſed Religion might not be prejudiced, and that they themſelves might be ſecured from future danger. Yet there were ſome that preſſed the matter very hard againſt him, alledging that there was no poſſibilitie, either to preſerve Religion, or ſecure themſelves, ſo long as ſhe were alive. Promiſes were to no purpoſe, and of no value. They might be eaſily eluded, as proceeding from a juſt fear, and compulſion, as they would call it. And to impriſon her were no better; ſeeing there would not want a party ere long to ſet her free. And though there were no party, yet ſhe her ſelf might uſe means to eſcape, and others might help her; yea, without all theſe, time and occaſion would work her delivery. Nay ſome went ſo far with him, as to denounce GODS judgements againſt him, as a hinderer of the execution of juſtice, which he himſelf ſhould feele upon his own perſon, becauſe he would not give way to it in the perſon of another. *For it is but juſtice* (ſaid they) *elſe if it be unlawfull, ſo is this detaining of her unlawfull, and whatſoever we have done is unlawfull, and flat treaſon.* All this notwithſtanding, Morton would not conſent unto it, but made anſwer, *That howſoever they had gone thus farre being drawne to it by neceſsity, for the preſervation of Religion, the good of their Countrey, their own honour and credit, and even led by nature to look to their own ſafetie, yet they ought not to meddle with the life of their Soveraigne.*

reigne. To ſecure themſelves, it was ſufficient to have her kept in ſome place of ſuretie and ſtrength; which he thought even too much, if he could ſee any other remedie. And ſo it was concluded, that ſhee ſhould be ſent to Logh-leven, there to be kept by *William Douglas* owner thereof, a very honeſt Gentleman, and who had ſided with neither Partie.

And although the ſame matter was agitate again, while ſhe remained in Logh-leven (the 25. of Auguſt, at a ſolemne meeting of the Eſtates, after Murray was come home, and had accepted the Regencie) and many did incline to have her executed, (ſome out of zeal to Religion, and love of Juſtice, as they deemed it) ſome out of love to the *Hamiltons*, (who by her death would be but one ſtep from the Crown) yet Morton ſtuck to his former opinion and reſolution: Shee was no ſooner committed, but ſome began to plot her deliverie; ſuppoſing that undoubtedly ſhe would get out at laſt by one mean or other, they ſtrove to anticipate her favour, and make her beholding to them for that which could not faile to come to paſſe. Neither did they fear the conſequent, if once ſhe were ſet at libertie, for they made no queſtion to make their partie good. The authoritie was hers, time would make the peoples heart to relent and fold to their naturall Princeſſe; the Faction that was againſt her, was the weaker; and diverſitie of opinions would bring forth diviſion amongſt them.

Of thoſe that ſought her favour, Sir *William Metellane* Secretarie was one. His diſ-like and hatred of Bothwell, had made him joyne with the Lords: being now rid of him, he returned to his old byas again, and bent his courſe toward her. But not daring to do it openly, he wrote privately to her, and aſſured her of his good-will, and promiſed his beſt endeavour to ſerve her; and that howſoever his power were none of the greateſt, he ſhewed that he might prove ſteadable to her by the Apologue of the Lion, which being taken in a net, was delivered from thence by the help of a Mouſe, that did ſhear the net, and cut it in pieces with her teeth.

Morton did conſtantly proſecute the courſe begun, with great courage and wiſedome, over-coming all difficulties before the Earle of Murrays returne (who had gone to France in the beginning of theſe ſtirres) which were neither ſmall, nor few. His Aſſociates found them moe than they had expected. They had promiſed themſelves the approbation of all men, and that all would joyne with them, at leaſt, the beſt affected. It fell out otherwiſe; time diminiſhed envie, change of their Princes eſtate begate pity, fear of the event kept aloof; doubt of dutie reſtrained ſome, and deſire of reſt and ſecuritie, others. So that no new Forces came to them, but on the contrary, ſome of their own ſide forſook them, and went to the other; new hopes not onely cooling, but even changing their affections. Wherefore they were much perplexed, and had it not been for Morton, they had quite deſerted the cauſe. But he perſwaded them to keep together at Edinburgh, and to write to the other Lords that were aſſembled at Hamilton, to deſire them to come to Edinburgh, that ſo they might conſult together what were fitteſt

to bee done for the good and peace of the Kingdome. But they would neither receive Letter nor Meſſage, ſaying, It was great preſumption in them to have poſſeſſed themſelves of the chief City, and to offer to ſend for them, and not to come to them, who were (ſo they thought) the ſtronger, and had the better cauſe. The others to give them ſatisfaction in that point, cauſed the Miniſters of Edinburgh to write to them jointly, as alſo ſeverally to their particular friends and acquaintance, both to excuſe that which they took exception at, (which they told they had done, not becauſe they did challenge or claime any preeminence or prerogative to themſelves beyond them, or for any other cauſe, ſave onely the conveniencie of the place for both parties to meet in) and withall to exhort them, that in ſo perillous a time, ſetting aſide all particular reſpects and quarrels, they would have a care of the common good of the Countrey. But theſe Letters prevailed no more than the former. Yet though they would not concurre with them, they did nothing againſt them; whether becauſe they were not able (they being within the town of Edinburgh) or, becauſe they did not agree among themſelves, or that they wanted a Commiſſion, and a ſufficient Warrant from the Queen, they diſſolved, and returned every man to his own home. This their attempt to have kept ſome forme of meeting and Parliament in the Queens name, admoniſhed the Lords to take away that which would beare greateſt ſhew againſt them, the Queens authoritie. Wherefore they deale with her to reſigne it to her ſonne, which ſhe was very loath to do; yet at laſt ſhee conſented to it, and having ſubſcribed a formall renunciation and dimiſsion: ſhee made alſo, and ſigned a Procuration, or Letters of Attourney, to cauſe crown her ſonne at Stirlin, or where they pleaſed. She named likewiſe his Curators, Murray (if he would accept of it at his returne) failing him, theſe ſeven; The Duke (*Hamilton*) Lennox (the Childes grandfather) Argyle, Morton, Glencairne, Marre, and Athole. It was preſently put in execution, for within two dayes (the 26. of July) the Prince was crowned at Stirlin, being then thirteen moneths, and eight dayes old. Morton and the Lord Hume took the Oath for him, that he ſhould obſerve the Laws, and maintain the Religion then profeſſed. Maſter *Knox* made the Sermon, the Coronation was alſo performed by him, and two Super-intendents.

King *Iames* crowned. 1567. July 26.

Having gained this point, they had now this advantage of the others, that not only were their enemies deprived of the countenance and colour of authoritie, but they themſelves were armed therewith. And thus they remained till Murrays returne, who at firſt would not accept of the Place, which by the Queens direction was reſerved for him, but being preſſed by the reſt, that they might have an eſtabliſhed and certain Head, he yeelded to their requeſts, and took the Place and charge of Regent uponhim. From this time forward, Murray being Regent, according as did belong unto his place, hee was chief Commander in every thing; yet was hee aſsiſted by Mortons faithfull counſell and advice, who did alſo many times ſupply the publick wants with his private meanes, in times of greateſt neceſsitie.

Murray Regent.

Eſpeci-

Eſpecially when Bothwell was to be purſued, who having put forth to ſea, and being turned Pirate, lay about Orknay, robbing all that came in his way, without fear of being followed, knowing wel that there was no money in the treaſurie (he himſelf having emptied it) to rig out any ſhipping againſt him. Then did Morton on his own charges provide Veſſells, hire Mariners and Souldiours to go out after him. This was the fruit of his good husbandrie, and the good uſe he made of his parſimonie and menagerie. Grange was ſent Admirall, who came ſo ſuddenly upon him, that he had well-nigh taken him before he was aware, yet he eſcaped in a light Pinnace over a craig in the ſea, with ſuch hazard, that it is thought to have grazed upon it. The Lion which followed after, being a Ship of greater bulk and burden, and which drew more water, ſtuck faſt upon it, ſo that the men were conſtrained to betake themſelves to their Cock-boat. The Biſhop of Orknay (*Bothwell* to his name, who was father to the Lord Haly-rudehouſe) was laſt in the Ship, and ſeeing the Boat looſing, called to them to ſtay for him; but they being already ſufficienrly laden, would not hear him. He ſeeing no other remedy, leapt into the Boat, having on him a Corſelet of proof, which was thought a ſtrange leap, eſpecially not to have over-turned the Boat. Thus the men were all ſaved, and the Earle Bothwell ſailed to Denmark. There being examined what he was, and whence he came: when he did not anſwer clearly and diſtinctly, he was caſt into priſon, and having lien there ten years, at laſt he died mad.

Earle Bothwel a Pirate.

Is purſued.

Flees to Denmark.

Dies mad there.

The 15. of December, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh, where moſt part of the Nobilitie were preſent, and amongſt others, the Earle of Huntley, which when the Queen heard of, ſhe ſaid, *Bothwell might as well have been there, as he*; meaning that they were both alike guiltie. In this Parliament, the Queens reſignation of the Crown, the Kings Coronation, and Murrays Regencie were confirmed, their Fact was approved that had taken the Queen at Carburie, and *William Douglas* was authorized to keep her ſtill in the Caſtle of Loghleven.

Things being thus ſettled, the Regent being acknowledged of all, and his authoritie ratified, Religion eſtabliſhed, & the fear of Bothwel removed, they ſeemed to be in great ſuretie, yet were they never leſſe ſure; for theſe very things which ſeemed to make them ſtrong and ſure, were the cauſes of change, for many did envie the Regent, ſome hated Religion, and others there were, that being rid of Bothwell, applied themſelves to the Queen, whom only out of hatred to Bothwell, they had forſaken. Of the laſt ſort was Secretary *Metellane*, of the ſecond Tillebardin, who had alſo ſome particular againſt the Regent, which Writers do not ſpecifie. The *Hamiltons* were of the firſt Rank, who thought themſelves injured by him, and eſteemed his Office due to them, together with Argyle, whoſe mother and Huntley, whoſe wife was of the houſe of *Hamilton*. Theſe had ſome hopes from France, where *Beton* Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, lay as Lieger for the Queen, and fed them with faire promiſes of men and money. Yet they carried things very cloſely, and made ſhew of friendſhip to

thoſe of the Kings ſide, till ſuch time as the Queen eſcaped out of Loghleven, by the means of *George Douglas* brother to *William* of Loghleven, and to the Regent alſo by his mother. This *George* had corrupted a naturall brother of his who was often truſted by *William* with the Keyes of the Caſtle. One day *William* being at dinner, this man deſired the Keyes of him (as he had done divers times before) to let out the Queens waiting Gentlewoman; and having gotten them, he let out the Queen her ſelf in her Gentlewomans apparell, and masked. He alſo went out with her, and having locked the Gates, threw the Keyes into the Lake, and rowed the Queen over in the Boat to the Lake ſide, where *George* and *Tillibarne* were ſtaying for her with nine horſe onely. Our Writers ſay, it was without the mothers knowledge; but others affirme, that ſhe had a hand in it, being moved with pity and commiſeration to ſee her Princeſſe in ſuch eſtate; and upon the Queens promiſe to preferre her ſonne *George*, and pardon her other friends that were on her contrary faction; amongſt which we hear no mention of Murray. Morton alſo was left out; onely it was agreed upon that his forfeiture ſhould not prejudice their right to the Earledome of Morton. This fell out the ſecond day of May 1568.

The Queen eſcapes out of Legh-leven. 1568. May 2.

She went that night to Nidderie, where by the way the Lord Seton, and *John Hamilton* of Orbiſton did meet her: and the next day they went to *Hamilton* with 500. horſe. The Regent was then at Glaſgow, keeping of juſtice Courts. When theſe news were brought to him, ſome counſelled him to go to Stirlin, where the King was, and where he would be the ſtronger. But *William Douglas* of Drumlenrig, not having the patience to ſtay till it came to his turne to ſpeak, and before his opinion was asked: *If you do ſo my Lord* (ſayes he) *I will get me ſtraight to the Queen, as* Boyde *hath done.* For *Boyde* indeed was gone to her, with intention (as he would have made them beleeve) to play *Huſſa's* part; for he wrote back to Morton by his ſonne, that he would be more ſteadable, and do them better ſervice being with her, than if he ſhould remain with them. There is a Proverb, *a foot backward, a mile backward, a mile a million, and ſo never forward*: Whereby is ſignified, that there is much moment in the beginnings and firſt efforts, and great danger in recoiling, and letting ſlip the preſent opportunitie. So thought Drumlenrig, and the Lord Semple alſo was of his minde. Morton did confirme their opinion, and reduced at large how neceſſary it was for them to ſtay ſtill in Glaſgow, ſhewing that it was their beſt to make all the haſte they could, & that their ſafetie did conſiſt in celeritie; in regard that ſo ſoon as it were known that ſhe was at libertie, the opinion of her authoritie and name of a Queen would daily draw more and more followers to her: eſpecially ſeeing the moſt remote parts of the Kingdome were moſt affectionated to her ſervice. *We are enough here* (ſaid he) *together with the Towns men (who being enemies to the* Hamiltons, *we need not doubt of their fidelittie) to keep this place, and make it good againſt them. The* Cunninghames *and* Semples *(potent families) are hard at hand, and ſo is the Lennox, the Kings own patrimonie: Neither is Douglaſ-dale very farre off, nor Stirlin-Shire, and the Earle of Marres Forces. Theſe will ſuffice to oppoſe the enemie till ſuch time as our friends that dwell further off, be advertiſed.* Mortons judgement was reſpected,

ſpected, and his opinion followed; whereupon meſſengers were immediatly diſpatched, and ſent into Lowthian, and the Merſe, and other parts which lay farre off, to give them notice of their danger, and of their intentions; and to deſire them to make all the haſte that poſsibly they could to come to their aid, and aſsiſtance. The firſt that came was the Lord *Hume* with 600. horſe the ninth of May; upon his arrivall, they intended to go directly to Hamilton, and dare the enemie, and force him to fight. But that ſame night (ere morning) word was brought them, that they were gathering their forces, and muſtering their men to take the fields; for having gotten together 6000. men, and knowing by certain intelligence, that they were not above 4000 with the Regent, confiding in their number, they purpoſed to carry the Queen to the caſtle of Dumbartan, where ſhe remaining in a place of ſafety, they might manage, and proſecute the warre according to their pleaſure; and either uſe expedition therein, or draw it out at length, and linger as they ſhould ſee cauſe, and finde it moſt for their advantage. The Regent gheſſing what their aime was, led alſo his armie forth into Glaſgow-Moore, ſuppoſing they would have gone that way: but when he ſaw them on the South ſide of the river of Clide, he made haſte, and croſſed the river at the Bridge and Foords, to be before them in their way. I have heard it reported by thoſe that live there about, that the Queens Souldiers did eſſay to paſſe the river, and come to that ſide where the Regent was, but one or two of the foremoſt being ſlain by his men, the reſt refuſed to go on with ſuch hazard and diſadvantage, and therefore they took the way of Rutherglem, which leads to Dumbartan The Regent perceiving their intent, commanded the horſemen to hye them quickly to Langſide Hill; which they did, and the reſt of the Army followed them ſo faſt, as that they were all got thither, before the enemie underſtood their meaning. Two things made for the Regents advantage; one was Argyles ſickneſſe, who being overtaken with a ſudden fit of an Epilepſie, or Apoplexie, the Army halted, and thereby gave the Regent time to chooſe his ground, though he came a further way about. The other was, their confidence in their number, and deſpiſing of the ſmall number of their enemies, who were indeed fewer than they, yet were they moe than they were aware of. For having marched over hils and dales, they never had a full view of them to know their number aright and perfectly. When they came within a little of the hill, perceiving that it was already taken by the Regent, they retired to another little hil juſt over againſt it, where they drew up their Companies, and put their men in order. Argyle was Lieutenant, and led the Rere-ward. With him there was the Earles of Caſſils, Eglinton, and Rothuſe, the Lords Seton, Somervaile, Yeſter, Borthwick, Sanwhere, Boyde, and Roſſe, with divers Gentlemen of good quality. The Vant-guard was committed to *Claude Hamilton* of Paſley ſonne to the Duke, and Sir *James Hamilton* of Evendale, conſiſting moſt of *Hamiltons*, together with their friends and followers. *James Stuart* of Caſtleton, and *Arthur Hamilton* of Mirrinton, were Commanders of the Musketiers, which were ſome 300. The Lord Harris commanded the horſemen, which were moſt part Borderers, dependers and ſervants to his

The field of Langſide the 10. of May. 1568.

his brother the Lord Maxwell. The Regent did likewiſe divide his men in two battels, the Vant-guard was conducted by Morton, with whom were the Lord *Hume*, and *Semple*. The Regent himſelf was in the Reer, and with him *Marre*, *Glencairne*, *Monteith*, the Lord *Ruthven*, *Ochletree*, and *Kirkart*, with the ſmall Barons of the Lennox, and the Citizens of Glaſgow. The horſemen were committed to *William Douglas* of Drumlenrig, and *Alexander Hume* of Manderſton, and *John Carmichell* of Carmichell. They were inferiour in horſe, and therefore upon the firſt encounter they retired, and fell back to the footmen, who made out to ſuccour them, and drave back the enemies horſe by the means of the High-Landers, eſpecially who beſtowed a flight of arrowes amongſt them, and ſo galled them, that they could no longer endure it. The Queens Vant-guard coming to joyn battell with the Vant-guard of the enemy, marched through a narrow Lane, near unto which the Regents ſhot were placed in the Yards, Gardens, and Orchards of the Village of Langſide ſo conveniently, that they being at covert did annoy the enemie, and ſhoot at them as at a mark without any danger, or hurt to themſelves. In this Lane many were ſlain before they could get through; and having paſſed it they were aſſaulted by Morton very fiercely with Pikes and Speares, and other long Weapons on both ſides of the Lane. They fought very eagerly a while, in ſo much that when their long Weapons were broken, being ſo cloſe together, that they could not draw their Swords, they fell to it with Daggers, and Stones, and and what ſo came readieſt to hand. In the midſt and heat of the fight, *Mackfarlane* with his High-Landers fled out of the laſt Ranks of the Regents Companies (as our Writers ſay) but indeed it was from this wing where they were placed, as I have heard it of thoſe that were preſent. The Lord *Lindſay*, who ſtood next to him in the Regents own battell, when he ſaw them go away; *Let them go* (ſaith he) *and be not afraid, I ſhall ſupply their place*: and withall ſtepping forward with his Company, charged the enemy afreſh. Their long Weapons being broken, and themſelves well nigh overcome before, they were not able to ſuſtaine a new impreſſion, but turned their backs, and fled. The Regent and his Squadron ſtood ſtill and kept their Ranks and places, till they ſaw that the victory was clearly theirs, and that the enemy did flee diſorderly; then they alſo brake their order and followed the chaſe, in the which moe were killed, than in the fight; and that moſt part by the High-Landers: who ſeeing that their ſide had the day, returned and made great ſlaughter to make amends for their former fleeing. There were many wounded, and many taken, but 300. ſlain, who had been many moe, had not the Regent ſent horſemen throughout all quarters with command to ſpare the fleers. There were taken of note, The Lord Seton, and Roſſe, Sir *James Hamilton*, the Sheriff of Aire, and Linlithgow with others. On the Victors ſide one man onely ſlain, *John Balonie* of Preſton in the Merſe, a ſervant of Mortons: few hurt, the Lord *Hume* with a ſtone on the face very ill: and *Andrew Stuart* Lord Ochletree, by the Lord *Harris*. The Queen, who ſtood as a ſpectatour about a mile off, ſeeing the field loſt, fled away with the Lord *Harris*, and his horſemen.

men. For after he was repulſed by the Regents Vant-guard, and the High-Landers, he went to her, and ſtayed by her. From thence ſhe fled to England, ſuſpecting the Lord *Harris* his fidelitie. Some do reckon amongſt the cauſes of this victory, a contention which fell out between *John Stuart*, and *Arthur Hamilton*, two Captains of the Queens Muſquetiers, who that morning before they ſet out, ſtrove for precedencie, and the matter being referred to the Queens deciſion, ſhe adjudged it to *Stuart* for the names ſake and becauſe he had been ſometime Captain of her Guard. *Hamilton* took this ſo ill, that when they came neare to the enemie, he cryed out aloud, *Where are now theſe Stuarts that did conteſt for the firſt place, let him now come and take it.* The other hearing him, anſwered preſently: *And ſo I will, neither ſhalt thou, nor any* Hamilton *in Scotland ſet his foot before me to day*: whereupon they ruſhed forward unadviſedly, and were followed as inconſiderately by *Claude Hamilton* of Paſley, with the Vant-guard, which was the occaſion of their diſconfiture. The battell was fought the 13. of May, eleven dayes after the Queen came out of Loghleven. The Regent returned to Glaſgow, and after publick thankſgiving for the victorie, and mutuall congratulation, the reſt of the day was ſpent in taking order with the priſoners. Morton ſought to have had the Lord Seton in his keeping, but he was withſtood by *Andrew Ker* of Fadunſide, whoſe priſoner he was, whether out of fear of hard dealing towards him, or leſt he ſhould loſe his thanks in ſaving of him, wherefore Morton modeſtly deſiſted. Langſideford. May 13. 1568.

The day after they went into Cliddeſdale, and caſt down Draphan, and ſome Houſes that belonged to the *Hamiltons*. Afterward there was a day appointed for a Convention of the Eſtates at Edinburgh, for ſtaying of which the other faction did uſe all poſſible means. They cauſed rumours to be ſpread of ſome help to come out of France; which had come indeed under the conduct of *Martige* (of the Houſe of Luxemburg) but that the Civill Warres at home made him to be called back again. The Earle of Argyle came to Glaſgow with 600. horſe, and had ſome conference with the *Hamiltons*, and others of that faction, but they not agreeing, he went home again and did nothing. Huntley alſo with 1000. men was coming toward Edinburgh, and was on his journey as farre as the water of Erne; but the Bridges and Foords being guarded by the Lord Ruthven, he went likewiſe home again. Laſt of all they procured Letters from the Queen of England, in which ſhe deſired that they would delay the meeting till ſuch time as ſhe were informed of their proceedings, and juſtneſſe of their cauſe, why they took Arms againſt their Queen her Couſin, of whoſe wrongs ſhe behooved to take notice, and be ſenſible. It was hard to offend her, but harder to ſuffer their adverſaries to gain the poynt they aimed at, which was in the Queens name, and by her authoritie to keep a meeting, and to forfeit all thoſe who were on the K. ſide, having already appointed a day for that purpoſe. Wherefore they go on with their Convention, and puniſh ſome few for example to terrifie others. And for ſuppreſſing the daily incurſions of the Niddiſdale, Anandale, and Galloway men, they raiſed an Army of 5000. horſe, and 1000. Musketiers; which expedition, becauſe it was memorable for the extream

extreame ſcarcitie of victuals when they came to Hoddam, was called,
The Roade of Hoddam. The Roade of Hoddam: They ſet forth from Edinburgh the 11 of June, and returned thither againe the 26.

The chief thing that they did in that journey, was, that they ſeized the houſes of Bog-hall, Crawford, Sanwhere, Logh-wood, Hoddam, Logh-Maban, and Annand. Logh-Maban is a houſe of the Kings, and was then in the Lord *Maxwels* keeping: but now being ſurrendred, *Drumlenrigge* is made keeper of it, who was alſo made Warden of the Weſt Marches. Aſſoone as the Regent was gone from thence with his Armie, *Maxwels* folks, who had hidden themſelves in ſome ſecret corner of the Caſtle, turned out *Drumlenrigges* men, and re-poſſeſſed themſelves thereof again. Logh-wood belonged to *Johnſton*, Hoddam to the Lord *Harris*, and the reſt to their ſeverall Lords and Owners, which were all ſpared, on hope of their promiſed obedience: Onely Skirlin was razed, and Ken-Moore, a houſe of Loghen-varres, who was obſtinate, and would not yeeld upon any condition. The Regent and *Morton* ſent Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne to him, who was brother to his wife; but no entreatie nor threatning could prevail with him, or move him to ſubmit himſelfe: When they threatned to pull down his houſe, he ſaid, They ſhould by ſo doing ſave him a labour; for he meant to take it down himſelfe, and build it up again better: Which was performed on both ſides: for it was caſt down (the 16 of July) and he did afterward re-edifie it much better. Many yeelded, divers ſtood out, of whom there came a thouſand within a mile of the Regents Camp. Who were their heads, is not mentioned, but as yet *Maxwel*, *Johnſton*, *Loghen-varre*, and *Cowehill* were not come in; and whether it were any of theſe, or ſome other, we have not learned. *Morton* and the Lord *Hume* with a thouſand horſe went out againſt them, but they were gone before they came neere, and fled to the Boggs and waſte Mariſhes.

The Regent goes to England. In their return, at Peebles they received Letters again from the Queen of England, wherein ſhe renewed her former requeſt to them, that they would ſend ſome up to her to inform her of the equity of their cauſe. The Regent himſelfe undertakes the journey, with whom went *Morton*, *Lindſay*, the Biſhop of Orknay, Maſter *Pitcarne* Abbot of Dumfermeling, Sir *William Metellan* Secretary, Maſter *James Mackgill*, Maſter *Henry Banaves*, and Maſter *George Buchanan*. The Queene having heard their Juſtification and Defences, made anſwer, That ſhe ſaw nothing for the preſent to object againſt their proceedings, yet ſhe deſired them to leave ſome of their company behinde, to anſwer to ſuch things as might be objected afterward by their Queens Ambaſſadours. While they are there, Duke *Hamilton* came over out of France, and deſired the Queene of England to cauſe *Murray* give over the Regents place to him, being (as he alledged) his due, ſeeing he was next heire to the Crowne. But the Queen perceiving that he intended to make ſome ſtirre, and to raiſe new troubles in Scotland, commanded him to ſtay, and not depart till he were licenſed. The Regent with his company was diſmiſſed, and returned into Scotland the 2 of February. Within a while after, the Duke returned alſo, being made Lieutenant for the impriſoned Queene,

and

and adopted to be her father. He ſent forth his Proclamations, commanding that no authority ſhould be obeyed, but his, which no man would obey: And that none might fear him, the Regent went to Glaſgow with an Armie, and there *Hamilton* came to him, and promiſing to acknowledge the King and Regents authoritie, he gave pledges to be kept, till ſuch time as he ſhould do it, prefixing a day when he would come in. When the day was come, he came to Edinburgh, and began to ſhift, and deſire a longer day, while he might have the Queens conſent. Then being asked what he would do if the Queen would not give her conſent, he anſwered, that he would do nothing, and what he had done already, he had done it out of fear. Hereupon he and the Lord *Harris* were ſent to priſon in the Caſtle of Edinburgh. The next to be taken order with, were Argyle, and Huntley. Both had been buſie in the Regents abſence, but not alike. Argyle had onely ſhowne himſelf in the fields, but had done hurt to no man. Huntleys caſe was worſe, he had vexed the Mernes and Angus, made Lieutenants about the water of Dee, and behaved himſelf in all things as if he had been King. After much debate, Argyle was onely made to take an oath, that he ſhould be obedient in time coming, and Huntley was alſo pardoned, ſave that he was ordained to make ſatisfaction and reſtitution to the parties who were robbed and ſpoyled by him and his followers. For the performance of which, the Regent and Morton went to Aberdene, Elgin, and Inner-neſſe, with two Companies of Harquebuſiers, and Muſquetiers, where having received hoſtages and ſureties of Huntley, they returne to Perth, to hold a Convention of the States.

Thither were brought two Packets of Letters from the two Queens. The Queen of England made three Propoſitions. Firſt, that the Kings Mother might be reſtored to her former Place and Crown. Secondly, that if they would not yeeld to that, yet that her name might be uſed in all Writs, and joyned with her ſonnes, and that the Government ſhould continue in the Regents hands. The third & laſt was, that if none of theſe could be granted, ſhe might be ſuffered to live a private life, as another ſubject, with as much reſpect and honour as could be given to her, without prejudice of the King. This laſt was accepted, the reſt rejected. Queen *Mary* in her Letters deſired, that the Judges might determine of her marriage with Bothwel, and if it were found to be unlawfull, that they would declare it to be null, and pronounce her free from him. To this they anſwered, that they ſaw no reaſon of ſuch haſte. He being abſent, and out of the Countrey beyond ſea, the laws allowed him threeſcore dayes after he was ſummoned at the ſhore and Peer of Leith, before which time were expired, the Judges could not give out any ſentence. But if ſhe had ſuch a minde to be rid of him, her ſhorteſt cut were to write to the King of Denmark, to execute him for his murder and Piracie. The reaſon why they would not have her marriage with Bothwel diſſolved, was, to hinder her matching with the Duke of Northfolk, who would not adventure upon uncertainties; & he could not be ſure, ſo long as her marriage with Bothwel ſtood firm, he being alive, & no legal divorcement had bin yet obtained. So they thought by this dilator, they would gain time, & time might

1569. A Convention at Perth.

work out ſome better effect than did appear for the preſent. For the Regents friends in England had written to him, That Northfolks Plot and the Queens, was ſo laid, ſo ſtrong and cunningly conveighed, that no power, wit, or wiſedome was able to reſiſt it; yea, though all the reſt of Brittain would oppoſe it, yet he remained ſteadfaſt, and ſent to the Queen of England one of his Domeſticks, to acquaint her with Queen *Maries* Petition, and their anſwer. But ſhe not being ſatisfied with the Bearer, *Robert Pitcarne* (Abbot of Dumfermling) was ſent to her from a Convention holden at Stirlin for the nonce. About the very ſame time that he came to London, the Duke of Northfolke was committed to the Tower (the 11. of October) and the conſpiracie diſcovered, the partie ſtill remaining ſo ſtrong, that ſhe not daring to meddle with Queen *Mary*, was purpoſed to have ſent her into Scotland by ſea; but things beginning to ſettle, ſhe altered that reſolution. Now in confidence of this ſo ſtrong a partie, Secretary *Metellane* had taken himſelf to that ſide, and ſtirred up all he could againſt the Regent. He had ſo dealt with the Lord *Hume*, and Grange (Captain of the Caſtle of Edinburgh) that he had brought them over to that party. Hereupon he is ſent for to Stirlin, whither he came, and brought along with him, the Earle of Athole to intercede for him, if need were. There *Thomas Crawford* (afterward Captain *Crawford*) a follower of the Earle of Lennox, accuſed him of being acceſſarie to the late Kings death, whereupon he was committed to a cloſe chamber in the Caſtle. Sir *James Balfoure* (one of his Complices) was alſo ſent for, and the Convention were of opinion, that both of them ſhould be uſed as enemies to the King, and guiltie of treaſon. But the Regents lenitie marred all; he pardoned Sir *James*, and ſent *Metellane* to Edinburgh, to be kept by *Alexander Hume* of North-Berwick. *Grange* counterfeiting the Regents hand, brought a Warrant to *Alexander*, to deliver *Metellane* to him, which he did; and ſo *Grange* carried him up to the Caſtle.

Convention at Stirlin.

After this, the Regent went to the Merſe, and ſpake with the Lord *Hume*, whom he found to be alienate from the Kings ſide, and inclined to the North-folcian Faction. From thence he went to Jedburgh, where Morton and others came to him. He paſt with them to Hawick (the 20. of October) and from thence he rode through the whole Dales; he riding on the Scottiſh ſide upon the Borders, and a Company of Engliſhmen on the Engliſh ſide, that they might not flee from one ſide to another, nor any of them eſcape. He lay two nights at Cannabee, one at Copſhae-holme, two on the water of Milke, and ſo came to Dumfreis. In this circuite he conſtrained the Borderers to put in pledges and hoſtages (to the number of 72.) for keeping of the peace and good order, whereby he gave great contentment to the whole Countrey, and gained great reputation and admiration, even of his very enemies. He returned to Edinburgh before the 21. of November, the day appointed for the triall and arraignment of Secretary *Metellane*. There finding that he had aſſembled ſo many great men that were for him (Hamilton, Huntley, Argyle, and others) he adjourned the arraignment, and deferred the judgement. That Faction was now become very powerfull; many were fallen

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off from the Regent; many had joyned themſelves to the North-folcians, relying mainly on the Dukes power. And although he were now committed, yet the Faction held good, and the plot went on. The Earles of Northumberland, and Weſtmerland, with ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, came with diſplayed Banner to Durham, and there burnt the Bible and Service-Book, heard Maſſe in Darnton, and beſieged Bernard-Caſtle, which was rendered upon compoſition. But being purſued by the Earle of Warwick, with an Army of twelve thouſand, and Suſſex with another of ſeven thouſand men, they were forced to flee into Scotland about the 22. of December, and put themſelves into the hands of theeves that lived on the Scottiſh Border, with whom they abode and lurked a while, but not very long. For Morton dealt with one *Hector Arme-ſtrang*, by Sir *John Carmichael*, and got the Earle of Northumberland into his hands, and delivered him to the Regent; hee ſent him to bee kept in Logh-leven a priſoner, being an enemie no leſſe to him and the Kings ſide, than to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Earle of Northumberland taken, and ſent to Logh-leven.

This made her give the better ear to *Robert Pitcarne*, Ambaſſadour from the Regent, and to deſiſt from requeſting any more, that Queen *Mary* might be reſtored again to her former place and eſtate. Shee declared alſo, that ſhe took that which the Regent had done very kindely in pacifying the Borders, apprehending Northumberland, and impriſoning of him, purſuing Weſtmerland and his Faction, as enemies, his offering his beſt aid and aſſiſtance to her Captains and Governour of Berwick. She promiſed to be ever mindefull of theſe his good offices, and good-will ſhewed towards her, and that ſhe ſhould be readie to aid him when he ſhould need; yea, that he might uſe and command all the Forces in England as his own. Thus by the over-throw of the Engliſh Rebels, by the favour of the Queen of England, and the love of his Countrey people at home, the Regent was more ſtrengthened, and the Kings ſide became the more powerfull. His adverſaries therefore ſeeing no other remedie, reſolved to cut him off, and make him away by treachery. *James Hamilton* of Bothwell-hawke, (one whoſe life the Regent had ſpared before, when he was taken priſoner in the field bearing arms againſt him) under-took to kill him. Wherefore having watched his opportunitie, when the Regent was at Lithgow, he placed himſelf in a houſe there, by which the Regent was to paſſe as he rode out of the town, and ſhot him with an Harquebuſe out at a window; the Bullet whereof, after it had gone through the Regent, killed the Horſe of *George Douglas* of Park-head, a naturall brother of the Earle Mortons. This fell out the 21. of January 1569. The Regent finding himſelf hurt, alighted from his horſe, went to his lodging, and died ere midnight. Bothwell-hawke, who had done the deed, having mounted upon a horſe which hee had ſtanding ready for him of purpoſe, eſcaped untaken.

The Regent *Murray* ſhot at Lithgow.

He was much lamented of all, but eſpecially of Morton, who had beſt reaſon to be ſenſible of this loſſe, ſeeing by his death the common cauſe did want a main pillar and ſupporter thereof; and the Kings ſide which

he followed, was deprived of a ſufficient and able leader. He himſelf alſo had loſt a dear friend, with whom he had ſo long entertained honeſt and faithfull friendſhip, and who had borne ſo great a part of that heavie burden, and weight of State affairs with him. For now the whole burden of guiding the Kingdome and managing the State lay upon him almoſt alone, and that even in the time of the two ſucceeding Regents, for the ſpace of ſome three years, or thereby. They indeed bare the name, and the authoritie, but he was the man by whoſe advice and counſell, by whoſe travels and paines both of body and minde, yea and upon whoſe charges alſo (often times) moſt things were performed, till at laſt he himſelf was choſen Regent, and did then all things alone without a helper. This was well known to all, and was plainly ſpoken in the time of Lennox his Regencie. A ſtaff under a Hood (ſo they termed Lennox.) Morton rules all. Yet was it not ſo altogether, neither was Lennox ſo devoide of judgement, but behaved himſelf very well, very judiciouſly, courageouſly, and courtiouſly (even in Mortons abſence) in the taking of Paſley and Dumbartan, and in his courteous uſage of the Lady *Fleming*, who was within the Caſtle of Dumbartan. Onely becauſe matters ſeemed to rely moſt upon Mortons good advice, action, and means; the ruder interpreters made that hard conſtruction of it, as if Morton, becauſe he did much, had therefore done all, as commonly men are wont to judge and ſpeak. And it is very true that is ſaid of Lennox in that Epitaph of him, *famam virtute refellit.* Yet it cannot be denied, but that even while Murray was Regent, Morton did very much; and though he were not equall with him in place and dignitie, for there was but one Regent, yet he was ſuch a ſecond as might well be eſteemed a yoke-fellow both in conſulting and performing, being a partaker with him in all perrils and burdens. So that of all that is ſet down here of Murray, Morton was ever an equall ſharer, and may juſtly challenge the one half as his due. And therefore it is that we have been ſo particular, and inſiſted ſo long in Murrayes actions, becauſe of Mortons perpetuall concurrence with him in all things, and his intereſt in every buſineſſe. Wherefore we hope it will not be thought impertinent to our Hiſtorie thus to have handled them, although Morton were not the ſole actor, ſince he was a prime and maine one. For whoſo will rightly conſider, ſhall finde that ſaying to be true of theſe two, which *Permenio* ſaid of *Alexander* and himſelf (*Nihil* Alexander *abſque* Permenione, *multa* Permenio *abſque* Alexandro) being applied to Morton. For Morton did many things without Murray, but Murray nothing without Morton. And thus it went even when Murray was alive, when all acknowledged his authority.

Now he being dead, many ſwarved, many made defection; and, as if they had forgotten what they had promiſed, became open enemies. The Kings party was weakened, the adverſe party ſtrengthened both by forrain and home-bred power. Fear might have terrified him, eaſe ſollicited, honour and profit allured him to have left it, and joyned with the other ſide. But he ſhrinks not for any perill, hatred, or envie, for no pains or travell to be ſuſtained, no caſe or ſecurity could allure him, no hope of favour, of riches, of honour could move him to abandon it. Which

doth

doth evidently juſtifie , and clear him of all the imputations which the wit of man can deviſe, or imagine againſt him. Whether it be that he conſpired with Murray to make him King : he was now dead , and that hope with him : Or if it be any particular end and aime of his own , what appearance is there that he could have any private end , which he followed forth with certain danger , and uncertain event, or profit ? For clearing of which , let us weigh the parties , and the forces and meanes at home and abroad on both ſides. Firſt there were of the Queens ſide Duke Hamilton , Argyle, Athole, Huntley, almoſt all pettie Princes in their ſeverall Countries and Shires. Alſo the Earles of Crawford , Rothuſe , Eglinton, Caſſils , the Lord Harris , with all the Maxwels , Loghenvarre, Johnſton , the Lord Seton, Boyde, Gray , Oglevie, Levingſton, Flemin, Oliphant, the Sheriff of Air, and Linlithgow, Balcleugh , Farnihaſt , and Tillibardine. The Lord Hume did alſo countenance them , though few of his friends or name were with him , ſafe one meane man , *Ferdinando* of Broom-houſe. *Metellan* the Secretarie (a great Polititian) and Grange an active Gentleman , who was Captain of the Caſtle and Proveſt of the Town of Edinburgh ; they had the chief Caſtles and places of ſtrength in their hands , Edinburgh, Dumbartan , Logh-Maban. France did aſſiſt them , Spain did favour them , and ſo did his Holineſſe of Rome, together with all the Roman Catholiques every where. Their faction in England was great , all the North-tolcians , Papiſts , and male-contents had their eye upon Queen *Mary*. Neither was ſhe (though in priſon) altogether unuſefull to her ſide : for beſides her countenance, and colour of her authoritie (which prevailed with ſome) ſhe had her rents in France , and her Jewels , wherewith ſhe did both ſupport the common cauſe , and reward her private ſervants and followers ; eſpecially they ſerved her to furniſh Agents and Ambaſſadours to plead her cauſe , and importune her friends at the Court of France , and England ; who were helped by the baniſhed Lords, Dacres, and Weſtmoreland , to ſtirre up forraine Princes all they could. Thus was that partie now grown great, ſo that it might ſeeme both ſafe, and moſt advantagious to follow it. The other was almoſt abandoned , there were but three Earles that took part with Morton at firſt ; Lennox , Marre, Glencairne. Neither were theſe comparable to any one of the foremoſt foure. In Fyfe there was the Lord *Lindſay*, and Glames in Angus , no ſuch great men, and no wayes equall to Crawford, and Rothuſe. The Lord Semple was but a ſimple one in reſpect of Caſſils , Maxwell , Loghenvarre , and others. Methvaine in Stratherne a very mean Lord ; Ochletree amongſt the meaneſt that bare the title of a Lord , and yet Kirkart was meaner than he , both in men and means. Neither was Ruthven ſo great , but that Tillibardine , and Oliphant were able to overmatch him. They had no Caſtles but Stirlin and Tantallon , which belonged to Morton. The commons indeed were very forwardly ſet that way , but how uncerraine and unſure a prop is the vulgar ? England did befriend them ſome times , but not ſo fully as they needed ; and even ſo farre as did concern their own ſafetie. So that when all is duely conſidered, we ſhall not finde any ground for one to build on, that would ſeek nothing elſe , but his own private ends of honour or preferment.

ferment. Wherefore it is no wonder if Secretarie *Metellane*, and *Grange* (men that ſought themſelves onely) did joyne with that partie which was likeſt to thrive and proſper, in all diſcourſe of reaſon and humane wiſedome. Neither can any man think that Morton did aime at his own greatneſſe, or that it was out of any ſelf-reſpect that he followed the other partie with ſuch diſadvantage, if we will acknowledge that he was a wiſe and judicious man. And therefore if we ſearch with an unpartiall eye, what could have been the motives that made him cleave ſo ſtedfaſtly to this cauſe, we ſhall finde them to have been no particular of his own, nor any thing elſe beſides the equitie and juſtneſſe thereof (as he conceived) his love to the young King, as his King and Kinſman, together with the preſervation of Religion, and the welfare of his Countrey, which he thought did ſtand, and fall with this quarrell and cauſe. This in all likelihood hath been his minde; which whether it was right or wrong, let them diſpute who liſt: our purpoſe is onely to ſhew ſo farre as may be gathered by diſcourſe of reaſon, what it was that did induce him to follow this courſe.

Now although he had bent all his power and endeavours this way; yet there lacked not ſome who did blame him, as not zealous enough to revenge Murrays death. His brothers *Uterine* (Loghleven, and Buchain) craved juſtice againſt the murtherers; ſo much the rather, for that he was not ſlain for any private quarrell or enmitie, but for the publick defence of the King and Countrey. When it came to a conſultation, ſome were of opinion, that thoſe who were ſuſpected, ſhould be ſummoned to appear againſt a certain day, according to cuſtome, and order of Law. Others again thought that ſuch proceſſe and legall proceeding needed not to be obſerved toward them, who had already taken arms to maintain by force, what they had committed by treacherie and treaſon, but that an Army ſhould be levied againſt them; and not only againſt them, but alſo againſt all ſuch as had been declared Rebels by the former Parliament. But Morton did not like of this laſt courſe, nor Athole: becauſe neither was that meeting frequent enough to determine of thoſe things: and beſides, they foreſaw that the joyning of many faults would take away or diminiſh, and make men forget the principall; and to mingle other crimes with the murther, were but to make all the guiltie, in what ever kinde, to joyn with the murtherers, and ſo raiſe a generall and open inſurrection, and a moſt dangerous Civill Warre. Wherefore they deferred all till the firſt of May, the day appointed for a Convention, as alſo for chooſing of a new Regent. Theſe delayes were motioned by Secretary *Metellane*, who (at Granges requeſt, upon his oath that he was innocent of the Kings and Regents murther, and of the Rebellion raiſed in England, and having found ſureties to appear, and anſwer whenſoever he ſhould be legally purſued) was releaſed by the Nobility here conveened. For what ever reſpect *Metellane* made this motion, Athole conſented to it, and Morton alſo, becauſe he ſaw there could be no orderly proceeding at this time. This was ill taken of the vulgar, who did interpret this delay, of which they knew *Metellane* to be authour, to be nothing elſe but a plot of his to gain time to ſtrengthen his own faction; and that Murrayes death might be forgotten, or at leaſt

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the heat of revenging it might cool, and relent, which they thought ſhould not have been granted, and given way to. This was done the 14. of February, the day after the Regents Funerall.

The 15. of February, Argyle, and Boyde, wrote to Morton from Glaſgow, where the principall of the Queens ſide were conveened, that they were willing to joyn with the reſt of the Nobility againſt ſuch as were guilty of the Regents death; but becauſe it was not yet perfectly known who they were, they deſired that they might meet, and conferre about it, ſo that they of the Kings ſide would come to Lithgow, or Fawkirk, or Stirlin, for they would not come to Edinburgh. Morton did impart the buſineſſe, and communicate theſe Letters with *Metellane* (as they had wiſhed him to do) but he refuſing to meet any where elſe ſave in Edinburgh, there was no meeting at this time. But afterward the 24. of February, they came to Morton to Dalkeeth, and laboured to perſwade him to come over to their ſide; but he was ſo farre from liſtening to them, that he did aſſure them, he would ſtand to the maintenance of the Kings authority to the utmoſt of his power. It may be, ſome will think that this conſtancie did proceed from diſtruſt, according to that Pſeudo politick and Machiavillian maxim, *qui offenſa, non pardóna*, who once offends, never forgives: and that he thought his fault ſo great in oppoſing the Queen, that it could not be pardoned. But why ſhould he have thought ſo? His was no greater, than were ſome of theirs, who were pardoned, than the Lord *Humes* by name. And certainly by all appearance, he could have made a far better mends: he might have put an end to the controverſie, and reſtored the Queen again to her own place, which might have ſufficiently expiated all his former tranſgreſſions. Wherefore we may juſtly call it conſtancy, which was accompanied with courage, in undertaking ſo hard and difficult a task, and with wiſedome in atchieving, and bringing of it through. In the beginning of March he went to Edinburgh, whither the principals of the other party came alſo, Huntley, Crawford, Oglebee, and the Lord Hume, Seton, and Metellane. There were but few with Morton, till Marre and Glencairne came in to him. The next day after, they met to conſult of buſineſſe; but becauſe Argyle was abſent (whoſe power was great) they could conclude nothing. Wherefore Huntley goes to him, with intention to bring him along with him, but he came back without him, which every body thought was done by *Metellans* cunning, who hindred all agreement, that he might the better fiſh in troubled waters. The night following, theſe Lords, who were on the Queens ſide, took ſuch a ſudden apprehenſion, and panick fear, without any apparant cauſe, that having watched all the night in their Arms, they departed next morning, without order, and very diſmayedly.

About the end of April 1570. the Earle of Marre ſet forth from Stirlin to Edinburgh againſt the 1. of May, which was the day appointed for a Convention of the States; but the Lords of the contrary partie lay in his way at Linlithgow. Wherefore Morton goes forth to meet him with 500. horſe, and 1000. foot, ſo that Marre having croſſed the water of Aven a good way above Linlithgow, they joyned their Troupes, and came both ſafe to Edinburgh the 29. of April, about twelve a Clock at night. Convention at Edinburgh, 1. May.

night. Thus were the two parties, the one at Linlithgow, the other at Edinburgh; each accuſing other and blaming other as authours of diſſention; yet they at Edinburgh offered to yeeld unto any thing, and to come to any terms of agreement, which might not be prejudiciall to the K. authority, and upon condition that they would aſſure them of their concurrence to avenge the late Kings, and Murrayes ſlaughter. But they were ſo farre from accepting of theſe conditions, that on the contrary they choſe three Lieutenants for the Queen, Arran, Argyle, and Huntley, they appointed alſo a Parliament to be held in her name the 3. or 4. of Auguſt at Linlithgow. In this mean time, Sir *William Drury* with 300. horſe, and 1000. foot came into Scotland to purſue the Queens Rebels, and ſuch as received them (as was given out) but the Lords at Linlithgow fearing they might be brought againſt them, aſſoon as they heard of their coming, went toward Glaſgow, and beſieged the Caſtle thereof, which *Minto* had in keeping. But he being abſent, and not above 24. of the Garriſon Souldiers within, the Caſtle notwithſtanding was ſo well defended, that having ſlain moe of the beſiegers than they were themſelves in number, after ſix dayes ſtay, hearing of the approaching of the contary partie, they raiſed their ſiege, and went every man unto his own home. The Kings ſide with *Drury* (and the Engliſh) went into Cliddiſdale, and caſt down *Hamilton*, and other Houſes belonging to the Queens faction. After this the Engliſh returned to Berwick, and Morton did go along with them the 3. of June, having ſtayed ſome 20. or 22. dayes, from the 2. of May.

1570. July 13. Lennox Regent.

The 13. of July 1570. they choſe Lennox to be Regent, in a Convention holden at Stirlin, and gave him the oath to obſerve the Laws, and to maintain the profeſſed Religion. His firſt care was to ſtay the Parliament, which the contrary partie had appointed to be kept at Linlithgow in Auguſt. Wherefore he ſends to Grange for ſome pieces of Ordnance out of the Caſtle of Edinburgh: but he refuſed to ſend any, pretending that he would be a procurer of peace, and not an inſtrument of War, and ſhedding of Scottiſh bloud. Notwithſtanding hereof, the Regent goes to Linlithgow with 5000. men the 3. of Auguſt, where he could ſee no appearance of a Parliament, nor of any meeting, nor hear no news of them at all, ſave that Huntley had been at Brechin, and placed a Garriſon there of ſome hired Souldiers, and that he had alſo commanded them to provide victuals and lodging for ſome thouſands of men againſt the 10. of Auguſt. Hereupon the Earle of Morton made haſte to go to Brechin, to ſurprize them before they were aware, and ſent word to the Lord Ruthven and Lindſay, to go with him, or before him, becauſe they lay nearer. But the Souldiers having gotten ſome inkling of their coming, fled, and retired, ſome to the Steeple, ſome to the Caſtle, where they thought themſelves to be in ſafety. Morton therefore lay about theſe places, and not long after, the Regent came thither himſelf in perſon, and the Gentlemen of the Countrey about came all to him, ſo that his Army did now amount to the number of 7000. men. Thoſe that were in the Steeple, yeelded preſently: but they that were in the Caſtle ſtood upon their defenſive at firſt, and wounded ſome that approached

Morton goes to Brechin.

The Regent alſo goes thither.

to

to have assaulted the castle; but hearing that the Batterie was to be planted, and that Huntley, who they looked should have come to their relief, according to his promise, had abandoned them, offered to yeeld, their lives only safe; but when they could not obtain that, they came in the Regents will, simply, without condition. Thirty of them were hanged, who had bin taken divers times before, and bin pardoned, upon their promise never to bear arms against the King; the rest, with their Captains, were let go free. This being done, they returned to Stirlin the 15. of Aug. The Garrison yeelds.

The Winter following was quiet, and free from trouble. In the beginning of February, Morton was sent into England to Queen *Elizabeth* at her desire, with whom went *Pitcarne*, Abbot of Dumfermling, and Master *Iames Mackgill* Clerk Register. Being come to the Court the 18. of February, he was remitted to seven of the Councel, who were appointed to treat with him. These propounded two heads to be spoken of; one was, that the Queen might be better informed of their proceedings, and the equity of their cause, then as yet she was; and that their reasons and proofs might be so clear, and such, that both she her self might be fully perswaded thereof, and that she might be able to satisfie others, who should require her help against them. The other point was, to make some overture of Peace, and to finde out some way of reconcilement, that so the Kingdome of Scotland might be quieted and settled. For the first point, they gave in their Reasons in writing, the last of February; which when the Queen had read, she answered by her seven Counsellours, that she was not satisfied therewith fully, and therefore desired them to come to the second point; what course was to be taken for pacification. She propounded the first Head onely for a shew, she knew well enough before what they could say, and was sufficiently satisfied, but would not be so, at least she would not seem to be so. As for the second Head, they answered, that their Commission was limited, and that they could not consult of any such thing as tended to the diminution of their Kings authoritie, neither would they take it upon them (though they might) nor use any such power, although it had been given them. The Queen was at Greenwich, whither she sent for them, and in a manner, chid them for their obstinacie, that they would not listen to a Treatie of Peace, but did rather avoide that which did concerne their good so much, and made large Protestation of her good-will toward them and their King, willing them, at least, if they would do no more, to hear what her Counsellours would say unto them. On the morrow her Counsellours propounded many things, for deciding the Title of the Crown betwixt the Mother and the Son, Morton craved the Propositions in writing, in regard there were many Articles, and of great importance. Which being given him, after he, and the others that were with him, had considered of them, they found them to be such as did diminish the Kings authoritie, and were without the bounds of their Commission; wherefore they returned answer, that these were things of so high a nature, that they belonged only to the three Estates, and could not be medled with all by so few as they were. This answer the Counsellours craved also to have in writing, which was done accordingly the day following. The 10. of March, they had pre- Morton sent into England.

ſence of the Queen, and were again importuned to come to ſome proffers of agreement, but they abſolutely refuſed. Again, the 20. of March, they were brought before the Queen, who confeſſed that theſe matters belonged to a Parliament, *which* (ſayes ſhe) *ſeeing it is to be ſhortly, go home to it with Gods bleſsing, and take ſuch order, as that there may be men choſen of both ſides, to conſult how to put an end to theſe controverſies. And for the furthering thereof, I will ſend my Ambaſſadors thither, and will now preſently deale with the Ambaſſadours of the Scottiſh Queen, and move them to go thither alſo, if it be poſsible.* And ſo ſhe did, but they could give her no preſent anſwer, untill ſuch time as they had acquainted their Queen therewith, and received ſome direction from her thereabout. So they were forced to ſtay till Letters were ſent, and brought again from her: which being come, the 4. of April they got preſence again, and the Queen told them, how Queen *Mary* had rated her Ambaſſadours for their boldneſſe, in daring to go ſo farre, as to enter into any terms of agreement. *Wherefore* (ſayes ſhe) *ſeeing ſhe is ſo averſe from this way, I will ſtay you no longer; but if afterwards ſhe ſhall repent her, and be contented to hear of it,* ſhe ſaid, *ſhe hoped they would be ready to follow the way of peace.* And ſo they were diſmiſſed very lovingly the 8. of April, and came to Stirlin the firſt of May, where having given an account of their Ambaſſage in the Convention aſſembled there, their proceedings were allowed, and approved by all.

He returnes and comes to Stirlin the 1. of May, 1571.

During Mortons abſence in England, Lennox the Regent had taken Paſley, and the Caſtle of Dumbartan; but on the contrary, the other Faction (by Granges means, and their own Forces) had made themſelves Maſters of the town of Edinburgh, with intention to keep out the Lords, & to hinder them from meeting in Parliament. Wherefore Morton being come to Dalkeith, kept 100. Muſquetiers about him, together with a Company of horſemen, both to be a Guard to himſelf (if they ſhould happen to attempt any thing againſt him) as alſo to hinder their excurſions, & to keep them from pillaging the countrey about. This company of foot, with ſome 70. horſe, he ſent to Leith to aſſiſt the Herauld in making a Proclamation in the Kings name, to diſcharge all men to relieve or ſupport the city of Edinburgh with victuals, or munition, or any other neceſſary proviſion. As they returned out of Leith (out of a braverie, or becauſe it was the neareſt way) the footmen would needs go hard by the City gates, & the horſmen (though they liked it not) would not forſake them. They in the town not knowing what might be their meaning, armed themſelves, and ſeeing ſo ſmal a number, iſſued out at the two gates, (called the Nether-Bow, and the Cow-gate-Port) and skirmiſhed with them. Mortons men (though they were fewer in number) had the better of them, and beat them back again within the gates. This fight was called the Lowſie-Law (or hill) becauſe it was fought near to a little hill (or Law) where Beggers uſed to ſun and louſe themſelves. It was the firſt yoking or bickering they had, and the beginning of the Warre between Leith and Edinburgh; ſo called, becauſe the Lords that were on the Kings ſide lay at Leith, and the contrary party at Edinburgh. And howſoever it was of ſmall moment, yet it is not unworthie the obſerving, that this little eſſay, was, in a manner, a preſage and prognoſtick of the iſſue of the enſuing

The Louſie-Law.

enſuing Conflicts, that they ſhould be of anſwerable ſucceſſe. And ſo indeed it fell out, that the Kings ſide, though fewer in number (as at this time) had ever the better, during the whole time of theſe warres.

Parliament the 14. of May 1571. without the Gates of Edinburgh.

The day appointed for holding of the Parliament being come (which was the 14. of May) the Regent comes to Leith, and Morton with him; but not being ſtrong enough to force the Town of Edinburgh, they went hard to the Gate, and having cauſed caſt up a trench to keep the enemie from ſallying out, they held the Parliament, though without the Gates, yet within the liberties of the Citie, which Lawyers ſaid, was as good, as if it had been within the walls. In this Parliament, Secretary *Metellane*, with his two brethren (*Iohn* and *Thomas*) and the Abbot of Kilwinning were declared Rebels, their Lands were forfeited, and their Goods confiſcated. They ſate five dayes, during which, the Ordnance from the Caſtle did play upon them continually, and the Bullets did often fall amongſt them, yet not any man was ſlain, or hurt, as if by ſpeciall providence they had been protected. Afterward they adjourned it, and transferred it to Stirlin againſt the 4. of Auguſt. They in Edinburgh alſo kept their Parliament, where they had the Crowne, Sword, and Scepter (which they had gotten from *Grange* out of the Caſtle) and declared ſome of the Kings ſide Rebels, and in end adjourned it likewiſe till a new day.

The Regent returned to Stirlin, and Morton went with him to bring him on his way as farre as Corſtorphin: As he returned to Dalkeith, they of the Citie iſſued out, as if they would have fought him, and the Caſtle at the ſame time did ſhoot at him; but he being without their reach, and the Enemy not daring to go farther from the Town, than the Cannons could ſhoot, he went home without fighting. His houſe being near to Edinburgh, he kept all thoſe that lay about him, or offered to come that way, from bringing any victuall thither. Wherefore they iſſued out of the Citie to the number of 220. Foot, and 100. Horſe, with intention to ſurprize him, and either to burn his town of Dalkeith, or at leaſt to brave him at his own gate, ſuppoſing that hee durſt not come out to fight them, now that his Friends were all gone home to their own houſes, and not above 200. or few more of waged ſouldiers left with him. So they march, and carry with them two Field-Pieces, and were come to Lugton (within half a mile of him) before they were eſpied. But aſſoon as the Alarme was given in Dalkeith, Mortons men (about 200 foot, and 60. horſe) came forth, and having put themſelves in order in the open fields, offered them battell. After ſome little skirmiſhing, they of Edinburgh ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their expectation (who thought to have found very ſmall or no reſiſtance) began to retire toward the City in good order, and keeping their Ranks unbroken. The Dalkethians did follow them in the ſame manner, til they came to the caſtle of Craig-Miller; then ſome of Mortons Foot getting before them (by running about on the other ſide of the caſtle) & riſing as it were out of an ambuſhment, fell upon them in a narrow Lane which leadeth from the Caſtle; & having broken their Ranks, made them flee. When they perceived from the Caſtle of Edinburgh, that the flight was towards the City, and that

A fight at Craig-Miller the 2. of June 1571.

their men had the worſe, they ſent out 30. Harquebuſiers to their aide, and a barrell of Powder on horſeback. By this new ſupply, they drove back Mortons horſemen as faſt as they had followed them before: but while they are in filling of their meaſures out of the barrell, the Powder being fired by ſome of their Matches, killed and hurt ſome 24. or 30. amongſt whom was Captain *Melvin*, that did keep the barrell, and diſtribute the Powder. By this mean, the loſſe on both ſides was almoſt equall, ſafe that there were moe killed of the Citizens, and more of Mortons made priſoners; having followed too eagerly at a ſtraight place, called the Queens Bridges. This fell out the 2. of June.

Not long after this, Morton was advertiſed, that they of Edinburgh were gone to Leith, to intercept Captain *Wecmes*, and 100. Souldiers who had ſerved in Denmark, and now being come home were waged by the Kings ſide. They had gone to Fyſe, and having refreſhed themſelves there a little while, were now coming over to Leith, to enter into the Kings ſervice, and ſome 24. of them being in a little Ferrie-Boat, were taken by the enemie, and carried to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, the reſt being in a prettie good big Barke, arrived ſafe at Leith. Morton came thither too late, for the men of Edinburgh were all gone ere he came, ſave ſome 10. or 12. whom he took, and kept for the Souldiers that were carried away. Morton lay long at Leith, during which time there fell out a notable conflict, and the moſt memorable that happened all the time of that Warre. The Queen of England laboured to mediate a peace between the parties, and for that purpoſe had commanded Sir *William Drury* (Marſhall of Berwick) to deale with them, and trie what conditions of agreement he could bring them to. *Drury* went to Stirlin to the Regent; he did alſo ſpeak with Morton, and was now come to Edinburgh to take his leave of them there, ſeeing he could do no good, nor prevaile with either ſide. Morton in the mean time being wearied with watching, and exceſſive paines and travell; tormented alſo with a vehement fit of the Colick, kept his bed, which they at Edinburgh having notice of, either to take advantage of his ſicknes, or to brave them of Leith in the preſence & ſight of *Drury*, to make him beleeve that they were the ſtronger, and hardier; they iſſue forth of the Town, and march toward Leith, having ordered and ranked their men as ready to give battell. This was the 10. of June in time of their Parliament, where the chief of their faction was preſent, and did make Huntley Lieutenant for Queen *Mary*. He with the Abbot of Kilwinning, and Maſter *John Metellane* Priour of Coldinghame, had the leading of the foot, Balcleugh and Farnihaſte were Captains of the horſe. Theſe came as farre as the hill where the Gibbet uſeth to ſtand (called commonly the Gallow-Law) not farre from Leith, Morton underſtanding hereof by the watch, eſteeming it a great indignitie and affront, that they ſhould offer to come ſo near to the place where he was, forgetting his own ſickneſſe and infirmitie, roſe out of his bed, and cauſed ſound the Trumpets, and beat up the Drummes, and marching out of the Town, ſet his men in order within halfe a mile, and leſſe, of the enemie. Sir *William Drury* rode betwixt the Armies, and made them promiſe not to fight that day, but then there aroſe a queſtion which

Morton at Leith.

Conflict with the Lords of the Queens Faction.

The 10. of June.

At the Gallow-Law.

of

of them ſhould retire firſt. Morton alledged that thoſe of Edinburgh ought to do it, becauſe they came out firſt, and were in a manner the provokers. But *Drury* to decide the controverſie deſired, that when he ſtanding in the mid-way betwixt them ſhould give a ſigne, they ſhould both retire together at the ſame inſtant. Morton was content, but the other partie refuſed flatly, threatning withall, that unleſſe he retired firſt, they would make him do it with ſhame, and would ſcarcely forbear till *Drury* withdrew himſelf; who when he could not prevaile with them, went aſide, and looked on, ſaying, *GOD ſhew the right.* Morton, who had yeelded before not out of fear, but onely to ſatisfie the Engliſh, thinking that he had done enough to ſhow his moderation unto them, began to march toward the enemie. There were with him 3. Companies of foot, which were Mercenaries, under the leading of Captain *Thomas Crawford*, *David Hume* of Fiſhick, and Captain *Weemes*, who was come out of Denmark, all expert and valiant Captains. Beſides theſe there were ſome Voluntiers of the Townſmen of Leith, and of Edinburgh alſo, who had left the City to follow the Kings ſide. The horſemen about 130. were conducted by *William Douglas* of Drumlenrigge, *James Hume* of Coldinknowes, and one *Jordan* of Aplegirth. Morton had about himſelf a Company of Pikemen, and ſuch as carried Speares, and long Weapons. The fore-named Captains began the fight, and made the enemies ſhot quickly to give ground, and drave them back. The horſemen in like manner beat the Rebels horſemen, and routed them; which Huntley perceiving, fled alſo as they did. There was no head or reſiſtance at all made againſt them, ſave onely by a few of the foot men in the Abbey Churchyard, who made ſhew as if they would have defended that place of advantage, but they were quickly forced to leave it, and flee with the reſt. For ſome of them being ſlain, ſome trampled under foot, and divers cruſhed to death in the throng and crowde, the reſt ran away ſo diſorderly, and fearfully, that they forgot to ſhut the Citie-gates, and fled ſtraight to the Caſtle. And ſo great was their fear and confuſion, that if the followers had not been too much bent, and eagerly ſet upon the pillage and ſpoyle, they might eaſily have entred, and taken the City. There were ſlain in this fight about ſome 50. of whom *Gawin Hamilton* Abbot of Kilwinning was one: there were 150. taken priſoners, the chief of which was the Lord Hume, being a little hurt by the falling of his horſe, *James Culen* Captain of a foot Company, and a Kinſman of the Earle of Huntleyes had hid himſelf in a poor wives Aumerie, and being found, was drawne out from thence by the heeles, and brought to Leith: There ſo ſoon as the people ſaw him, they made a great noiſe and clamour, deſiring that he might not be ſpared, but puniſhed according to his deſerts. For in the time of the Civill Warre at home, hee had behaved himſelf both covetouſly and cruelly, more like a thief and robber, than a Captain or generous Souldier: and abroad in France, he was very infamous for many vile and baſe pranks he had played there. And in the Warre betwixt Sweden and Denmark, he had taken Money of both Kings to levie men, and promiſed to aide both, but performed to neither. For theſe things, beſides many moe foule and horrible crimes which he had committed,

mitted, hee was publickly executed, to the great contentment of all the commons. Sir *William Drury*, when he saw how things went (contrary to his desire, as is supposed) being (as was thought) a North-folcian, went away to Berwick.

After this, the Regent came to Leith, and caused fortifie it, and make it as strong as he could; to hinder any victuall to be carried from thence to Edinburgh; and having appointed the Lord *Lindsay* to remain there as Governour, he returned to Stirlin, and Morton went with him to hold the Parliament, which was appointed to be there in August. There was at this time no small contest and debate, betwixt the Court and the Church, about Bishops, and Prelates, concerning their office and jurisdiction. The Ministers laboured to have them quite abolished and taken away, and the Court thought that forme of government to be more agreeable, and compatible with a Monarchicall estate, and more conforme to the rules of policie, and Civill government of a Kingdome. Besides, the Courtiers had tasted the sweetnesse of their rents and revenues, putting in titular Bishops, who were onely their receivers, and had a certain Pension or Stipend, for discharging and executing the Ecclesiasticall part of their office, but the maine profit was taken up by the Courtiers for their own use. Wherefore they laboured to retain at least these shadowes of Bishops, for letting of Leases, and such other things, which they thought were not good in Law otherwayes. There was none more forward to keep them up than the Earle of Morton; for he had gone Ambassadour to England on his own private charges, and to recompense his great expenses in that journey, the Bishoprick of S. Andrews, being then vacant, was conferred upon him. He put in Master *John Douglas* (who was Provest of the new Colledge in S. Andrews) to bear the name of Bishop, and to gather the rents (till such time as the solemnity of inauguration could be obtained) for which he was countable to him. This he did immediatly after he came home out of England. Now he wil have him to sit in Parliament, and to vote there as Archbishop. The Superintendent of Fyfe did inhibite him to sit there, or to vote under paine of excommunication; Morton commanded him to do it under pain of Treason and Rebellion. The Petition given in to the Parliament, desiring a competent provision for the maintenance of Preachers, in which they complained of the wrong done unto them by the Courtiers, who intercepted their means, was cast over the Barre, and rejected; and by the most common report, Morton was the cause thereof. Afterward Morton in a meeting of some Delegates, and Commissioners of the Church at Leith, by the Superintendent *Dune's* meanes, used the matter so, that he obtained their consent to have his Bishop admitted, and installed. Wherefore the 3. of February, he caused affix a Schedule on the Church doore of S. Andrews, wherein he charged the Ministers to conveene, and admit him to the place, which they did accordingly, but not without great opposition. For Master *Patrick Adamson* (then a Preacher, but afterward Archbishop there himself) in a Sermon which he preached against the order and office of Bishops, said, there were three sorts of Bishops: 1. The Lords Bishop (to wit Christs) and such was every Pastour: 2. My Lord Bishop,

Parliament in Stirlin, the 4. of August.

Contention about Bishops.

Biſhop, that is, ſuch a Biſhop as is a Lord, who ſits, and votes in Parliament, and exerciſes juriſdiction over his brethren. 3. And the third ſort was (my Lords Biſhop) that is, one whom ſome Lord, or Nobleman at Court did put into the place to be his receiver, to gather the Rents, and let Leaſes for his Lordſhips behoofe, but had neither the meanes nor power of a Biſhop. This laſt ſort he called a Tulchan Biſhop, becauſe as the Tulchan (which is a Calves skin ſtuffed with ſtraw) is ſet up to make the Cow give down her milk; ſo are ſuch Biſhops ſet up, that their Lords by them may milk the Biſhopricks. Likewiſe Maſter *Knox* preached againſt it the 10. of February, and in both their hearings (Mortons, and his Archbiſhop) to their faces pronounced, *Anathema danti, anathema accipienti*, a curſe on the giver, and a curſe on the taker. This much I thought fit to mention here, and to caſt theſe things together which are of one nature, though done at ſeverall times, yet which began at this Parliament in Stirlin.

An attempt upon Stirlin, and the Lords there.

While the Lords aſſembled at Stirlin lay there ſecurely and negligently, without fear of the Enemie that lay ſo farre off as (they thought) at Edinburgh, they had well nigh been cut off all of them, and the whole cauſe overthrown. For there was in Edinburgh one *George Bell* (an Enſigne-bearer to a Company there, and a Stirlin-man borne) who knew all the Town, and every Lane, and Street, every turning and corner in it. He had learned alſo in what particular houſes everie Nobleman was lodged. This *Bell* knowing by intelligence how careleſſe the Lords were, how few they had with them, and that there was either no watch kept at all, or elſe but very negligently, & the Centinels very thin placed, thought it poſſible to ſurprize them with a very few men; wherefore having imparted it, and acquainted the chief Commanders withall, they liked, and approved of it. So with all ſpeed they prepare for the journey, and march from Edinburgh with 200. horſe, and 300. foot; the Earle of Huntley, *Claude Hamilton* of Paſley, and *Walter Scot* of Balcleugh being their Captains and Leaders. They uſed ſuch expedition, and were ſo fortunate, that having got thither undeſcried, they planted themſelves in the Market-place, and ſetting men to guard all the Lanes, and narrow paſſages of the Town, they entred the Noblemens lodgings, and took them priſoners; the Regent, Glencairne, and others. Onely Mortons houſe made ſome reſiſtance; which being ſo well defended, that ſeeing they could not enter otherwayes, they ſet it on fire, and he, ſeeing all filled with fire and ſmoak, one or two of his ſervants alſo being ſlain, yeelded himſelf to Balcleugh, who had married his Neece *Margaret Douglas*. And thus having made all ſure, as they ſuppoſed, the Souldiers began to roame up and down the Town, and rifle the houſes, ſeeking for ſpoyle and bootie. In the mean time the Earle of Marre, and his folks, who were in the Caſtle, and had eſſayed divers times to break into the Market-place, but in vain, all the paſſages and entries being ſo well guarded, that they could by no means do it; at the laſt he ſent ſome 16. of his men, with ſmall braſſe pieces of Founds (as they call them) to his own new houſe, which was then a building: and becauſe no body dwelt in it (for it was not yet finiſhed) the Enemy had not regarded it. Theſe entring

in

in at a back-gate, got up to the top of the houſe, and to the windows which did look directly into that Street where the Enemie was, and began to ſhoot among the thickeſt of them. Hereupon they preſently fled ſo faſt, that they trod one upon another thronging out at the gate. Marres folks came preſently down and purſued them, but the lodging-gate being ſhut, they could not get out at the little narrow wicket but one at once, and that very ſlowly, whereby the Enemie had time to flee ſafely. And now many that before kept within doores for fear, began to creep out of their corners, and come forth to the Street, and joyne themſelves with the Earle of Marres men, ſo that the caſe was quite altered: For the Victours and Conquerours, leaving their priſoners and their ſpoyle, fled for life to ſave themſelves; and divers became priſoners unto their priſoners, namely thoſe who had taken Morton and Glencairne.

Lennox the Regent killed.

The Regent was taken by *David Spenſe* of Wormiſton, who was himſelf killed while he laboured to ſave the Regents life, and the Regent alſo received his deaths wound. They might have utterly deſtroyed the Enemie, but that at their firſt entry the Tividale men had taken away all their horſes, ſo that they could not purſue them. And ſo they eſcaped (we may ſay) on both ſides: for both were victorious, & both were vanquiſhed in a few houres ſpace. A rare and remarkable example, how available, and of what moment it is to uſe diligence and expedition; and how dangerous in time of Warre to be negligent and ſecure. But eſpecially this accident doth make good that often repeated obſervation of that great Warriour *Julius Cæſar*, *Multum in utramque partem fortuna poteſt*: that in all the exploits of Warre, fortune hath great power either to fruſtrate, or make ſucceſſefull. But what he cals fortune, we know to be providence, and ought ſo to call and acknowledge it; which turnes the wheele of humane affairs beyond, and contrary to their expectation. If we may judge of the juſtice of the cauſe by the perpetuall ſucceſſe of the maintainers, and by their meekneſſe and moderation therein, the Kings ſide have had the better and the juſter. The Regent died that ſame night, and was buried in the Chappell of Stirlin Caſtle, with ſuch ſolemnitie as the Town and time could afford.

Buried.

1571. Marre Regent 9. Septemb.

The Grand-father being dead, the next Regent was Marre, being choſen the 8. or 9. of September the ſame year 1571. There were three put on the liſt, Argyle, Marre, and Morton. It is ſtrange, they ſhould have made Argyle one, who had been all this while on the contrary faction, and was now but a reconciled Enemy at moſt, unleſſe they were ſure how to carry it. Many thought Morton ſhould have been the man, but he nothing ambitious of the title, which was but matter of envie, helped to cauſe Marre be choſen, who was a very ſufficient and truſty Nobleman, able to diſcharge the place, and who had the Kings perſon in keeping within the Caſtle of Stirlin. The main thing that he did in his Regencie was, that he conveened the Countrey, and lay about the Town, but wanting Artillerie to batter it, he returned again to Leith; where having divided the Kingdome into quarters, he appointed the ſeverall diviſions to come to him by turnes, with whom having broken the Mils about Edinburgh, he placed Souldiers in the villages and Gentlemens houſes

houſes about it, to hinder all kinde of proviſion from it. In the South parts of the Kingdome, Balcleugh and Farnihaſte did moleſt the Kings ſide, eſpecially the town of Jedburgh. Wherefore Morton both for this cauſe, as alſo for a particular againſt Farnihaſte, who claimed to be Bailiffe of Jedward Forreſt (which belonged to the Earle of Angus) by inheritance, ſent for the chief Gentlemen of the Merſe, and deſired them to ſubſcribe a Band, by which all thoſe that were by name inſert therein, did binde themſelves to aſſiſt other, and all of them to aid and aſſiſt the Warden Sir *Iames* of Coldinknows. In this Band were contained the townſmen of Jedward, the Laird of Badrule, together with the *Trumbles* and *Rutherfords*, and divers others.

The firſt that was called (they being all aſſembled together in Mortons lodging at Leith) was Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, who flatly refuſed to ſubſcribe it; but ſaid, Hee was ready to ſerve the King, as became a faithfull Subject, ſo farre as hee was able; but that hee would not binde himſelf in any Band to any man, further than hee was already bound in duty, eſpecially ſuch men, with whom he would not enter into any ſocietie, fellowſhip, or combination. He underſtood chiefly the *Trumbles* and *Rutherfords*, which names were infamous, and moſt of them reputed theeves, and Badrule a notorious one. Morton ſeeing him thus reſolute, leſt the reſt might by his example refuſe likewiſe, cauſed him go aſide into a back-room, and called in the reſt.

The firſt of which was *Patrick Hume* of Polwart, who hearing of the *Trumbles* and *Rutherfords*, refuſed alſo to be joyned with them, or to ſubſcribe. When Morton asked him his reaſon, he anſwered roundly, *Becauſe*, ſayes he, *it may be ſome of theſe men have helped to ſteal* Wedderburnes *cattell. And hath* Wedderburne *any cattell ſtollen from him*, ſayes Morton? *Yes, my Lord*, anſwered the other, *that he hath. He did not tell me ſo much*, ſayes Morton. *But it is true, my Lord*, ſaith Polwart. *Well*, ſayes Morton, *will ye ſubſcribe this Bond? I cannot, my Lord*, ſaith he, *as the caſe ſtands. If you do not*, ſaith he, *you ſhall do worſe. Worſe, my Lord*, ſaith the other, *nay, rather than do worſe, I will do it. No, but* ſaith Morton, *I do not mean to compell you. No, but my Lord*, ſaith hee, *you have ſaid enough*; and ſo he ſigned it, accounting it threatning and compulſion, and ſo himſelf no whit bound by his ſubſcribing. The reſt of the Gentlemen being called, ſeeing *Polwarts* hand at it, made no more ſcruple, but ſet to theirs likewiſe.

After this, Morton went to dinner, and being ſet, hee remembred himſelf, and ſent one to call Wedderburne out of the back-roome, and when hee came, he asked him, *Why he did not come to dinner? I was* (ſaith he) *lawfully committed, my Lord, and I would not break priſon, but ſtayed till I was lawfully releaſed.* Theſe dealings made ſome that were rigid cenſurers think hardly of Morton, that hee would uſe ſuch infamous men, and tolerate them for his own ends, eſpecially being a publicke perſon, and in the place of juſtice: Yet others did excuſe him, as being neceſsitated thereunto

by the times; there being no other way to counter-poyſe the power of Farnihaſte and Balcleugh, but by theſe *Trumbles* and *Rotherfords*; alledging withall, that it is not fit, or poſſible, to obſerve thoſe Schoolrules preciſely in Politick affairs, which it ſeemes hath been his opinion alſo.

Thoſe of Edinburgh ſet fire in Dalkeith.

In February, Morton being abſent in S. Andrews, about the inſtalling of his Archbiſhop Maſter *John Douglas*, thoſe in Edinburgh watching and laying hold on this opportunitie, went forth, and ſetting fire in the town of Dalkeith, burnt ſome twenty houſes thereof, and having ſpoyled and pillaged it, returned ſafe to Edinburgh. There was little other thing of moment done by either ſide, during Marres time. And now by the Garriſons (which lay about Edinburgh) hindering Victuall to be brought to them, their ſcarcitie increaſed ſo much, that they ſent to procure an Ambaſſadour from France, and another from Queen *Elizabeth*, to mediate a Peace. And for the preamble of a full Peace, the Ambaſſadours obtained a Truce in July, to begin the 1. of Auguſt, 1572. and to laſt till December, or January. The conditions were ſimple, that the Town of Edinburgh ſhould bee patent to all the Kings Subjects; which was as much to ſay, as that they ſhould render it up, ſince they could keep it no longer. And ſo it was done the firſt of Auguſt 1572. Before the expiring of this Truce, the Regent ſickened, and died at Stirlin about the twenty eighth of October, 1572.

A truce in Auguſt 1572.

Marre the Regent dieth the 28. of October.

Thus have wee waded through thoſe times and actions of the Earle Mortons which were inter-mingled with thoſe of other mens; in which though he were not the ſole agent, nor the principall and firſt in place, yet had he a main hand in all of them, and in all the affaires of Eſtate, he was ever a chief Actour, during the reigne of the Queen-Mother, and Queen *Mary* (her daughter) in the time of the three Regents, Murray, Lennox, and Marre; to all whom, he was ever even more than a ſecond. Now we are come to that time and thoſe actions, which are abſolutely and fully his own; where he is the deviſer and executer, ſole counſellour and ſole commander of all, where there is none to go before him, none to ſhare or partake with him in his praiſe, or blame. What hee doth aright, the honour thereof is due to himſelf alone; and if hee do any thing amiſſe, the blame thereof muſt lye upon him onely. The pain or pleaſure, the gain or loſſe, touch and concerne him, and none elſe. For Marre being dead, wee do not finde ſo much as any queſtion made, who ſhould ſucceed him in the Government; mens mindes had by preſage deſigned him to it, and the Lords meet to accompliſh that preſage, rather than to conſult of it. Wherefore the twentie fourth of November, he was by uniforme conſent of all thoſe of the Kings ſide, choſen to be Regent. Would you know the reaſon of their choice? Be pleaſed then to hear it in the words of a ſtranger, who is very impartiall, and farre from laviſh commendation, that is, Maſter *Thin* (or *Boteville*) in his Scottiſh Chronicle; *They ſought* (ſayth he) *a new Regent to ſucceed in* Marres *place, that might in all reſpects defend the Kings Perſon, and the Realme,*

Morton Regent the 24. of Novem. 1572.

Realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the Noblemen assembling, did select by one consent, the Earle of Morton to that Office, a man no lesse wise than provident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth; and service to the Realme and to the King, did well merit the same. By which it appeares, that he did neither ambitiously seek the Place, nor got it by faction, but was chosen to it for the good of the Countrey, freely and advisedly. He sayes indeed, that it was after long consultation, but it could not be very long, being little more than a moneth, which was short enough time to be spent in making the late Regents Funerall, and to conveen the Nobilitie therein. For according to himself, the election was in December; but our Acts of Parliament (which are more authentick) say, it was the 24. of November. But how ever long their consultations were, we do not hear that he had any Competitour, or that there was any other mentioned or nominated with him; and seeing he sayes, it was done (by one consent) then was there not any contrary Votes, or contradiction and contesting; but a perfect and full uniformitie and harmonie of minde amongst all of that side. Nay, even of those of the other side also, who sent (as some Notes say which I have seen) Commission and Proxees to that purpose, and namely, the Duke and Earle of Huntley. Others say, these were at the Parliament, where this Regencie was confirmed, holden the 26. of January, in Edinburgh. They that delay it longer, cast their yeelding in February at Perth, where they name Huntley, Argyle, Athole, and in generall, the greatest part (say they) of the Nobilitie, and so we see his entrie was free and right, and duly approved by all; the rest of his Office we have to consider. It lasted the space of five years and three moneths, till the twelfth of March, 1577. which is the time of his dismission. All this time the Countrey injoyed a full and perfect Peace, save so much warre as they had in recovering the Castle of Edinburgh out of the enemies hands. There were within the Castle (beside *Grange* Captain thereof) Secretarie *Metellane*, and his brother Master *John*, Priour of Coldinghame (afterward Chancellour of Scotland) who remained still in terms of hostilitie. I know not why, nor wherefore, whether it was, that they thought themselves so guiltie, as that they could not be pardoned; or that they had conceived such spleen and hatred against the other Faction, that they would not be reconciled; and so, out of despair, taking a desperate course, or that they were borne up with hope of some change, perswading themselves, that this agreement among the parties could not last long, being so ill cemented (as they conceived) but that some difference would soon arise upon some occasion or other, and that the rather, having their example for the present, and the Castle of Edinburgh for a place of refuge, when it should be needfull.

The Queens partie within the castle of Edinburgh.

Upon these, or such like considerations, being also not altogether forsaken of the French (who sent some small supply of Moneyes, but large promises by *James Kircadie*, brother to Grange, who landing at Black-Nesse, conveyed himself and it secretly into the castle) they resolved to be the last in yeelding, and to hold out so long as possibly they could, assuring themselves that they could make their peace

when they liſted (if it ſhould come to the worſt) by ſurrendring the place upon good conditions. There were with theſe forenamed (as their followers) the Lord Hume, who was altogether led by *Metellans* counſell, and *Logan* of Raſtarig, who depended upon Hume. *Pittadraw* was Lieutenant to *Grange* the Captain, and Sir *Robert Melvill* was Uncle to *Grange*. The Regent being reſolved to pull this thorne out of his foot, cauſed the Caſtle to be incloſed with a trench, and Souldiers ſet to keep it, under the command of Captain Crawford, and Captain *David Hume* before mentioned. And becauſe they of the Caſtle watered at a Well (called S. *Margarets* Well) Captain *Michell* was appointed to lie with his Company at S. *Cutberds* Kirk, who hindred them from fetching water from thence, and after a while, he found means to poyſon it, and ſo left it without any Guard. While the Caſtle was thus blocked up, one Captain *Bruce* iſſued forth thereof, to bring in victuals, but he was taken by the Regents men, ſaith Maſter *Thin*: a thing very hard to be conceived, how he either durſt, or could do it; neither is there any mention or memorie of his being there, any where elſe to be found. Now becauſe the Caſtle did annoy the City with their Ordnance, ſo that none could walk in the Street (which lies open in a ſtraight line from the Caſtle expoſed to their mercy) without danger of their lives, the Regent cauſed make three Traverſes or Dikes, and ramparts of earth, turfe and dung, over-thwart and croſſing the Street, ſo thick, as that they were Cannon-proofe, and could not be pierced, and ſo high, that they took away the view of the Street from them of the Caſtle. One of theſe was raiſed hard by the Land-Market above the Tolbooth, and the other two (with proportionable diſtance one from another) nearer the Caſtle; ſo that the Citizens and others walked ſafely to and fro about their buſineſſe, and the Lords alſo ſate in Parliament without any hurt, notwithſtanding that the very day of their ſitting (the 26. of January, or as others the 16.) for their welcome and firſt ſalutation, they had beſtowed on them 87. great ſhot; onely there was one poor dog killed before the Regents door. Neither was there any great hurt done before, though they had been ſtill ſending their vollies the 1. of January (at what time the truce expired) not above 6. perſons hurt that kept the trenches, and as many within the City, but none ſlain. One night the Captain iſſued forth, and skirmiſhed with the Regents Souldiers in the trenches, till he found means to ſet ſome houſes of the City on fire; which, the winde being high, did ſpread through the City, and when any did offer to quench it, he cauſed the Ordnance to play ſo thick upon them, that none daring to come near it, there were ſome 100. houſes conſumed therewith being burnt down to the ground, but not any man either ſlain, or hurt. This fact made him, who was hated before, to be abhorred and thought abominable by all men.

The Caſtle blocked up.

Parliament at Edinburgh, the 26. of Jan.

Wherefore the Regent determining no more to dally with him (not having ſufficient ſtore of Artillerie of his own, and fearing leſt the Caſtle being well victualled, might hold out too long) he ſent to the Queen of England to borrow of her; who ſent him 30. pieces in all (*viz.* 9. Cannons, 6. Demicanons, 6. Sacres, and 9. Culverins) with all manner of needfull

Siege of the Caſtle of Edinburgh. 1573. 20. April.

needfull proviſion; together with 700. or (as Maſter *Thin* ſaith) 1500. men under the conduct of Sir *William Drury* Generall. With theſe and 500. hired Souldiers of Scots, beſides the Gentlemen Voluntiers, and the Citizens of Edinburgh (after he had ſummoned the Caſtle, and they not obeying) he ſate down before it the 20. of April 1573. They raiſed five Mounts or Terraſſes, whereon to plant their batterie, in that place where now *Heriots* work is built. Theſe (being called by the ſeverall names of the chief Commanders, Firſt, the Kings, Secondly, *Mount Drury*, Thirdly, *Mount Leyes*, from Sir *George Leyes*, Fourthly, *Mount Carie*, from Sir *George Carie*, Fifthly, and *Mount Sutton*, from *Thomas Sutton* Maſter of the Ordnance) were finiſhed the 17. of May, with great toyle and labour, and not without ſome loſſe of men by ſhot from the Caſtle. They began their batterie the 17. of May, and continued it till the 26. The Caſtle is ſituate on a ſteep and inacceſſible Rock, having a large utter Court beneath that Cragge whereon the Caſtle ſtandeth. About this Court there is a ſtrong Wall, and on that ſide which lieth towards the Town of Edinburgh, a Bulwark (or Blockhouſe) ending in a ſharp point, being made in form of a triangle. The uſe of it is to defend the entrance and gates of the Caſtle. The wals of this Blockhouſe are ſubject to the ſight and ſhot of the Caſtle, and ſo may be defended by thoſe that are within, but the corner & ſharp point thereof is not ſo, and if it be taken by the Enemy, thoſe that are within the Caſtle cannot annoy them. There were within the caſtle at the inner end of the ſaid Blockhouſe, two turrets of ancient workmanſhip, but more high than ſtrong; of which the one was called *Davids* Tower (which ſtood nearer the Gate) the other without it nearer to the South, was called *Wallace* Tower, but I know not the reaſon of their names. Againſt theſe two Towers, and the ſide of the Blockhouſe neareſt to the Caſtle, they directed their firſt batterie. Thereafter they battered round about on every ſide of the Caſtle, and having diſmounted ſome of the Ordnance within, and broken other ſome by ſhooting in at the mouth thereof, their Cannon did little hurt, being made unſerviceable. Beſides, *Davids* Tower being battered, was beaten down, and fell in ſuch ſort, that the ruines thereof did damme up the gate and entrance betwixt the Caſtle and the utter Court and Blockhouſe. The Blockhouſe was alſo battered in that part that was over againſt the gate; and *Wallace* Tower, which ſtood above the gate within the Caſtle, was beaten down. There was a breach large enough, made not farre from the gate of the Bulwarke, and the ditch alſo was filled up with ſtones and rubbiſh, ſo that they might well enough have entred there; but becauſe it lay ſo open in the very mouth of the enemies ſhot, it was not thought ſafe to give the aſſault at that place. Wherefore having provided Ladders, they went to the point of the Blockhouſe, there to climbe up out of danger of the Enemies ſhot. The foremoſt in this ſervice were Captain *Hume* and Captain *Crawford*. *Humes* Ladder being too ſhort, and there being one of his men alſo ſhot upon the Ladder behinde him, he was forced to come down again, and ſo *Crawford* got firſt up, and *Hume* followed him upon his Ladder, and ſo did the reſt of the Souldiers without any hurt done. So they went forward, and planted a *Corps de*

de guarde before the Gate of the Blockhouſe called *Humes* Porter-lodge; I know not why or how it got that name. They had no let or impediment, ſave that they had ſome ſmall ſhot from the Caſtle, for the great Ordnance could not annoy them, being ſo high above them. And thoſe that had kept the Blockhouſe, had forſaken it, and were taken in to the Caſtle, being towed up over the Wall in the night. For it being ſore battered, and the paſſage from thence to the Caſtle being ſo dammed up, that there could come no relief nor ſuccour to them from within, they would not ſtay in it any longer, but abandoned it. While they were in ſcaling the Blockhouſe, there was another Company ſent to make ſhew of giving an aſſault at another place, but they having gone further on than they had warrant or direction, they were repulſed, and about thirty of them ſlain. And ſo they did (as it were) make an exchange, and recompenſe their loſſe of the Blockhouſe, with the death of theſe thirty. But this taking of the Blockhouſe, was a matter of no great conſequence; for neither could they any wiſe annoy or harme them that were within from thence, neither was the Caſtle Wall any where ſcalable, but as hard and difficult to get up into it as ever. Onely they had taken from them the onely Well which was left them, and out of which had been furniſhed to each man a pint of water a day. For the other Well that was within the Caſtle, by the fall of *Davids* Tower, was ſo filled with lime and rubbiſh, that it ſerved them to no uſe. Beſides, they were at variance amongſt themſelves; for the Souldiers were not well pleaſed with their Captain, in regard of his hard uſage of them. For he had committed to his wife the charge of diſtributing their Vivers, ſo to pleaſe her in that, that ſhe might be the better contented to bear with his untimely and unlawful love toward her maid whom he intertained all this while. It is true, the victuall began to grow ſcarce, but ſhe made it ſcarcer by her niggardly diſpoſition. They did not mutine, but they murmured ſo, that they within were content to Parley with the beſiegers. Wherefore the 26. of May, *Grange* the Captain, *Pittadraw* Lieutenant, and Sir *Robert Melvill* came down over the Wall by a rope, and ſpake with Generall *Drury*; for they addreſſed themſelves to him, as one in whom they did much confide as a favorer of theirs. They demanded that their lives, lands & honor ſafe, they might depart with bag and baggage, both he, and all that were with him. But when he could not obtain that, he returned to the Caſtle again. The Regent after this, found means to let the ſouldiers underſtand, that if they would render up the Caſtle, their lives ſhould be ſaved, and they ſhould have free libertie to paſſe with bag and baggage whither they pleaſed; elſe that they muſt expect all rigour and extremity. Hereupon they ſhew themſelves unwilling to undergo any more paines or danger for him, and refuſe to obey him; ſo that he was conſtrained to yeeld up the Caſtle the 28. or 29. of May, without any condition at all, but referring himſelf abſolutely to the Queen of Englands pleaſure. Her pleaſure was to remit all to the Regents own wiſedome and diſcretion, and ſo the 16. of July ſhe called back Sir *William Drury* and her Souldiers; as alſo about the ſame time her Ships and Munition were ſent home againe to her. Concerning the priſoners, the Lord *Hume* was committed again

The caſtle rendered the 29. of May.

to

to the Castle, and the Castle to the keeping of *George Douglas* of Parkehead, brother naturall to the Regent. Sir *William Metellane* of Lithington deceased (the 9. of July at Leith, where he lay with *Drury*) before he was suspected, and reported to have poysoned himself. What fear, what guiltinesse, or what other occasion there was to move him hereto, or what information he got, or apprehension he took of the Regents minde toward him in particular, I know not; but after that he knew that he was to be left by the English in the Regents hands, he lived not many dayes. None of the rest were hardly used, save *Grange* the Captain, who being odious for his breach of faith to those of the Kings side (with whom he took part at first) and much more hated for his treacherous dealing with the first Regent Murray, who had been so kinde and loving a friend to him, and had trusted so much to him; but most of all for his obstinacie and unmercifull cruelty in firing the Town of Edinburgh, and not suffering them to quench it, the common people did so abominate and detest him, that they could not abstaine from reviling and cursing of him, as he was led along, after the Castle was surrendred; neither could they be hindred from stoning of him: so that they who were with him were faine (for saving of themselves and him) to take the house upon their heads. And now that he was in the Regents power, there was no way to satisfie them, but by executing of him: Wherefore being condemned for these things, he was put into a Cart, and drawn backward to the Marketplace of Edinburgh, where he was hanged, and with him his brother Master *James Kircadie*, and two men of Edinburgh (*Mossman* and *Cackie*) who had made false Coin in the Castle on the 3. day of August 1573. Master *John Metellan* was sent prisoner to Tantallon, and Sir *Robert Melvill* to Lithington, to be kept there by *David Hume* of Fishick, who then possessed it. Grange executed.

This was the onely exploit of Warre which he atchieved, and by which he acquired great reputation; the former Regents having never been able to get this Castle into their hands: as also by his no-wayes rigorous dealing with those that were in it. The rest of the time of his Regencie, there was a generall peace in the Kingdome, and full obedience was yeelded to him by all men. No man of those times had seen the like before; no King was ever more dreaded and reverenced, nor did ever keep all sorts of people (High-Landers, Low-Landers, Borderers and all) in better order and greater subjection, even to inferiour Magistrates, both Civill and Ecclesiasticall. The chief mean hereof was the execution of the Laws. He made not many new ones, but what he made, he took care to have observed. Concerning Religion, there are these five Acts extant, which he made in his first Parliament the 26. of January 1572. before the besieging of the Castle. 1. The first of these is relative to an Act made by Regent Murray before. In it (being made for establishing of Religion) it had been declared: "That they were not of the "Church, that did not approve the heads of Religion then received, and "who refused to participate of the Sacraments as they were administred. "Morton ordains (in this Parliament) such persons to be first searched, "and secondly, admonished to recant their wicked errours; thirdly, to "make Parliament Jan. 26. 1572. Acts concerning Religion.

"make confeſſion of their faith according to the form preſcribed; fourth-
"ly, to participate of the Sacraments; fifthly, ſubmit to the Diſcipline of
"the Church within ſuch a competent time; ſixthly, if they fail to do this,
"that they be excommunicated; ſeventhly, then have their names printed
"in a catalogue; eightly, divulged; ninthly, & affixed on the Tolbooth door
"of Edinburgh; tenthly, from thenceforth to be reputed infamous; ele-
"venthly, not to ſit or ſtand in judgement, purſue, defend; or bear any
"publick office; twelfthly, not to be admitted as a proof or witneſſe, or
"aſſeſſour againſt any, profeſſing the reformed Religion, till they ſub-
"mit, be reconciled, and obtain a teſtimoniall of their reconcilement.
"That to be in this Catalogue ſhall be a relevant exception againſt, firſt,
"Judges principall: ſecondly, or Deputies: thirdly, Members of Court:
"fourthly, Officers: fifthly, Parties or Procutors: ſixthly, perſons of
"inqueſt: ſeventhly, or witneſſes, to decline them from, firſt, Judge-
"ment: ſecondly, Office: thirdly, Purſute: fourthly, Procuration:
"fifthly, Inqueſt: or ſixthly, Bearing witneſſe: That the Arch-biſhops,
"Biſhops, Superintendents, Viſitours, Commiſſioners, Readers, ſhall
"give in their names within every one of their bounds, under pain of
"forfeiting a years rent in caſe they fail. 2. The ſecond Act is: That
"all Eccleſiaſticall perſons (that is Miniſters, or ſuch as pretend any right
"to have, or brook and enjoy any, firſt Benefice: ſecondly, Life-rent:
"thirdly, Stipend: fourthly, Penſion: fifthly, or Portion of Benefice)
"who ſhall not confeſſe, ſubſcribe, and participate the Sacraments, as
"ſaid is, ſhall be *ipſo facto* deprived; and all his Eccleſiaſticall promoti-
"ons and livings ſhall be voide and vacant, as if he were naturally dead.
"3. The third Act: That none ſhould be reputed as loyall and faithfull
"Subjects to our Soveraigne Lord, but be puniſhable as Rebels, that
"gave not confeſſion and profeſſion of the reformed Religion: That ſuch
"as had once profeſſed it, and afterward made defection, ſhould returne
"before the firſt of June next, and renew their former confeſſion: firſt,
"Promiſe to continue in it: ſecondly, To maintain the Kings authori-
"ty: thirdly, The Preachers: fourthly, And Profeſſours of the true
"Religion, againſt whomſoever and whatſoever enemies, eſpecially
"againſt all (of whatſoever Nation or degree) that had bound them-
"ſelves to maintain the decrees of the Councel of Trent, and were falſely
"called, *The holy League.* 4. The fourth Act: That whoſoever were ex-
"communicated, and remained ſo 40. dayes, letters of horning ſhould be
"directed to charge him to ſatisfie the decree of the Church pronounced
"againſt him, and to be reconciled to the Church, and ſubmit to the
"Diſcipline thereof under pain of Rebellion: and if he did remain obſti-
"nate, that hee ſhould bee put to the horne, and then letters of caption
"ſhould be granted to apprehend him, &c. 5. The fifth Act was: That
"Eccleſiaſticall perſons (ſuch as above) remaining year and day at the
"horne, ſhould loſe their Life-rents. Theſe Laws he procured to be
made in Parliament, and being made, he ſaw them duely executed; by
which mean it came to paſſe, that in his time, there was no man in Scot-
land, that profeſſed advowedly any other Religion than the reformed; or
maintained any point of Religion, contrary to the doctrine of this
Church.

Church. Men do now wonder at it, how it could be: yet ſo it was, and this was the mean that procured it.

As for the Borders, hee tamed and daunted them by In-rodes, and Juſtice-Eyres, executing ſome for terrour to others, taking pledges and hoſtages of the reſt, and puniſhing them that tranſgreſſed according to their faults, moſt part by pecuniarie mulcts and fynes. The High-landers were kept in, by binding the chief of the Clans over to the peace; and partly by fear, partly by gentleneſſe, he drew them to the obedience of the Laws. But the chief mean for all, was a ſolid and perfect peace eſtabliſhed amongſt the Nobilitie, the onely certain and ſure way of keeping the Borderers in order; as by the contrary, a ſtir amongſt the States (as themſelves ſpeak) doth never faile to incite them to their theeving and robbing. This he knowing well, partly by his wiſedome compaſſed and effected it, partly it fell out of its own accord by mens inclination thereto, being wearied with ſo long troubles, and the turbulent heads that ſtirred up and entertained diſſention, being now taken away by death. It is matter of laughter and ſport, to conſider mens judgements concerning this his government. I heard then, and have read ſince in ſome memorials of thoſe times, his government mightily taxed, and reproached, and himſelf cenſured as covetous & greedie, as one that hanged ſome poor ſnakes for a ſhew of juſtice, but ſuffered the richer theeves to eſcape for their money. And yet the ſame men do not ſtick to ſay and write, Betwixt the 3. of March 1575. and the 4. of March 1577. the ſpace of two years, there was nothing of importance to write of: All this time the Regent governed the Realme both well, and wiſely: for during theſe two years, the common people had reſt and quietneſſe; Not conſidering that his government in the former years had procured, and cauſed the reſt and quietneſſe of theſe years. Yea, theſe ſame things which they call (hanging of the poor for ſhew of Juſtice, and letting the rich go for money) they might call it (if they would ſpeak in proper termes, and give it the right name) a juſt moderation and tempering of juſtice with lenitie; puniſhing ſome (leſt impunity might breed contempt of the Law) puniſhing the feweſt and in the gentleſt ſort, leſt too much rigour might drive them to deſpaire, and ſo force them to deſperate courſes, and to ſtirre up new commotions. If this courſe did withall meet right with any naturall inclination in him towards money; yet that inclination did rather concurre with this judgement, than cauſe it. He knew the nature of his countrey-men, how they cannot eaſily endure to have their lives touched, or their bloud medled withal, and how hard it is to over-maſter them by the ſtrong hand, and a violent way, but farre more eaſie to be overcome and gained by fair meanes; and therefore out of his wiſedome hee made choyce of this, as the beſt way for his purpoſe of ſettling Peace. The event and iſſue did juſtifie his choyce: for from hence did ariſe a full Peace, and perfect quietneſſe, together with all obedience and good order in Church and State at home, and account and great eſteem of Strangers abroad. His meanes (indeed) were alſo increaſed, yet that came not ſo much by publick fynes or forfeitures, as by his good husbandry and thrifty managing of the revenues

of the Crown, and his own private eſtate. For no man knew better how to improve both the one and the other, and to make the beſt of them; and no man was more carefull and diligent in it, than he. He guided both himſelf, and imployed his own pains and induſtrie therein, as in all affairs whatſoever. His ſervants were ever particularly directed by himſelf, and they did but execute what he commanded. The chief men he uſed were *John Carmichael* of Carmichael, and *George Auchinleck* of Balmannoe. He imployed the former in all matters that were to be done upon the Borders, having made him even a warden; the other had a care to gather in his rents, and was (as it were) Stuart or Chamberlaine to him. His private delight was in planting and building, which hee did very magnificently, eſpecially at Dalkeith; for which Drumlenrig admoniſhed him that it was too ſumptuous and ſtately for a Subject, and too near to Edinburgh. He built alſo an houſe in Tweddale, called the Drogh-holes, for his private retreat.

He grew ſo in eſteem of wiſedome and riches with all men, that it was no wonder though hee were a little touched with the opinion of it himſelf; being now paſt all emulation, and ſo accounted of by all men, he could not but eſteem alſo well of himſelf. They who did envie him had little hope to hurt him by action, being above their reach; but by their tongues they ſought to make him envied of all; ſaying, *He had all the riches, all the friendſhip, and all the wiſedome of Scotland, Him alone.* This was Hyperbolicall, and ſpoken to ſtir envie; yet thus far it was true, that he had more of all theſe than any other one man, and ſo much as all his enemies were not able to match or impaire. He had added to his friendſhip great parties, the Lord *Maxwell* and *Hamilton*. *Maxwell* married his Niece (a daughter of his brother *David*, and ſiſter Germain to *Archbald* Earle of Angus) and the Lord Bothwell alſo had married her ſiſter *Margaret*, Relict of *Walter Scot* of Balcleugh. The Lord *Hamilton* had been in great enmitie with him; for (beſides the publick cauſe of Regent Murrays death) he with his brother *Claud* of Paſley, had killed *Johnſton* of Weſter-hall, a follower and depender of the houſe of Angus. At that time the Counteſſe of Caſsills (*Lyon* by name, of the houſe of Glames, and a near Couſin to the Regent) was a widow. Whether the love to that Lady brought on the reconcilement, or their reconciliation occaſioned the affection to the Lady, it is hard to ſay; but ſo it was, that *Hamilton* ſuited her in marriage, and obtained his ſuit; and by this all quarrels, and more eſpecially that ſlaughter of Weſter-hall was taken away. And for the better ſatisfaction herein, both the brothers (the Lord *Hamilton*, and *Claud* of Paſley) made publick obeyſance to *Archbald* Earle of Angus, in the Palace of Haly-rood-houſe, by coming the whole breadth of the Inner-Court thereof bare-footed, and bare-headed, and falling down on their knees, holding each a naked ſword by the point, delivered it to him to take hold thereof by the Pommell. This was in the yeare 1575. the ſeventh of March, being Monday. After this, *Hamilton* was married to the Lady. Yet may it bee doubted, whether he acquired more friendſhip in private by them, than he furniſhed matter of obloquie in publick

to

to the countrey; becauſe both theſe brothers were accounted authours or acceſſarie to the killing the Earle of Lennox, (then Regent) and the Kings Grand-father; as alſo they had been of that of Regent Murray. Theſe ſlaughters all the Nobilitie (eſpecially of the Kings ſide) had ſolemnly ſworne to avenge: and now by this hee ſeemed to neglect that quarrell, and his oath, and that he had more care to be ſatisfied in his own particular, for the ſlaughter of one mean man his depender. It grieved particularly *William Douglas* of Logh-leven, who deſiſted not from the purſuit of thoſe that had ſlain his brother Murray: after a privat manner, ſeeing he could not get publick juſtice executed; twice he ſet upon the Lord *Hamilton*, as he was coming from Arbrothe, and chaſed him ſo, that he was conſtrained to return to Arbrothe again. Another time as he was coming through Fyfe, he made him flee to Darcie, which he beſet & lay about it, till the Regent ſent to him, and commanded him to deſiſt. However, by the alliance of theſe Noblemen, he ſeemed more ſtrengthened & more ſecured. The Earle of Angus (his Nephew) was married to the Lord *Ereskins* ſiſter, daughter to the late Regent, Earle of Marre, a Lady of rare beauty and vertue, and worthily made choice of by Morton who was author of the match, both becauſe of the Ladies deſerving, as alſo for that it not a little ſeemed to ſtrengthen him, ſeeing her mother and uncles (during the minoritie of her brother) had the cuſtody & edcuation of the young Kings perſon, which was the only way to attempt any thing againſt his Regencie. Whether theſe things begat in him ſecurity, and ſecurity bred careleſneſſe to entertain mens love, from whence did ariſe a loathing of him in all eſtates, & coldneſſe in particular friendſhip; or what ever the occaſion was, certain it is, that he keeped his place more by the eſtimation of all, than by the affection of many, on the occaſions following. We ſhewed before, how in matters of Church-government, he ever inclined (as the moſt politick courſe) to the eſtate of Biſhops. The name was yet retained by cuſtome, the Rents were lifted alſo by them (as we have ſaid) more for other mens uſe & profit, than their own. They had alſo place & vote in Parliament after the old manner, and he would gladly have had them to have kept their power and juriſdiction over their brethren. M. *John Douglas* being dead, he filled the place by putting in M. *Patrick Adamſon* his domeſtick Chaplain, who then followed that courſe, though before he had preached againſt it. Many were diſpleaſed herewith, all the Miniſters (eſpecially they of greateſt authority) & all men of all eſtates that were beſt affected to Religion. He endeavoured alſo to have put the charge and cure of more Churches into one Preachers hands, that there being the fewer to provide of ſtipends, the Kings revenues (who paid them out of the thirds of the Church lands) might be increaſed by the ſurpluſage which remained to him. Hee did ſo eagerly preſſe this point, that ſome thought it neceſſary to write againſt this courſe; namely, Maſter *John Davidſon* (Miniſter at Salt-Preſton) then a Student at S. Andrews. Him he cauſed to be ſummoned to under-lye the Law, and to be indicted criminally, and being entreated for him, he ſhewed himſelf ſo animated againſt him, that he durſt not under-go his triall, but fled to England, with the conſent of thoſe that were bail for him; of whom he

exacted the ſumme to the full, and they willingly did chooſe rather to pay it, than to expoſe their friend to the hazard of his wrath. The Printer of the Book *Robert Lake-privike*, was convicted by an aſſiſe or jurie, and committed to the Caſtle of Edinburgh. It was alſo hardly taken, that he ſought to diminiſh the authoritie of the Generall Aſſemblies of the Church, by refuſing to be preſent (being deſired) at an Aſſembly holden in Edinburgh the 6. of March, 1573. which was very frequently and ſolemnly kept almoſt by the whole body of the Countrey; the Nobility, Gentrie, Commiſſioners from Burrowes, as the cuſtome had alwayes been, and as he himſelf before had been preſent at them. Yea, he began to queſtion the priviledge and libertie thereof, by asking the Commiſſioners (which were ſent from them to crave his aſſiſtance thereat) who had given them power to aſſemble the Kings Lieges without his leave, who was in authority: With this unlooked for demand, they were daſhed at firſt, but re-collecting and gathering their wits again, they anſwered: *He that gave power to preach and hear preaching, gave power alſo to conveene in Aſſemblies: Neither doth it depend on man* (ſay they.) He ſaid, *that was treaſon.* They anſwered, *That if ſo be, then all the Apoſtles were Traitours, and the primitive Church in time of perſecution.* He ſaid, *That they conveened onely to preach the word*: They anſwered, *That they conveened to advance, facilitate, and ſet forward the preaching of the word, and that was to preach alſo. But however, if to conveene without the conſent of the Magiſtrate were unlawfull, preaching was alſo unlawfull, unleſſe they ſhould preach to the Wals.* A little velitation thus paſſed, he in end refuſed to goe, which did ſo grieve them all, that a publick Faſt was appointed to pray for diverting and averting of ſuch things as he ſeemed by this to intend againſt the accuſtomed Aſſemblies. He propounded to be reaſoned, *whether the ſupreame Magiſtrate ſhould not be head of the Church, as well as of the common-wealth*; and there were Divines appointed to diſpute it for the Church, Maſter *James Lowſon* (Miniſter at Edinburgh) the Laird of Dun (Superintendent of Angus) and Maſter *John Spoteſwood* (Superintendent of Lowthian) and *James* (or Maſter *David*) *Lindſay*. For the Regent, there was the Juſtice-Clerk, Maſter *David Borthwick*, Sir *James Balfoure*, and *William Douglas* of Whittingame. Theſe met at Edinburgh in the Abbey, and conferred for the ſpace of 12. or 13 dayes; but hee finding no appearance of obtaining that point, diſſolved the meeting till a new appointment.

Generall Aſſembly in Edinburgh. 1573.

The Commons, and chiefly the Town of Edinburgh were offended with him, becauſe he had diminiſhed the value of a certain braſſe or copper coyne (called Hard-heads) and abaſed them from three half pence to a penny: and alſo the plack piece (another braſſe coyne) from foure pence to two: which was done (notwithſtanding) by the conſent of a very frequent Convention, where the whole Nobility (no Earle, Lord, or great man in Scotland being abſent, except the Lord *Hamilton*, not then reconciled) was preſent the 25. of February 1573. He licenſed alſo the tranſporting of Corne out of the Countrey, againſt which he himſelf had made an Act, but now he diſpenſed with the Act for money. He committed all the Butchers of Edinburgh for foreſtalling the Market, and afterward

afterward diſ-miſſed them, having paid a Fine. He held Juſtice Eyres, and raiſed a taxation under colour to cut down the Woods of Hair-law (on the Borders) which was a place of retreat and refuge to out-laws, theeves and rebels. Theſe things were interpreted to be done rather as a pretext to get Money, than for any other good uſe or end. He was in his own perſon looſely given (his own Wife being frantick) and his houſhold ſervants were not much better, as it commonly comes to paſſe by imitation. They were alſo not altogether void of envie for their great wealth: nor of hatred, in regard of the way that men thought they got it, which was by receiving and taking bribes from ſuch as had ſuites to him for obtaining acceſſe to him, or his favour by their means, and ſome ſuch indirect wayes. Riches are ordinarly accompanied with hautineſſe and diſdaining of others, either really, or in mens opinion; which doth again beget diſdain in thoſe that think them diſdainfull. This was the generall opinion men conceived of his ſervants, from the higheſt to the loweſt, even of his door-keepers and grooms. One thing did marvellouſly offend men: *George Authenleck* of Bawmannow having (I cannot tell what) ſmall quarrell againſt one Captain *Nisbet*, being come out of Dalkeeth (where the Regent kept commonly his reſidence) and going up the Street, he met this *Nisbet*, where drawing his Rapier, he thruſt him through, and leaving him as dead, he held on his way to the Tolbooth where the Lords of the Seſſion ſate, as though he had done no wrong, with great indignation of the beholders: and at night he returned to Dalkeeth, where he waited upon the Regent as before. This made the people to murmure both againſt him as the actour, and againſt the Regent as conniving thereat, who perhaps did not hear of it, at leaſt for a certain ſpace. This *Authenlecks* credit with the Regent was ſo great, that all ſuites (for the moſt part) were obtained by him: and therefore men of the beſt qualitie countenanced, and followed him, which was both obſerved and diſdained. One day this man being in the Tolbooth within the Inner-Barre, *Oliver Sinclar* (ſometime Minion and Favourite to King *James* the fifth, who was now at Court) ſtanding at the Middle Barre, intreated earneſtly to ſpeak with him, which having obtained with difficultie, when the other asked him what he had to ſay to him: *Oliver* anſwered, I am *Oliver Sinclar*, and without ſaying any more, left him; as if he ſhould have ſaid, *Be not too proud of your courtſhip, I was once as you are, you may fall to be as I am.* This was matter of much talk a long time.

The Nobilitie grudged to ſee the Regent and his ſervants to ingroſſe all matters of profit and commoditie to themſelves alone. If any Writ were to paſſe, it paſſed through at the higheſt rate; few caſualities were given cheap, fewer *gratis*. The marriages of Wards, the gifts of eſcheit, re-abling, or naturalization, were beſtowed all upon his Domeſticks. They were neglected in theſe things, and in other things alſo of a higher nature, their advice was not often ſought, nor themſelves much imployed, as if he had not ſtood in need of them. The Earle of Argyle was mightily incenſed againſt him upon this occaſion. He had a Jewell which had ſometime belonged to Queen *Mary*, which was an enſigne of precious ſtones, ſet in forme of the letter H (for *Henry*) which his Lady had

had either gotten from the Queen (who was her ſiſter) to keep, or ſome other way in a token perhaps; the Regent re-demanded it as belonging to the King, and when he got it not by requeſt, he ſent an Officer of arms to him, and charged for it; whereupon it was delivered to him, but with great alienation of his heart and affection ever after.

His moſt near and particular friends wanted not their own exceptions and grievances againſt him. In the Eaſt and middle March, he planted ſtrangers amongſt them, as *Arch. Auchenleck* (brother to *George*) and *Arch. Carmichael* (brother to *John Carmichael* of Carmichael) in the Merſe. Theſe he married to two Wards; the laſt to one *Hume*, Inheretrix of Edrem; and the former to one *Sleigh* of Cumblege; notwithſtanding that ſhe had gone away with *Patrick Cockburne* (brother Germain to the Laird of Langton) who had kept her certain dayes, yet he cauſed an Officer of arms to charge him to deliver her, and ſo ſhe was exhibited, and married to *Auchenleck*. Both theſe march with the Lands of *Bonckle*, belonging to the Earle of Angus; and therefore this planting of theſe men there, was not well taken, but was interpreted, as if hee had meant to ſtrengthen himſelf there by them, and to acquire dependers there for himſelf, not leaning or truſting ſufficiently to thoſe of the Earle of Angus, or his friends in that Countrey. The purchaſing of the Lands of Spot to his naturall ſon *James*, wrought him both hatred and hurt (in the end; for it quite alienated *Alexander Hume* of Manderſton. This *Alexander* had to wife a ſiſter of *George Hume* of Spot, and by her divers children, of which one was *George*, afterward Earle of Dumbar. *George* of Spot having but one daughter, had taken to him, and (in a manner) adopted this *George* ſonne to *Alexander*, with reſolution to beſtow his daughter on him in marriage, and with her his whole eſtate. It fell out afterward, that *John Cockburne* of Ormeſton married a daughter of *Alexander* of Manderſton. This *John* having ſome difference with Spot about ſome Lands, the very day before his marriage, rode with his Company, and did eat up the Cornes that grew on the controverted Lands which Spot had ſowne. The next day Spot being at the Wedding of his ſiſter daughter, complained of the wrong done to him, but received ſmall ſatisfaction, either of the Bride-groome, or of his brother-in-law, who was loath to offend his new Allie. Spot conceived ſuch indignation hereat, that to be revenged of Manderſton, he reſolved to ſell his eſtate, and to beſtow his daughter ſomewhere elſe, and ſo to diſappoint his ſonne *George*. Wherefore he addreſſes himſelf to the Regent, and offers his daughter with his whole eſtate to his ſonne *James*. The Regent, nothing ſlack to ſuch an occaſion, without more ſcruple or any queſtion, tranſacted and contracted with him, and the marriage was accordingly accompliſhed betwixt *Anna Hume*, and *James Douglas* who got by her all the Lands pertaining to her father *George Hume* of Spot, his life-rent onely being reſerved. By this mean *Alexander* of Manderſton, and his ſonne *George* were debouted and fruſtrate, which did ſo incenſe him, that from that time forward, he lay in wait (as it were) and watched for an opportunity to be revenged of the Regent. There lyeth near unto theſe Lands of Spot, the Lordſhip of Thurſton, which belonged by inheritance

ritance to Craigie-Wallace, but was poſſeſſed by Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, and had been poſſeſſed by his Predeceſſours of ſo long a time, that it is thought to have been their poſſeſſion before they had Wedderburne, for eight or nine generations. The right they had was ſometimes a Leaſe, ſometimes (the Leaſe expiring) kindlineſſe onely. At laſt, the King having given to Wedderburne the Lands of Dundonald (which lay hard by Craigie Wallace Gates) Wedderburne puts him in poſſeſſion of them, and retaines his poſſeſſion of Thurſton, wherewith they reſted both a long time well contented and ſatisfied. This excambion being reall, and without Writ on either ſide, it fell out that the Kings Lands (which had not as yet bin ſet to feud) coming to be ſet out, they that were intruſted therewith, finding Craigie-Wallace in poſſeſſion of Dundonald, gave him a legall right to it, and ſo he had the right both of it and Thurſton. Hereupon he warnes Wedderburne to remove from Thurſton, as having no right thereto, but he kept his poſſeſſion. On this enſued no little trouble, by reaſon of Waughtons aſſiſting of him, who had married Craigie-Wallace ſiſter. Afterward Sir *George* of Wedderburne (Unele to this Sir *George*) marrying a daughter of Waughtons, matters were taken up and accorded, and Wedderburne was no more moleſted. The Regent knew all this very well, and yet notwithſtanding hereof, the nearneſſe of Thurſton to Spot, and his deſire to enrich his ſonne, made him to ſend for Craigie-Wallace, and buy his title and right from him to Thurſton. Then he ſends for Wedderburne, tels him what he had done, and that he did not mean to make him a loſer thereby: and therefore deſires to know what ſatisfaction he would have for his right and intereſt. He anſwered, *That he deſired nothing but his own, and that oncly could content him.* The Regent replyed, *That he had now bought that*: And the other anſwered, *That he was the more unkinde to buy that which he knew to be his by ſo long and kindly poſſeſſion. No other in Scotland* (ſayes he) *would have bought it, nor you, my Lord, if you had not been Regent.* This he bore patiently, as a free ſpeech of a juſtly offended friend; yet he ſtill preſſed him to know what contentation he would have; but the other perſiſted in his former anſwer, *That his own would onely content him.* So they parted, being divided in words and minds, concerning this particular, but without breach of friendſhip. After a while the Regent (to bring on the matter more freely, and to neceſsitate him thereto) makes warning, and no objection being made, obtaines a decreet of removing againſt him. Wedderburne to ſhew what little account he made of theſe doings, fals a building on it, that he might know he had no intention to remove. He had a Leaſe which was not expired as yet, and there were two or three years thereof to run; but he would not make uſe of it, but kept it up, partly to trie the Regents intention, partly reſerving it as a ground of reduction, if it ſhould need. Thus they continued all the time of his Regency; after his dimiſsion the difference was taken away by *William Douglas* of Logh-leven, after this manner; Wedderburne got one half of the Lands (the Manour-houſe, and what lay about it) and a full and perfect right thereof, and did quit the other half, which was let out in Tenantry. Sir *Iames Hume* of Coldenknows, and *Alexander*

Hume

Hume of Huton-hall were alſo alienated from him, but I know not what the occaſion of it was. In Tiviotdale *William Ker* of Ceſford, and *Andrew Ker* of Fadunſide were likewiſe diſpleaſed, and had fallen off from him for ſome hard uſage. Hee had baniſhed *William Ker* of Ancram, for the fewd betwixt him and the Rutherfords, of whom hee had ſlaine one. His fathers houſe of Ancram was ſeized, and given in keeping to his enemies the *Trumbles*. His mother (a daughter of the houſe of Wedderburne, and the Regents Couſin Germane) had often ſued to him, to have it reſtored to her and her husband, but could not prevaile with him. At laſt, ſhe found means by her ſelf and her ſervants, to get into the houſe (being negligently kept) and turning the keepers out of doores without doing them any harme; dwelt in it with her husband, and her other ſonne *Robert*. *William* abſented himſelf from publick view, and remained ſometimes in England, but moſt part in Wedderburne, both in Sir *Davids*, and Sir *Georges* time; neither was the Regent very carefull to purſue him, or ſearch after him (though hee knew of it, and they made no bones to confeſſe their receiving and entertaining of him in their houſes) yet would he not releaſe him from his baniſhment, being loath to diſpleaſe the *Trumbles* and Rutherfords, whoſe ſervice was very uſefull to him. He tolerated alſo *John Hume* (ſonne naturall to *John*, called of Crumſtaine of the houſe of Wedderburne) who had been with *William Ker* of Ancram in all his troubles, ſo farre as at the meeting which the Regent had with the Engliſh (after the Red-ſwire;) he being in company with *Wedderburne*, the *Trumbles* and *Rutherfords* perceiving him to be there, went to the Regent, and complained that he was ſuffered to live in the Countrey, being a Rebell, and one that had ſo much wronged them. *Let him alone* (ſayes the Regent) *and do not meddle with him at this time, when he hath ſo many of his friends about him: for if he were now challenged, it might trouble you and me both.* Some few dayes after this, he went to Tantallon with Wedderburne, where having kept himſelf out of the Regents ſight all the day long, at night (when the Regent was gone to bed) he fell to Cards with the ſervants in the hall. The Regents Chamber was hard by, and he, not reſting well, aroſe and came forth to the hall in his night-gowne to look on their gaming: By chance *John* ſate next to him, and he leaning with his hand on his ſhoulder a long time, without knowing who he was, at laſt going away to bed again, he perceived it was he, and ſmiling, ſaid to him, *GOD make you a good man*; and ſo went his way. From thence forward *John* converſed in publick, and came ordinarily into his ſight and preſence without being challenged, as if he had been formally releaſed from his baniſhment. The Earl of Angus himſelf had his own diſcontents; and thought him too carefull to preferre & provide for his natural ſons, and not ſo careful of him as he ſhould have been. Beſides, theſe that thought themſelves diſ-obliged, he had profeſſed enemies that hunted for all the advantages againſt him they could deviſe; at home the Caſtle faction (Maſter *John Metellane*, Sir *Robert Melvin*, *Pittadraw*) and abroad in France, the Lord Seton, Farnihaſte, Waughton (who was not very buſie) the Biſhops of Glaſgow, and Roſſe, Ambaſſadours, and Agents for the Queen. Theſe things,

like

like warts or freckles in a beautifull body, ſeemed to ſtain the luſtre of his government, and though they may be thought but ſmall ſlips and weakneſſes, yet they made impreſsion in the mindes of ſome, and in the own time brought forth hard effects, albeit in reſpect of his place, wiſedome and power (like ſlow poyſon) they were long ere they did ſhew forth their operation.

There fell out a buſineſſe in the year 1576. the 7. of July, which men looked ſhould have brought on warre with England. Sir *John Foreſter*, Warden of the middle March in England, & Sir *John Carmichael* Warden for Scotland, met for keeping of the Truce, at a place called, The Red Swire. There the Scottiſh Warden deſired that one *Farſtein* (an Engliſh man) who had been filed by a Bill of goods ſtolne from Scotland, ſhould be delivered (as the cuſtome was) to the owner of the goods, to be kept by him untill he were ſatisfied for them. The Engliſh Warden alledged that the man was fugitive, and ſo the Warden was not bound to anſwer for him, or deliver him, but the party endammaged was to ſeek redreſſe of any that ſhould be found to receive or harbour him in their houſes. Sir *John Carmichael* taking this not to be ſpoken in ſinceritie, but for a ſhift to fruſtrate juſtice, urged and preſſed the matter more hardly, deſiring him to ſpeak and deal plainly; without ſparing any man for fear or favour, but regarding onely what was juſt and right, according to equitie and reaſon. Sir *John Foreſter* thinking himſelf taxed of partialitie, beganne to bee angry, and in a contemptuous manner bad *Carmichael* match himſelf with his equalls, and not with him, who was above him both in birth and quality; and therewith hee roſe up from the place hee ſate in, and walked a little away from thence. The Engliſh Borderers (chiefly they of Tindall) being all Bow-men, when they perceived their Warden diſpleaſed, glad of occaſion to trouble the Peace, ſent a flight of arrows amongſt the Scots, whereby they killed one of them, and wounded diverſe. The Scots who looked for no ſuch thing, and were gone ſome to Cards, and ſome to other Paſtimes, being ſcattered here and there, fled at the firſt many of them. At length ſome few (about twenty perſons) taking courage, and calling to the reſt to ſtay and ſtand to it, they joyned together, and charged the Engliſh ſo fiercely, that they ſlew divers of them, amongſt whom was Sir *George Heron*, a worthy Gentleman, and well beloved of both the Countreyes, whom they would have been loath to have hurt, if the heat of the conflict had not carried them to it unawares. Sir *John Foreſter*, and the Gentlemen that were with him, were taken priſoners, and brought into Scotland to the Regent. He entertained them kindely, and honourably, but detained them as lawful priſoners, and breakers of the Peace, till the Queen of England ſent for them. It was expected that this ſhould have bin an occaſion of warre, but the Regent was nothing afraid of the matter. He knew them, and they him, he entertained friendſhip with them after his wonted manner, and ſent many Scottiſh Falcons for a preſent to the Courtiers of England, whereof one made a jeſt, ſaying, That hee dealt very nobly and bountifully with the Engliſh, in

The Red Swire.

that he gave them live Hawkes, for dead Herons, alluding to Sir *George Heron*, who was ſlain. The buſineſſe came to a treatie, and the Regent came in perſon to Foulden in the Merſe, where the Engliſh Commiſſioners met him. They agreed on theſe termes, That the goods ſhould be reſtored, and for ſatisfaction and repairing of the Queens honour, *Carmichael* ſhould go to London, and come in the Queens will. He went as far as York, where being come the 26. of September, he was detained there ſome five or ſix weeks, and ſo was diſmiſſed. Concerning reſtitution of the Goods, the Regent cauſed make a Proclamation, by which he commanded all that were on this ſide of Forth, to come to him at Edinburgh the 8. of October, with proviſion of victuall for twenty dayes, intending to go to the Borders. But he continued or adjourned the diet till he ſhould give new advertiſement; for the Borderers ceaſed from their ſtealing, and took order for reſtoring what they had taken. Afterward he held Juſtice-Courts at Peebles and Edinburgh, which was interpreted to be done, more for getting money, than doing of juſtice. The townſmen of Edinburgh were eſpecially aimed at, & moſt carefully ſummoned; yet they were continued and caſt over to another time; only they paid a thouſand marks Scottiſh for Bullion, which the Merchants are bound to furniſh to the Mint, but had neglected to do it. During the time of his Regencie, he met with one private conſpiracy, of which *John Semple*, ſon to the Lord Semple was author; upon what ground or motive I know not. It was revealed by one *Gabriel Semple*, who being confronted with *John* before the ſecret Councel, avouched it, and offered to make it good by combate: But it needed not, for *John* confeſſed it, and was thereupon condemned to be hanged, quartred and drawn. Yet when his friends interceeded for him, the Regent (nothing bloud-thirſty) did onely ſend him to the caſtle, there to remain during pleaſure; which not being declared, he was kept there during his Regency, after which he was ſet at liberty. In the year 1577. the 4. of March, the Nobility aſſembling at Stirlin, concluded that the King ſhould take the government into his own hands, and ſhould be guided by a Councell, and the Regent depoſed. No cauſe was given out, nor could there be any ſufficient reaſon pretended. The King was not yet 18. years of age, which was the time limited and ſet down in the Act of the Queens dimiſſion for him to be governed by Regents. At moſt he was but 11. or 12. years old, When theſe newes were brought to the Regent at Dalkeith, being aſtoniſhed therewith, he came to Edinburgh; but little countenance was made to him by the townſmen, few came from the countrey (no Baron almoſt of note, ſave Wedderburn) none of the Nobility, ſo far were they alienated from him in affection. And indeed though they had intended to have come in to aſſiſt him, he gave them no time to do it; for, ere they could have come (as my Lord *Boyd* only did) he had dimitted his Regencie; and was ſo far from making any impediment or let to the Proclamation, that he aſſiſted a ſingle officer with a trumpet, who came to proclaime the Kings authoritie, and publickly laying down his Office, he took inſtruments of his dimiſſion. The next day when the Lord *Boyd* came to him, hee chid him ſoundly for this his haſte; and even he himſelf, when he had thought better

Morton dimits his Regencie.

better on it, was angry with himſelf, that hee ſhould ſo raſhly and unadviſedly have given way to his enemies, who uſed the Kings bare name againſt his authoritie, which was to laſt five or ſix years longer, and was eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Kingdome, and Act of Parliament; unto which they themſelves had conſented and given their approbation. Whether or not hee did beſt in dimitting, it may be diſputed on both ſides. The adverſe party ſeemed ſtrong, Argyle, Athole, Crawford; yea alſo (which did moſt aſtoniſh him) his friends Glames, Ruthven, and Lindeſay; his moſt cheriſhed, *Pitcarne* (Abbot of Dumfermling) Secretary, and *Tillebardin* Controller; he had the ill-will of the Burrows, eſpecially Edinburgh. And yet having right and the law on his ſide, ſome would have regarded that; the multitude (ſo mutable) might have been reconciled, and the Faction diſſolved (being glewed together by nothing but common diſcontentment) by contenting ſome, and putting ſome in hope of having place in managing the affairs of the Kingdome. Neither could matter of diviſion have been long wanting amongſt themſelves, where there were ſo many heads, ſuch diverſitie of judgement, and ſo many ſeverall aimes and intentions.

If hee had but ſtuck to his right declared, and claimed it, and in the mean time kept himſelf ſafe by his own power and friendſhip in Dalkeith or Tantallon, it is poſſible, and not improbable that hee might have diſ-appointed them. But hee left that way, and having dimitted the authority, he rendered alſo the Palace of Haly-rood-houſe, the Mint and Coyning-houſe, with the printing irons; alſo the Kings Jewels, and what elſe belonged to the Crown was delivered to the Lord *Glames* and *Maxwell*, who were ſent from the King and his new Councell to receive them. And good reaſon he ſhould do ſo, for now they were no more his, ſeeing he was no more Regent, having dimitted the authority, he could not retain them. Yet he did not ſo with the caſtle of Edinburgh, which the ſame two Lords had alſo commiſſion to receive. His brother (*George* of Parkhead, as we have ſaid) was Captain of it, who not being well provided of Victuall before, he found that it was then too late to begin. For ſeeking to Victuall it both privatly and openly, hee was hindred by the Townſmen, whereupon enſued bloud-ſhedding and ſlaughter. The Town had placed a Guard about the Butter-market (where the Weigh-houſe now ſtands) and the Conſtable of the Caſtle *Archbald Douglas* (brother to *John* of Tillie-whillie) iſſuing forth, ſet upon the Guard before they were aware, and having killed two or three of them, retired to the Caſtle again. This did no good; it procured hatred toward himſelf, but purchaſed no Victuall to the Caſtle. Wherefore the Guard being more warie, he was ſo ſtraited for want of Vivers, that he was forced to ſurrender it to the Lord Ruthven and the Lord Lindſay the firſt of April 1578.

The Lord Glames ſlain at Stirlin.

In this mean time (ſome fourtnight before, the ſeventeenth of March) the Lord *Glames* Chancellour, was ſlaine at Stirlin. There had been ſome old quarrell betwixt the Earle *Crawford* and him; but now both being on the Kings ſide, they were upon termes of agreement or

aſſurance. It happened ſo, that as the one was going to the Caſtle of Stirlin, and the other coming from it, they rencountred in a narrow Lane. Both of them commanded their followers and train to give way, which they did, and were now all paſſed ſave two of their ſervants that were laſt, who having firſt juſtled one another, drew their Swords, and flew to it. Hereupon both their Lords with their Companies turned, and began to skirmiſh; where the Lord *Glames* being a tall man of ſtature, and higher than the reſt, was ſhot with a Piſtolet, and ſo died. It is uncertain who it was that ſhot him, but many thought it was *Crawford* himſelfe, becauſe he was very skilfull in ſhooting with a piece. Wherefore he was committed to priſon, but was releaſed again ſoon after, without further triall or enquiry: Whereupon followed great enmity and miſchief betwixt theſe two families of *Crawford* and *Glames*. It was obſerved with admiration, that the news of this ſlaughter, which was committed about five a Clock in the after-noon, was reported punctually and perfectly at Edinburgh by ſix, there being 24. miles diſtance between. It appears by this, that if Morton had not laid down his authority over haſtily, other ſuch things might have fallen out to have divided that faction, which might have furniſhed him with matter enough to have wrought out his own continuance therein.

But now having laid it down, he muſt play the after-game as well as he may. There were choſen to be of the Kings Councell, Argyle, Athole, Montroſe; the Biſhop of Caithneſſe (Montroſes Grand Uncle) the Abbots of Dumfermling, and Newbottle; the Lord Ruthven, Lindſay, and Oglebee. Theſe coming to Edinburgh, he gives place, and withdraws himſelf, not to Dalkeeth (it was too near) neither to *Douglas* (it was too farre off and out of the way) nor to Tantallon (it was a place of ſtrength, and it might have been interpreted fear in him) but to Logh-leven to his Couſin *William Douglas*, who was alſo a near Couſin to the Earle of Marre; that from thence, and by him he might deale with them who had the Kings Perſon in keeping, and finde meanes to turne about the wheele againe, and to overturne them who had turned him (in a manner) out of his Regencie. There hee buſied himſelf in making of Walks and Alleys, in drawing of Garden plots or knots, little minding any State affaires in appearanee; or if any warie wit did ſuſpect any thing of him, or any clear eyed *Lynceus*, or well ſighted *Argus* eſpied ſome deſigne (which was very hard for them to doe) yet moſt part ſaw nothing; and there were but few that ſuſpected any thing, and none that could help or hinder it. For ſo hee brought it (as moſt men think) or ſo it came to paſſe, that *Alexander Ereskin* (brother to the late Earle) a man of a good eaſie nature, and no ill diſpoſition, and who, though of himſelfe hee were nothing factious or malicious, yet he had been an inſtrument, whom the other partie (Argyle, Athole, &c.) had uſed to turne Morton out of his Regencie, by admitting them unto the King, who was committed to his charge as Captain of the Caſtle of Stirlin, and Tutour to the young Earle of Marre, was himſelfe almoſt after the ſame manner turned out of his charge of keeping the King and Caſtle.

For

For as the King had been moved to take the government upon himſelf before the time appointed, ſo the Earle of Marre was moved to take upon himſelf that his own charge (of keeping the King and Caſtle of Stirlin) before his time, being not yet of age nor Major. The manner of it was this: One morning (the 26. of April 1578. the Earle got up betimes to go a hunting, and ſending for the Keyes of the Caſtle Gate, *Alexander* (his Uncle) came himſelf in perſon, and having opened the Gate to let his Nephew forth, he himſelfe and his ſervants were thruſt out at the Gate by the Earle, aſſiſted by his own naturall brother, and his Uncles the Abbots of Cambskenneth and Driebrugh (very worthie, kinde, upright, and honeſt Gentlemen) and ſo he took the Keyes and keeping of the King and Caſtle into his own hands the 27. of April 1578. (as my notes ſay) and ſo not above 7. weeks after Mortons dimiſſion of his Regency. Whether or not Morton imployed Tillibardine in this work, and gave him Money for it (he being Uncle to the Earle of Marre) I cannot affirme it, though I know it was reported; neither indeed can I ſay confidently that Morton plotted this buſineſſe, and that it was his doing, or what hand he had in it, or whether it were nothing elſe but diviſion amongſt themſelves.

However it were, by this meanes the deſignes of the new Counſellours were turned to nothing. They had (the 9. of April) choſen the Earle of Athole Chancellour, and indicted a Parliament to be held the 10. of July, and had conſulted of many Articles to be concluded therein. Upon the newes of this change, they go to Stirlin, but the Caſtle was kept ſo cloſe, that they were not ſuffered to come in, ſave one at once. There they had ſome meetings in the Town, and afterward returned to Edinburgh the 8. of May. Morton waa come to Dalkeith a little before; wherefore they ſend to him, and deſire to conferre with him. He came to Craig-Miller, and there ſpake with Athole and Argyle, and at laſt (after much toſſing of buſineſſe) they agreed ſo well, that they went with him to Dalkeith to dinner. On the morrow (the 9. of June) Morton goes to Stirlin, and was friendly received by the Earle of Marre into the Caſtle. The reſt followed that ſame day, ſo that the whole Nobilitie was aſſembled together the tenth day. By their advice the Counſell was changed, and Morton made Principal and Preſident thereof. The Parliament by Proclamation was transferred to Stirlin, there to be held the twentie fifth day of July, whither the Lords of Parliament were ordained to come with their ordinary train. The other Lords, Athole, Argyle, Montroſe, Lindeſay, Oglebee, Maxwell, Harris, and the former Councell conveened in Edinburgh, and ſent Montroſe and Lindſay, to excuſe their abſence, and to give the reaſon and cauſe of it, becauſe (as they alledged) the Parliament was not free, being kept within the Caſtle of Stirlin, and both King, Caſtle and all in the Earle of Marres power. All this notwithſtanding the Parliament held, wherein there were not many things concluded. The chief things were a diſcharge given to Morton for his government, during the time of his Regencie. An exoneration to the late Earle of Marre (who had been Regent) for his keeping

Morton Preſident of the Councell.

Parliament in Stirlin Caſtle the 25. of July 1578.

keeping of our Soveraigne Lords Perſon within the Caſtle of Stirlin. The Lord *Hume* was alſo reſtored from his forfeitrie, by the meanes and procuring of Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, with the conſent indeed of Morton (whom he ſolicited for that end) but againſt his opinion and advice. For he told him freely, that he thought it was not his beſt courſe; for (ſayes he) you never got any good of that houſe, & if it were once taken out of the way, you are next, and it may be you will get but ſmall thanks for your paines: Sir *George* anſwered, that the Lord *Hume* was his Chief, and he could not ſee his houſe ruined; if they were unkinde he could not do withall, that would be their own fault; this he thought himſelf bound to do, and for his own part, whatſoever their carriage were to him, he would do his duty to them; if his Chief ſhould turne him out at the fore-doore, he would come in again at the back-doore. Well (ſayes Morton) if you be ſo minded, it ſhall be ſo, I can do no more but tell you my opinion, and ſo conſented to do it: Yet Sir *George* had ſo ordered the matter, that he made no queſtion to have carried it without Mortons conſent by the Abbot of Driebrugh and Cambskenneth, to whom he was allied by his wife. Wherefore they are miſ-taken that ſay Morton did all, and that there was nothing done but according to his pleaſure; for hee was but acceſſary, and concurred (as one of the chief and prime Noblemen) but the houſe of Marre had the main ſway at this time. At this Parliament, the wardenrie of the Eaſt march was taken from Coldinknowes, and given to Sir *George* of Wedderburne, and he thought it no robberie to take it, being given him. In Auguſt the other Lords (with whom were Coldinknows and Manderſton, Ceſford and Fadunſide) aſſembled their forces, and having ſet forth a Declaration, that their purpoſe was to ſet the King at liberty, they marched from Edinburgh to Fawkirk. Neither was Morton ſlow in gathering together his friends at Stirlin, with reſolution to have tryed the hazard of a battell. The Earle of Angus went out divers times, and skirmiſhed with them, but there was no great hurt done. Onely in a ſingle Combate or Duell (upon a challenge) which was fought on horſe-back with Lances, one *Taite* (a Tividale man that belonged to Ceſford) was ſlain by *James Johnſton* a follower of Angus, he alſo being ſore wounded. At laſt they came to an agreement, and leſt they ſhould ſeem to have done nothing, they condeſcended that the King ſhould be brought to Edinburgh or elſewhere, as they pleaſed, by the advice of the Nobility, which ſerved little for their purpoſe; for there was no time limited; and when he was brought to the palace of Haly-rood-houſe (the 30. of September 1579. a year after) yet was Marre and Morton the chief men about him, and had greateſt credit with him.

Duell betwixt *Taite* and *Johnſton.*

But before that time it was concluded in Councell that the Lord Aberbrothe and *Claude* of Paſley his brother ſhould bee purſued as ſlayers of Lennox and Murray (late Regents) which was done accordingly. But they themſelves having fled into England, their ſervants were taken, and ſome executed, others impriſoned, and their Lords Houſes demoliſhed. This motion is thought to have proceeded chiefly from the houſe of Marre and Logh-leven. Wee

hear

hear of no new occaſion given by them, for they remained neutrals, and did not ſide with either partie at this time. Mortons part was, that he remained a ſpectator, and was contented that mens minds ſhould be taken up with ſome other thing, and not have leaſure to think of him, and his late greatneſſe, and that their furie ſhould be powred forth on ſomewhat elſe.

While they remained yet at Stirlin, the Earle of Athole died ſuddenly, which was matter of much talk, and gave occaſion to Mortons enemies to lay that foule aſperſion upon him, that he had poyſoned him. For all the Doctours did affirme that he was poyſoned, ſave onely Doctour *Preſton*, who ſaid it was no poyſon; but being deſired to taſte of it, and having onely touched a little thereof with the tip of his tongue, it had almoſt coſt him his life, and he did never after fully recover, but languiſhed and was ſickly ſo long as he lived. Wherefore ſeeing it was certainly poyſon, Who could give it him (ſaid they) but Morton? And yet they could never tell how he could doe it. For hee was not in Mortons lodging, nor Morton in his, as they knew, and doe themſelves confeſſe. Neither were any that belonged to Morton in his houſe, and though they had beene, they were neither Cooks, nor Cup-bearers, nor Carvers to him. So blinde is malice, or ſo malicious are impudent detractours. Morton cleared himſelfe of this imputation at his death. And yet there are ſome to this day, that are not aſhamed to report it. Athole dies at Stirlin.

In the next yeare 1579. in June, upon the Kings longing to be abroad, it was concluded in Councell that he ſhould go to Edinburgh the 25. of September next, but he came not till the 30. day thereof. Morton and Marre were ſtill with him as his chief Counſellours. They invited him to Dalkeith, where hee remained a certain ſpace, and returned to the Abbey of Haly-rood-houſe the 16. of October: The day following hee made his entry through the City of Edinburgh with great ſolemnity and pompe; with great concourſe and applauſe of people, rejoycing to ſee him whom they loved heartily and dearly, as they teſtified by their acclamations and prayers, powred forth for his ſafety and welfare. After this (on the 20. of October) he kept a Parliament, extant in the printed Acts. Hitherto wee have ſeene our Earle of Morton, though not an abſolute Favourite of fortune, yet ſo cheriſhed by her, that howbeit ſhee did now and then frown on him, yet ſhee ſeemed rather to try his ſtrength whether or not he were able to endure a ſtorme, and ride it out with reſolution, than that ſhe meant to over-whelme him in her waves; for the iſſue did ever prove advantagious to him, and he became rather a gainer than a loſer by his ſufferings. But now having raiſed him to the higheſt dignitie and pitch of greatneſſe that a ſubject was capable of, according to her accuſtomed levitie, all of a ſudden turning down that was up of her wheele, ſhe brings him ſo low as to loſe life and eſtate. There is nothing more deſerves our obſervation, than theſe viciſſitudes of great places, to ſee men of low made high, and than again falling from their height and greatneſſe to become low, which is to be ſeen in this laſt Act and Cataſtrophe of his The King comes to Edinburgh and makes his entrie the 17. of October.

Tragedy,

Tragedie, ſo notably as is rare to be found elſewhere. Who could and would truly diſcover the depth of the myſteries of theſe times, and tell exactly who were the chief plotters and firſt movers of this work, and who were the inſtruments and executers thereof, as he ſhould do a piece of good ſervice for clearing of the truth of things to poſterity,& the ages to come,ſo do I confeſſe for my own part,that it is too hard a task for my ſelf to performe,and more than I will undertake or promiſe to do. All that I can do is to ſet down the actions which are evident in groſſe,and to follow ſuch conjecturall probabilitie in the narration as my weak judgement can lead me to. We have heard how the King & Queens factions did long contend, and how Morton had ever been on the Kings ſide, and how in his Regencie he had ſo handled buſineſſe, that they that ſtood for the Queen had yeelded and acknowledged the King and him as Regent. The keeping of the Caſtle of Edinburgh was the laſt Act of oppoſition, and with the yeelding of it, all was whiſht. *Lithington* and *Grange* were taken out of the way, who were the ſtrongeſt or the ſtouteſt upholders thereof. Yet the Society was not quite broken or extinguiſhed with them. Maſter *John Metellane* (ſometime Priour of Coldingame, and brother to *Lithington*) Sir *Robert Melvin* (uncle to *Grange*) *Pittadraw*, the Biſhop of Dunkell, and ſome others remained. Theſe he had committed to priſon for a ſhort while; afterward had pardoned them, and ſet them at liberty. They kept ſtill their old minde, entertained mutuall friendſhip and correſpondence,and wanted onely occaſion to ſhew the effects of their former diſpoſition: Eſpecially Maſter *John Metellane*, and Sir *Robert Melvin* bore great hatred to Morton; the one for putting his Nephew *Grange* to death,the other becauſe he ſuppoſed Morton would have done as much to his brother, if he (fearing ſo much) had not prevented it by poyſoning himſelf, as the common rumour was. Beſides theſe private grudges,the publick cauſe did alſo egge them on and animate them againſt him;which they never forgot, and looked upon him as the man who had beene the bane thereof. Yet they ſet it on foot again,by commending of it openly; and advancing it (all they could) ſecretly and indirectly; uſing all the means they could to make all things work for the Queenes advantage. She had her Agents and Ambaſſadours in France, together with her Uncles (of Guiſe) and wanted not her under-hand Favourers in England, that ſtill had their eye upon her (as upon the riſing Snnne) whom they eſteemed the hope of their Religion. Their ſuite now was (who would not think it ſo?) both plauſible and modeſt; to joyn the mother and the ſonne in an equality of government, being ſo near joyned in nature. It could not but be for the good of the Countrey, and make much to confirme and ſtrengthen their title to England. Thus they ſaid; but how can this bee done? He is in poſſeſſion of the Crown,how can it be taken from him again? How can he be deſired to dimit? And though he would demit,yet thoſe of his party will never be contented that he ſhould doe it. On the other ſide, Shee is living and diſ-poſſeſſed; but who that hath ever worne a Crowne, can live and bee content to want it? What other mids then, and meane can bee found out, but aſſociation in the Crowne? So ſhall both have it, and both

The beginning of Mortons fall.

both be ſatisfied, a happy ſociety, from which will flow the ſonnes love, and the mothers bleſſing. All ſhall ſo goe well, and it will bee eaſie to perſwade a childe (though never ſo wiſe) being unacquainted with ſuch things, eſpecially one that is ſo gentle, and of ſo towardly diſpoſition: onely the difficulty will bee to move his old friends thereto; they will never conſent to it; they will bee jealous and fearefull of any party or equalitie in ruling, though of never ſo neare and deare friends: they will choke us with that old ſaying, *Nulla fides Regni ſociis, &c.* They will thinke it a diminution to the Kings authoritie, which ought not to bee admitted either in effect, or in appearance. The grounds of his Title will ſeeme to bee brangled and overthrowne; alſo his eſtate will bee made thereby more unſure, and doubtfull: The match (though with a mother) will bee too hard for him; ſhee is elder, and ſo wiſer, and more experienced, and may ſoon ſteppe up from this equalitie to a Superioritie, by queſtioning her former dimiſſion, by revoking and recalling of it, as being done in priſon, and ſo not free, nor voluntary. Thus ſhall the King bee thruſt out of his place, the Countrey, his old friends, Religion, and all quite undone.

Morton was too old a Cat, to draw ſuch a ſtraw before him, or to propound any thing tending that way: wherefore their beſt was to make him away, that ſo the plot might goe on. And much more good effect would come of that one ſtroke: Hee was rich, hee had faire lands and houſes, a faire reward of all their pains and travell. And no queſtion, his friends that ſhould take his part, might bee involved, and inſnared with him: Eſpecially the Earle of Angus could hardly in this caſe of his Uncle, ſo behave himſelfe, but occaſion might bee found againſt him, which would bee a faire bootie.

The facilitie of compaſſing a buſineſſe doth often draw men on, and doth greatly prevail in all conſultations. The new factions againſt him were very ſtrong, yet hee kept them downe, but it was meerely by the Kings countenance; if that were once taken away from him, the reſt would prove but eaſie. And now to facilitate all, there fell out ſuch occaſions, as they could have wiſhed, or as they had made.

Obignie comes home in September. 1579.

For in September, in the yeare one thouſand five hundreth ſeventy and nine, *Mounſieur d' Obignie* was come (or brought) home: his name, his kindred, his carriage, his commiſſion from friends in France, his comelineſſe, his obſervance, his perſon did procure him credit with the King; and this faction did privately inſinuate with him, and openly thruſt him forward into the Kings favour; and put him out of conceit of Morton; and indeed quite alienated him from him, and ſo by him the King, whoſe eare hee now had; for Morton being ſuch an adverſary to the Queene, and ſo to France, *Obignie* to doe the Queene, and to doe France ſervice, to pleaſure the holy League (himſelfe being a Papiſt) and to gaine the good will of this faction by whom hee was to riſe to ſome great place about the King, was eaſily induced to promove their plotte and malice againſt him. Neither was there great difficultie in it: hee had loſt many friends, of-

fended all ſorts of men; the Burrowes, the Miniſterie, and who ſo doth zealouſly affect them, ſo farre as that if they were not his enemies, they were but cold friends, and ſuch as would bee but ſpectatours, and no wayes actours for him. There fell out alſo (about this time) in October (1580.) an accident, which did him much hurt, and made for their purpoſe. The Lord *Ruthven* having beene in Kincarn (a houſe of the Earle of Montroſe) at the marriage of the Earle of Marre, as he returned to Perth, his way lying neare to Diplin (which belonged to the Lord *Olyphant*) and there being enmitie, and deadly fewd betwixt *Olyphant* and *Ruthven*: *Ruthven* notwithſtanding, rode that way in view of Diplin. *Olyphant* tooke this as done in contempt of him, and therefore iſſuing forth with ſome horſemen, and ſome fire locks, followed them, and came upon them ſo unexpectedly, and with ſuch advantage of weapous, that *Ruthvens* men fled preſently, and their Lord was forced to doe the like. Onely one *Alexander Stuart* (of the houſe of Traquaire, and a Kinſman of *Ruthvens*) ſtayed behind the reſt, partly to keep off the purſuers, partly to ſpeake with *Olyphant* in fair termes, and was ſlain by a ſhot, from one that knew him not, ſore againſt *Oliphants* minde, and to his great griefe and diſcontentment. The Lord *Ruthven*, ſeeking by order of law to repair his credit, and to be revenged for the killing of his friend, cauſes ſummon *Oliphant* to anſwer criminally before the Juſtice Generall. This *Oliphant* had married *Margaret Douglas*, daughter to *William Douglas* of Logh-leven, and now being purſued upon his life, was aſſiſted by his father in law. The Earle of Morton would gladly have agreed the parties, but the fact being recent, and the Lord *Ruthven* (together with the friends of the Gentleman that was ſlain) having received ſuch an affront and indignity, there was no poſſibility to take it away, ſave by law. Wherefore Morton joyned with the party that was purſued for his life, which hath ever beene accounted moſt Noble, moſt tolerable, and free from exception or quarrelling. Beſides, *Oliphant* had not commanded his ſervant to ſhoote, neither did hee allow or approve (but was ſory for it) in his heart; but hee thought hee could not with his honour deliver one who followed him, and had done this raſh fact, in and for his ſervice, but was bound to defend him all hee could, and protect him from all danger, and harme, according to his power. Notwithſtanding, of this, *Ruthven* was mightily diſpleaſed with Morton, for countenancing, and aſſiſting *Olyphant* againſt him, and Maſter *John Metellane*, and Sir *Robert Melvine* (who tooke part with *Ruthven*) laid hold of the occaſion, and blew the bellowes ſo, that they brought him to that point of unkindeneſſe, that hee could very well have beene contented to ſee Morton reduced to ſuch an eſtate and condition, as that hee might neede his helpe, and bee ſenſible of the loſſe of ſo ſteadable and uſefull a friend, as hee tooke himſelfe to be.

Controverſie betwixt the Lord *Ruthven* and *Olyphant*.

Wherefore, when hee underſtood that his enemies were plotting againſt him (either for that he knew not that they aimed at no leſſe then his death and finall overthrow, or if hee did know ſo much, becauſe hee thought hee could give them a ſtop when hee pleaſed, and hinder them from

from attaining that point of their aime) hee ſuffered the courſe to goe on, and perhaps helped it forward. The name of *Stuart* were alſo offended with him for aſſiſting one who was accuſed of the killing a *Stuart*, and all this was aggreaged and aggravated by thoſe of his oppoſite faction. Beſides this, hee had ſhewed that hee was not well pleaſed with the Courtſhip and favour which *Mounſieur D' Obignie* had with the King; becauſe there was a generall ſuſpition and feare, that hee was imployed, and would labour to corrupt and pervert him in his Religion. There was with *Obignie*, one *Monbirneau* (who was thought to have been an actor and executioner of the Maſſacre in France) extreamely diſſolute in his converſation, and therefore much hated, feared and abhorred of all men, which did reflect upon *Obignie* for his entertaining, and familiarity with him. The Miniſters ſpake and preached openly and plainly againſt them both, and the Engliſh Embaſſadour (Sir *William Bowes*) deſired *Monbirneau* to be removed off the Counſell as ſuch an one, and when it was refuſed, he likewiſe refuſed to deliver his meſſage, or to ſhew his Commiſſion, for ſo he had been commanded by the Queen and State of England. *Morton* withdrew himſelfe as diſcontented, and retired to Dalkeith, either for diſlike of the preſent eſtate of things, or out of feare and doubte of ſome danger, or inconvenient, or for both; neither did hee come to Court or Counſell, but when hee was ſent for by the King. This diſliking of their wayes, made them to diſlike the more of him, and his feare cauſed them to feare him more alſo: diſlike and feare increaſed their hatred, and haſtned their reſolution to overthrow him. The way was laid, which was to charge him with the murther of the late King, the accuſer (either made choice of by them, or who did willingly offer himſelfe) was *James Stuart* (ſonne to the Lord *Ochletree*) a bold, venturous and aſpiring young man. And ſo the laſt of December he was ſent for, and being ſet in Counſell, he was accuſed by *James* to his face. The crime was, of being airt and pairt of the murther of the late King *Henry*. Being greatly moved herewith, he aroſe from the table, and purged himſelfe with great vehemency, as innocent thereof: and offered to abide a legall triall, not onely of his Peeres, but of any Gentlemen whatſoever, though he himſelfe were an Earle, and had been Regent. Hereupon hee was confined to his lodging, where he abode all the next day, which was the firſt of January, and the Sabbath day. So much leaſure he had to bethinke himſelfe of his caſe, and what were beſt for him to doe: he might have ſeen that it was a quarrell pickt againſt him of malice, ſeeing the crime laid to his charge was ſo hainous, as none but his mortall enemies would have broched, and ſuch as ſought his utter ruine. And hee might know that innocency is not alwayes a ſure warrant and defence againſt ſuch: and that it was dangerous to fall into their hands. On the other ſide, to avoid and ſhun a triall were halfe a confeſſion of the crime, and would make him ſeem guilty; nay it would make him truely guilty of contempt, diſobedience and rebellion, which might (perhaps) bee the thing they ſought; through feare to drive him to ſome rebellious act, and ſo to involve him in a true crime while he ſought to eſchew a falſ accuſation; his friends & followers adviſed him to take the firſt way, but he himſelfe

Morton accuſed of the K. murther.

ſelfe reſolved on the ſecond: for he ſuppoſed that they could not convict him by law, and that they would not proceed againſt him without law, having (as he thought) friends that would not ſuffer it, eſpecially the Earle of Angus, being at liberty, and out of their power. But he had forgotten the old maxim of his predeceſſors, *That it was better to heare the Larke ſing, then the Mouſe peep*; and their Proverb, Looſe and living. On the ſecond of January, hee had a warrant ſent to him to enter himſelfe priſoner in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, which he obeyed immediately. As hee went up the ſtreet, accompanied onely with his owne domeſticks, *Iames Stuart* (his accuſer) was coming downe, and as he paſſed by, hee ſaid to him (in an inſolent and inſulting manner) fare well my Lord, goe on. His ſervants would fain have made an end of the accuſer, if not of the accuſation, but he would not ſuffer them by any meanes, but held on his way toward the Caſtle (without replying any thing) and ſo entred there a priſoner. This obedience of his is liable to bee diverſly thought of by diverſe, and is diverſely cenſured by men (according to that ſaying) *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*, it is commended by ſome, and diſcommended by others. They blame his wiſedome, that he ſhould have truſted, and relied ſo much upon his innocency, as to have put his life into the hands of his enemies, who uſed the colour and ſhadow of the Kings authority, for their owne private ends, and to fulfill their owne malice, and revenge. Others commend him, that being innocent, he obeyed the King, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the lawes. The event gave judgement for the firſt, and all men ſince are of the former opinion; yet it may be he did not rely meerly on his innocency; and that he looked not to have had ſuch a number of enemies, having never deſerved ſuch hatred of any; and that he thought the Nobility would never give way to ſuch extremity, which was an ill precedent and preparative againſt themſelves. But however, God had his worke to bring to paſſe, and meant to humble him this way; and therefore his wiſedome (which appeared at other times) did now fail him, ſo that hee was confounded in his diſcourſe and reaſon. There can nothing elſe bee ſaid or alledged for this groſſe errour in ſo wiſe a man.

Impriſoned in the Caſtle.

This is the firſt evident ſtep of his falling. They might now doe with him what they pleaſed, and yet ſcarce all that they pleaſed, with ſafety and ſecurity. His Nephew the Earle of Angus was at liberty, and remained at Dalkeith, who being ſent for to come to Court, refuſed to come; yea, though he were charged under pain of treaſon by a Herauld to come to the King, yet he would not obey, but was declared rebell. Alſo *Mortons* keeper *Alexander Ereſkene* (maſter of Marre) being an honeſt and kinde hearted Noble man, they could not uſe any violence toward him, ſo long as he was in cuſtody. Therefore they thought it beſt to ſend him to Dumbarton: and that they might doe it the more ſafely, they ſet forth Proclamations, diſcharging all men that had any relation to him, or that they ſuſpected to favour him, to come within foure miles of any place where the King was, or ſhould happen to be. So in the 17. or 18. of January, he was brought forth to the Caſtle of Edinburgh to be carried to Dumbarton. There it did appeare, how the change of mens

Morton is ſent to Dumbarton.

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fortune doth change the minds and affections of people toward them. When *Morton* dimitted his office and authority of Regent, none of the Citizens would take norice of him, or looke toward him: Now that hee ſuffers for a good cauſe (as they eſteemed it, to wit, oppoſing *Obignie*, and his courſes) they flock to him, and accompany him out of the town in ſuch numbers and multitude, that his keepers were afraid of them. And that the rather, becauſe ſome of his well-wiſhers had (ſome nights before) called the Captain of the Caſtle, and deſired him not to deliver him, or to let him come out; and had threatned, that if hee ſhould deliver him, it ſhould be remembred as an act of hoſtilitie, and hee reputed and uſed as an enemy. They that were his convoy were commanded, if any ſhould come to reſcue him from them, that they ſhould kill him rather then ſuffer him to eſcape. The Queen of England by her Embaſſadour, Maſter *Randolfe*, interceeded for him, and told the King and Councell, that ſhe underſtood that hee was a true and good Subject, a worthy Noble man, and free of that he was accuſed of. Shee deſired that he might be tried by an aſſiſe (or jury) and that his enemy (knowne to be ſo) *Mounſier d' Obignie* (now made Earle of Lennox) who was alſo an enemy to the reformed Religion (as being a Papiſt) might bee removed off the Counſell. It was anſwered, that the King was not ſo farre bound to any forraign Prince, as to change his Counſellers at their requeſt, or to trie his Subjects but where and when he pleaſed. The Embaſſadour diſcontent with this anſwer, gives up all bond of friendſhip, and having denounced warre, returned into his owne Countrey the 27. of March, 1581. Hereupon a taxation was impoſed, and a company levied of 1000. foot, and ſome horſemen, to be a Guard for the Kings perſon. *James Stuart* (the accuſer) was preferred to be a privie Counſeller, is made Baron of Bothwell-haugh (ſay the notes) Lord *Hamiltoun*, Earle of Arrain, and Captain of the Guard; with moſt ample Commiſſion to apprehend whomſoever he ſuſpected, and to baniſh and puniſh at his pleaſure; eſpecially any that favoured the Earle of Morton, of whatſoever degree, ranke or quality. But the Engliſh intended rather to threaten then to make war indeed; and they knowing that well enough, went on with their intended projects againſt *Morton*. He being ſtill kept priſoner in Dumbarton, learned a leſſon there, which he had not well learned till then. Let the prophane be ſilent, and let mockers leave off their mocking, and let all mortall men know that there is a happineſſe which conſiſts not in honour or riches; that there is a God who diſpoſeth of all things, who is All-ſufficient, and who is able alone to ſatisfie and content the mind: few there are that know, or conſider it, but when they are brought to ſuch a point; and happy is he that can doe it then. He had heard of it before, and beleeved it, but had not taken it ſo fully to heart, nor felt it by experience. Now he ſees, now he feels and findes it really, and experimentally. He contemns the world, and his riches are vile in his eyes, his glory vanity, and all delights madneſſe. He findes that one thing is neceſſary, and is all that is of man, which is, to reverence God. Hee ſees his over-ſight, in that he had been ſo ſlacke and careleſſe thereof before: now he goes about it as he can, and labours to amend his fault; hee reads the

Scrip-

Scriptures, and meditates on them; he makes his uſe, and findes comfort therein: he ſees his ſinfulneſſe, and repents him thereof; ſees Gods mercifulneſſe, and layes hold on it. He acknowledges himſelfe to have been miſerable when he ſeemed to ſwim in happineſſe, and that now hee was truly happy when he ſeemed overcharged with miſerie, in reſpect that God had given him leaſure to meditate and thinke of his end, and time and grace to repent, while being ſequeſtrate from all worldly affaires, and reſtrained by his impriſonment, his minde had full ſcope and libertie to raiſe it ſelfe to thoſe better and higher thoughts of the life to come, and of eternity: wherein he found ſuch contentment and reſolution, that now death was no more death to him, nor terrible, and that all the horrour thereof was ſwallowed up with the hope of thoſe eternall joyes and pleaſures which laſt for evermore. Thus being prepared for that laſt act, he was ſent for to give proofe how well he could practiſe and make uſe of this leſſon. For on the 24. of May the Earles of Arran and Montroſe, with ſome companies of horſe and foot, brought him from Dumbartan to Edinburgh the 27. to *Robert Gourleyes* lodging, which was one of the ſtrongeſt in the Citie. Before they tooke their journey (on the 22. day) proclamation was made, commanding all that favoured him (in generall) to depart out of the towne, and not to come within ten miles of the King and his Court; and particularly ſome 52. Citizens by name were expreſſed, and ſtrictly charged to goe forth of the Citie. After foure dayes reſpite (the firſt of June) he was called to the Tolbooth, and there empannelled, and convicted by a Jurie, and found guilty of the late Kings murther. The ſentence was given out by the Earle of Montroſe, who was Chancellour of the Aſſiſe, and it is ſaid to have beene pronounced in theſe termes; *The Jurie* (or Aſſiſe) *doth finde him guilty of being airt and part of concealing the murther of our Soveraigne* (*King* James *his father*) *the late King* Henry. When Morton heard it, he repeated theſe words twice over, *Airt and pairt, airt and pairt*, and without ſpeaking farther, he held his peace.

He is brought back to Edinburgh the 27. of May:

And there condemned of treaſon.

It is reported that the Jurie did finde him onely guilty of concealing the murther, and that Arran and Montroſe, thinking that to be onely guilty of concealing was not ſufficient matter of condemning him, did foiſt in theſe words (*airt and pairt*) to give it the greater ſound, and to make it be thought and underſtood, as if he had beene found to be airt and pairt (that is, deviſer, contriver, plotter, and partaker or acceſſary) to the Kings murther, whereas he was onely found to have concealed it. This made one that heard it, and perceived the ſophiſtry thereof, to ſay, that they had ſtollen his head from his ſhoulders by ſophiſtry. His known enemies (the Lord Seaton and Wauchton) were of his jurie, yet it is thought they did him no wrong in their verdicts. But however, it ſhewed partiall dealing, in that they would not ſuffer them to be ſet aſide when he excepted againſt them as knowne enemies. Being asked at his death what he thought of the judgement; he anſwered ſoberly, that he would leave them to God and their owne conſcience: but he perceived that whether he had beene guilty or guiltleſſe, as *Stephen*, or *Judas*, all had beene one, his death had beene concluded before; for his lawfull and legall exceptions

exceptions were not admitted, his enemies were on his Jurie, (naming the two former) and ſuch as were partiall, and not indifferent, who had given partiall counſell againſt him, by name the Earle of Argyle. He added alſo that it was not his death alone that would content them, and that they would not ſtay there, others ſhould be put to it as well as hee, he was but made a precedent, and preparative to make way for the reſt: the cauſe was the maine thing they aimed at. However it were, whether the ſentence were thus involved and wreſted, or if it were plaine and cleare; whether it were indeed ſo given out by the Jury, or if it were thus patched out by Arran and Montroſe, he was conveyed backe againe to his lodging as a condemned man. There he carried himſelfe after his wonted manner, his countenance was no wayes caſt downe, or changed, he ſupped cheerfully, and ſlept ſoundly, without any apperance or ſhew of feare, or ſolicitouſneſſe.

About three of the clocke in the morning hee aroſe and wrote letters (for the ſpace of three houres) with his owne hand to the King, and afterward laid him downe againe and ſlept till nine. Theſe † Letters were ſent by the Miniſters who came to viſit him, but Arran and Lennox would not ſuffer them to be received. When he was up, Maſter *Walter Balcanquell*, and *John Durie* (two of the Miniſters of Edinburgh) came to him, and had long conference with him, which is ſet downe at length in the Hiſtorie of Scotland, written by *Francis Boteville*, called *Thin*, an Engliſhman, and joyned to *Hollinſheds* Chronicle, ſo that he who deſires to know it, may reade it there. The ſumme of it is his confeſſion concerning ſuch things as they queſtioned him of,

† It would be knowne what was in theſe Letters.

1. And firſt concerning the murthering of the King, he ſaid he was neither airt nor pairt thereof, and that being preſt by the Earle *Bothwell*, he would never conſent to it. And although (ſay the notes) *Bothwell* alledged that the Queene had determined it, and divers Noblemen had given their conſent under their hand-writing, and had ſent to him to deſire him to put to his hand alſo; yet he anſwered reſolutely, that he would in no wiſe meddle in it, nor be guilty of innocent bloud. As for the Queen (ſaid he) though it be ſo, yet women will ſay and gain-ſay, ſhe may in her anger doe or ſay that which afterward ſhe will repent her of. Nay, when *Bothwell* promiſed to bring her conſent thereto under her hand-writing, yet he refuſed to joyne with him upon any termes; and to avoyd his importunitie, he paſſed over to Saint Andrewes to viſit the Earle of Angus, who was then a Student in the New colledge there; neither did he ſee or meet with *Bothwell* after that, untill ſuch time as the fact was committed.

His confeſſion before his death.

2. As for poyſoning the Earle of Athole at Stirling, he ſaid he was neither author of it (if he were poyſoned) nor any wiſe acceſſary or conſcious to it; that he deteſted and abhorred all ſuch formes of dealing even with enemies, and was ſorry to think that ſo baſe, foule, and wicked practice ſhould creep into this Countrey, which was already guilty of too many, too common other ſins of its owne: he ſaid alſo that he was not ſuch an enemy to Athole, as that he would have done him any hurt, though he had found him lying aſleep by the way ſide.

3. Touch-

3. Touching the Earle of Lennox, he ſaid, he never wiſhed him any hurt, ſo farre was he from conſpiring againſt him. Onely it grieved him that he knew the eſtate of this Countrey no better, and that he ſaw not what danger the King was in, and that he was induced by perſwaſion to bring home ſuch as were enemies to the true Religion, which he purpoſed to have let him underſtand, and hoped to have adviſed him better, when they had beene better acquainted, and more intimately familiar.

4. And as for carrying the King to England, he ſaid, he would not have done it for a world, unleſſe it had beene to have made him King of England: that there was never ſuch a motion made to him directly nor indirectly by the Queene, or any other in England or Scotland: that he never had any penſion of her.

5. As touching his ſetting up and maintaining the eſtate of Biſhops (whereof there had enſued great debate and contention betwixt him and the Miniſtery) he ſaid, it did not proceed of any ill minde, of any malice, or contempt of them, or their callings, but meerly out of want of better knowledge, thinking that form of government to be moſt conforme to the rules of policie, and to be fitteſt for the times. That if he had then knowne better, he would have done otherwiſe, and that he had intention (if he had lived) to have made amends.

6. Concerning his incontinencie, and worldly mindedneſſe, he freely acknowledged and confeſſed it, ſeriouſly repented, and craved God pardon for it, and ſaid, he firmely beleeved to obtaine it: that he ſaw mercy, and had found more grace during the time of his trouble, then ever hee had done all his life before.

7. For his detaining of ſome Citizens of Edinburgh in priſon, he ſaid, he had not done it out of any ſpleene, or private quarrell againſt the men; but the matter of bringing in Bullion being then in hand, and he being informed that theſe men did hinder it, he thought it his beſt courſe to commit them till ſuch time as the buſineſſe were done: Wherein, if he had wronged them, he was ſorrie, and craved them pardon, & forgivenes.

His counſell to the Earle of Angus (his Nephew) was doubtfull: for he ſaid he durſt not adviſe him in any particular for the preſent, becauſe he thought it would endanger his life if he ſhould come to Court; and not to come (if he were commanded) would hazard his eſtate. His beſt were to uſe what meanes he could to obtaine the Kings favour and leave, that (life and lands ſafe) he might ſerve God, and him, in a private retired manner, which he would wiſh him to doe in all humility, and to ſubmit himſelfe and all to the Kings will and pleaſure.

To the King (his maſter) with all ſubmiſſion; yet in the name and fear of God, he would exhort him to beware of Papiſts, either profeſt, known or ſuſpected, who (as he thought) were become too too familiar with him: that he would continue in the true Religion, and fear of God, & entertain in his company ſuch as loved it, according as he had bin bred and brought up, & not to make defection from it, or ſlide back, elſe it could not be well with him: he feared there was danger, which men ſhould ſee when he was gone. He remembred the admonition which maſter *Knox* gave him when he came to viſit him on his death bed (or a little before) being newly made Regent,

Regent: *God hath* (ſaid *Knox*) *bleſſed you with many bleſsings, he hath giuen you wiſedome, riches and friends, and now he hath preferred you to the gouernment of this Countrey; uſe theſe things well, and better than hitherto you haue done; alwayes to his glory who hath given them you: firſt by aduancing the Goſpel, and maintenance of the Miniſters, and the whole Church; next by procuring the good and welfare of the King, the Countrey, and all good ſubjects; which if you do not, God ſhall rob you of them with ſhame and ignominie. This he ſpake* (ſaid he) *and this I finde now, yet I doubt not, but God will be merciſull unto me.*

He was much with them in prayer, and very earneſt to have their aid & aſſiſtance therein; whereof he acknowledged that he received great comfort. He reaſoned of the natural fear of death, which ſticks and remains in men, even though they have aſſurance of the forgiveneſſe of their ſins; wherein hee declared his own ſenſe, and the collections he had made in "his reading, ſince his going to Dumbartan. He ſaid, that in the Hiſto-"ry of the Bible, he had obſerved Gods wonderfull mercy toward the "children of Iſrael; who when they ſinned againſt him, he chaſtiſed "them; when they repented, he forgave them; and though they ſinned "again, and were corrected again, yet when they cryed to him again, he "forgave them again, he hoped ſo of himſelf, that God would forgive "him alſo. He ſhewed them a Book he had about him, which had been ſent to him by the Lady Ormeſton, when hee was firſt committed, which he had read, and made good uſe of it: it was M. *Bradfords* Meditation of Death; hee cauſed M. *Balcanquell* to read a paſſage or two of it, (which he had chiefly noted) and as he read, Morton diſcourſed thereof to his own comfort, and their great ſatisfaction and contentment. He profeſſed, that now he heard with other eares, and read with another minde and ſenſe than he had done in former times. This Book he ſent back to the Lady by Maſter *Iames Lowſon*, with many thanks, acknowledging he had been bettered by it. When break-faſt was brought in, he deſired them to take part with him, & ſpake very chearfully to them, telling them what a difference there was betwixt a man troubled with "cares, and him that is reſolved and free from them. The laſt night (ſaid "he) before I came to my triall, I could not ſleep nor take reſt for thinking "how to make my defences; but all this night I ſleeped very ſound, "having nothing to trouble me, but to make my peace with God. After noon, M. *Iames Lowſon*, M. *Iohn Daviſon*, and divers others of the Miniſterie came to him. There he embraced M. *Iohn Daviſon*, and ſaid to him, "You wrote a Book, for which I was angry with you, but I never meant "any ill to you, forgive me M. *Daviſon* was ſo moved herewith, that he could not refrain from weeping. Then he repeated again before them the ſame things which we have ſet down before. The Miniſtery hearing that the King was otherwayes informed of his Confeſſion, than was true, ſent *Iohn Durie*, *David Ferguſon*, and *Iohn Brand* to his Majeſty, who informed him rightly, and related things as they were.

They being returned, his Keeper (*William Stuart*, as I take it, brother to Arran) required him to come forth to go to the place of execu-"tion: To whom he ſaid, They have troubled mee much to "day with worldly buſineſſe, wherefore I ſuppoſed they would

"have given me this nights leiſure to have thought of things which "concerne my ſoul: But his Keeper replied, I think they will delay no "longer, for all things are ready. If it be ſo (ſaid Morton) ſo am I too, I "thank my God. And ſo (after a prayer made by one of the Miniſters) he went down the ſtairs without any farther ſtay. The Earle of Arran met him by the way, and brought him back to the chamber again, willing him to ſtay till his Confeſſion were ſet down in writing, that hee might ſigne it with his own hand. But he, and the Miniſters that were preſent with him, entreated that he might not be any more troubled with that matter, ſeeing they had all heard it ſufficiently. Then Arran deſired that he would forgive him for what he had done, ſeeing he had no particular againſt him. He anſwered, that it was not time to remember quarrels; he forgave him and all others, as he deſired they would forgive him.

Morton' brought to the Scaffold.

So he went to the Scaffold very reſolutely, and repeated the ſame things in audience of the people, which he had ſpoken before in private. He added moreover: *The King* (ſayes he) *ſhall this day loſe a good ſervant, who dieth profeſsing the Goſpell taught now in Scotland: and though I have not walked worthy of that profeſsion* (*as by the grace of God I ſhould have done, if I had lived longer, to the hazarding of my Life, Lands and all*) *yet am I perſwaded of Gods mercie in Jeſus Chriſt. And here I charge you all to continue therein, and to maintaine the ſame to the uttermoſt of your power, and God ſhall bleſſe you, otherwayes you ſhall not eſcape his puniſhment.* Then while the prayer was conceived by Maſter *James Lowſon*, he fell down all along flat on his face: during which he uttered great ſignes of being mightily moved, which he expreſſed in his ſighes and groanes, which many of the beholders ſaw evidently did not proceed from fear, but from the ſpirit of grace working powerfully in his heart. Prayer being ended, he ſtood up, and his friends came to take their leave of him, and after he had bidden them farewell, he ſaluted the Miniſters, and took them all ſeverally by the hand, and bade them farewell in the Lord.

His death.

After all was done, he went without fear or diſmayedneſſe, and laid his neck upon the block, crying continually that happie ſong, *Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit*, till the axe (of the Maiden, which he himſelf had cauſed make after the patterne which he had ſeen in Halifax in Yorkſhire) falling upon his neck, put an end to his life, and that note together. His body was carried to the Tolbooth, and buried ſecretly in the night in the Gray-friers, his head was affixed on the Gate of the City.

Thus he died the 2. of June 1581. proudly (ſaid his enemies) and Romane-like as he had lived: conſtantly, patiently, humbly and Chriſtian-like, ſaid the Paſtors, who were beholders, and eare and eye-witneſſes of all he ſaid and did. Theſe outward motions being ſo like to other, are hardly diſcerned but by a skilfull and unpartiall eye. Wherefore the judgement and teſtimony of the Paſtors deſerves beſt credit; they being beſt able to diſtinguiſh nature from grace, and being freeſt from prejudice and partiality. His enemies cenſure may juſtly bee ſuſpected as coming from that ſame diſpoſition which moved them to plot,

plot and work his death. And certainly if we obſerve and conſider his whole carriage and diſcourſe, during the time of his impriſonment, and at the very point of his execution, he muſt be voide of all charity that doth not judge the beſt of his confeſſion, profeſſion, and Chriſtian diſpoſition. So that it ſeems to be more than humane hatred and enmity, to be thus affected toward an enemie after his death, to kill him again by an uncharitable conſtruction of his devotions, and piety towards his God. *Livor poſt fata quieſcit.* Envie ceaſeth after death, and ſo let it do toward him.

If a man would ſee a pattern of one, exerciſed in all the changes & viciſſitudes of fortune, who had gone through & tried all the eſtates and conditions of humane life; let him caſt his eye and look upon our Earl of Morton, in his child-hood, in his riper years & manly eſtate, and in his old age, in peace and in warre, in private and publick employments. In every thing he took in hand, in every eſtate and condition, he acquit himſelf with credit, honour, and even admiration. When he was a ſerving-man, he was induſtrious, carefull and faithfull; when he came to an eſtate, and was a Nobleman, he behaved himſelf as if he had been bred ſuch from his infancie. In Court, he acted the Courtier, in Councell, a States-man, abroad in England, being ſent thither Ambaſſadour, he approved himſelf to both Nations, and gained great reputation of ſufficiencie. While he enjoyed the favour of his Princeſſe, he was not puffed up; and being in diſgrace and baniſhed, he was not caſten down. He was a faithfull Colleague and fellow-governour with others; and when he came to be ſole and ſupream, this Countrey never enjoyed greater peace, and a more flouriſhing Regencie. Being returned to the condition of a private Nobleman, he obeyed as well as before he had commanded. And laſt of all, when he was accuſed, condemned and executed, he ſhewed himſelf to be himſelf, and a good Chriſtian. He was well skilled, as in politick government, ſo in œconomie, from the ſhrub to the ſcepter, from planting of Cabbage in his Garden, to the weelding of the Sword and Scepter in the ſeat of Juſtice. The ſmalleſt and meaneſt points of husbandry did not eſcape him, and the higheſt and deepeſt points of State were not above his reach. So that the ſaying of the Hyſtorian concerning *Cato Major* (*In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingeniique fuit, ut quocunque loco natus eſſet, fortunam ſibi ipſe facturus fuiſſe videretur*) Is no leſſe true, and may as wel be applyed to Morton. And that alſo which followes; *Nulla ars neque privatæ, neque publicæ rei gerendæ ei defuit, urbanas, ruſticaſque, res pariter callebat.* Hee was ſlow of ſpeech by a naturall ſtayedneſſe and compoſed gravity. He was of a middle ſtature, rather ſquare than tall, having the hair of his head and beard of a yellowiſh flaxen. His face was full and large; his countenance majeſticall, grave and Princely; he was affable and courteous to all, yet ſo as to keep bold encroachers aloofe, and ſo familiar as not to forget to keep his diſtance. He was given to gather riches, yet without oppreſſion or ſordidneſſe and baſeneſſe; For hee was liberall upon occaſion, and not unkinde or unmindefull of his friends. Of which diſpoſition I remember this inſtance; when *John Halden* (of Gleneagles) with his friends of the houſe of Marre (eſpecially the Abbot of Driebrugh,) came to him to agree with him for his wardſhip (hee being Regent) told them that

hee had beſtowed it on *Iſabel Hume* daughter to Sir *David*, and ſiſter to Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, and that hee might take her and it together, which hee did accordingly. This came meerely of himſelf having never been ſpoken to, and when there was none that belonged to the Gentlewoman near him, to motion or ſuggeſt it to him. He was alſo calme and not eaſily moved to anger, and apt to forgive and forget injuries or contentions, that had been betwixt him and any other. This appeared in his carriage toward Maſter *Knox*, who had uſed him roughly, and rebuked him ſharply for divers things, but eſpecially for his labouring to ſet up and maintaine the eſtate of Biſhops. For howſoever he took it hardly for the time, yet when Maſter *Knox* lay a dying, he went and viſited him, and after he was dead, was preſent at his buriall; where hee gave him this honourable and ingenuous teſtimonie; *Here lyeſt thou* (ſaid he) *who wert never afraid of the face of man in delivering thy meſſage from* GOD. Hee ſet a foot a great good work, and would (no queſtion) have ſeen it perfected, if hee had brooked his Regencie a while longer, which was the reducing of our Lawes into a more eaſie forme and method, than now they are. The care of this was committed to, and the task laid upon Sir *James Balfoure*, and Maſter *John Skeene* Clerk-Regiſter, and Maſter of the Rols. The work (as I am informed) was well advanced, but when he quit his authority, they left off any further proceeding in it. And I have heard ſince ſome queſtion it, whether or not it would have done good to the ſubjects, as if it were to be doubted whether it were better to have ſome order than none at all. So apt are men to calumniate any thing that hinders their particular emolument, or limites their unwarrantable power, and curbs them from doing what they liſt. Hee kept a Concubine or two, becauſe of his Ladies being diſtracted and frantick, and was even too much ſet to heap up treaſure. Yet his care was, that his enemies ſhould not be enriched by it; and his luck was anſwerable to his care. For thoſe on whom he would have beſtowed them (if hee had had power and opportunitie to diſtribute them according to his minde) by good fortune lighted on it; I know not if they got all of it, or if it were divided according to that proportion, which he perhaps would have obſerved. *James Richiſon* of Smeeton (his brother-in-law) got a ſhare of them, having been truſted with the keeping thereof; *Jannet Sharpe* his Lemmon another ſhare, *James Douglas* of Spot got ſome part thereof; and ſome very ſmall portion (as is thought in reſpect of the whole ſumme) came to the hands of *Archbald* Earle of Angus, after his returne from his firſt baniſhment. A notable example of the uncertainty of theſe corruptible riches, and of worldly treaſure, which cannot be preſerved from the digging through of the thief, the eating and conſuming of the moth or canker-worme, or the diſperſing and ſcattering of an unfaithfull hand and heart. Though he imployed himſelf much about it, and thought it a great point of wiſedome thus to ſtore up wealth; yet at his death hee ſaw and confeſſed it to be but vanity and folly.

If wee admit Morton to be a judge or witneſſe (and what better either

either judge or witneſſe can we finde ?) he will decide the queſtion betwixt the two (both ſelf-pleaſing) parties, which do challenge (each to himſelf , and derogates from the other) that high honour and title of wiſedome ; I mean betwixt him that ſeeks after, and labours for worldly honour , dignity and riches : and him that having his minde raiſed higher and pitched upon better things , ſlights theſe earthly things as traſh , not worthy of his thoughts or care. The worldling cals , and thinks him a foole , and he eſteems no better of the worldling ; and each laughs the other to ſcorne. Who then ſhall be judge or witneſſe ? Seeing all are parties ; and there is no man but is either of the one ſide or of the other. Certainly, we may judge beſt by the confeſſion of the parties themſelves. Of which the laſt never yeelded , never gaine-ſaid or be-lyed their aſſertion ; while they live they avouch it , and at their death they do confirme it much more. Though *Chryſippus* tormenter do torture them , though the world (for the want of it) do afflict them with contempt and deſpiſing, ſtill they ſtand faſt , and ſtick to their point unſhaken and unmoved. The worldlings , by the contrary , ſometimes while they flouriſh in proſperity, ever when they are in adverſity : Sometimes while they live and are in health, ever when they lye in dying, confeſſe againſt themſelves , and cals all their labour and pains about it folly and vanity. So did Morton amongſt others , which the wiſe will lay to heart, and make their uſe of it.

Jacobus Duglaſius, Mortonius Comes, Prorex pro
JACOBO Sexto , Edinburgi ſecuri
percuſſus Anno 1581.

Hunc ſpecta Heroem, celſo cui ſpirat ab ore
Majeſtas, toto & pectore rarus honor.
Auguſtos inter terrarum lumina , reges
Pro Rege, & Domino, regia ſceptra tulit.
Conſilium, imperium, virtus, facundia, cenſus,
Quæque homines capiunt, quæque dedère dii,
Unus cuncta fuit. Nihil ad faſtigia ſumma
Defuit, æternum ſi ſua fata darent.
Sed viden' ut ſubito fatorum turbine verſa
Omnia, & in præceps pondere preſſa ſuo ?
Diſcite mortales mortalia temnere, & illa
Quærere, quæ miſeris non rapit aura levis.

Joh. Johnſtonus *in Heroibus.*

James

James Douglas *Earle of Morton, Regent, beheaded at Edinburgh*, 1581.

Behold this Heros how his looks be grac't
With Majeſtie, what honour's in his breaſt!
How high his port may to the world appear!
He rules a King, and doth his Scepter bear.
Counſell, commanding, and perſwaſive Art,
What ever men injoy or gods impart,
Is found in him: If Fortune did remain
Conſtant, no greater height he need obtain.
But ah! what ſudden change is here! this ſtate
Falne with its own weight lyes oppreſt by Fate.
Obſerve it well, and learn thoſe goods to priſe
Which never can decay; the reſt deſpiſe.

Of Archbald (*the third of that name*) *and ninth Earle of Angus.*

NOw we come to *Archbald* himſelf (the third bearing the name of *Archbald*) ſon to *David*, as hath been ſaid.

He was thrice married; firſt to *Margaret Ereskin*, daughter to *John* Earle of Marre, who was Regent of Scotland immediatly before Morton. Shee was a beautifull, chaſte, and vertuous Lady. Shee lived with him but few years, and died without children.

After her, he was married to *Margaret Leſlie*, daughter to the Earle of Rothus. She lived with him the ſpace of years, after which he was divorced from her for her adultery. She likewiſe had no children.

His third wife was *Jeane Lyon*, daughter to the Lord Glames (Chancellour) and Relict of *Robert Douglas* of Logh-leven. She bare to him a daughter after his deceaſe (named *Margaret*) who died about the age of fifteen years a maid unmarried.

His education.

He was bred and brought up with his Uncle Morton, as wee have ſaid, who was his Tutor and Guardian. He ſtudied in S. Andrews in the New Colledge with Maſter *John Douglas* Proveſt of that Colledge, and Rector of the Univerſitie, till he was fifteen years of age. After that, he lived at Court with his Uncle, having with him his Pedagogue Maſter *John Provaine*, who endeavoured to inſtruct him in the Latine tongue, and taught him his Logicks & Rhetoricks, but with ſuch ſucceſſe as is cuſtomable to youth and Nobilitie; nature, counſell, and example drawing them rather to the exerciſes of the body, which are more agreeable to their inclination, and are eſteemed more fit and proper for their place. Whereas Letters are thought onely neceſſary and uſefull for mean men, who intend to live by them, and make profeſſion of ſome Art or Science for their maintenance, but no wayes either ſuitable or requiſite in Noblemen, and ſuch as are of any eminent rank or degree. For theſe they are judged

judged to be too baſe, and he that affects them, pedantick and of a mean ſpirit. Nay moſt men do accompt the ſtudie and knowledge of them prejudiciall, hurtfull, and no ſmall let and impediment to politick activeneſſe, and that it doth abate the courage of the minde and vigour of action, which is requiſite for their charge and calling of being States-men and Warriours. A perverſe and pernitious Tenent, and farre contrary to the practice of the moſt famous Captains, and Princes in all ages; ſuch as were *Julius Cæſar*, *Scipio Africanus*, *Alexander* the Great, and *Pompey* called the Great alſo; of *Trajane*, *Antonius*, *Charlemaigne*; and almoſt of all the Grecian Worthies. And yet (we heare) that the Nobility (in France eſpecially) accompt it a reproach to be called or eſteemed learned, and deeme it honourable to be illiterate and ignorant.

Much good may this honourable ignorance do them, ere any wiſe-man envie it. As for the Earle of Angus, ſore did he repent him of this neglect, and greatly did he blame himſelf for it. Eſpecially in the time of his laſt baniſhment, during which he laboured to have repaired that loſſe and over-ſight of his youth, by reading and hearing read to him Latine authours of all ſorts, both Hiſtorians and others; chiefly *Junius* and *Tremellius* tranſlation of the Scripture, which he took great pleaſure and delight in. And though the defect of practice in his youth could not be altogether and fully ſupplyed, yet ſuch was his naturall judgement, that in expreſſing of his minde either by word or writ, none could do it more judiciouſly and ſenſibly; and in dictating of Letters or any other thing, he even equalled (if not over-matched) thoſe who would challenge to be the greateſt and moſt skilfull Artiſtes therein. This was well known, and ingenuouſly acknowledged, and witneſſed by Chancellour *Metellane* (of honourable memorie) who having lighted upon ſome letters of his written with his own hand, ſo well conceived and penned, that ſome who heard them read, ſuppoſed they had not been of his own penning, but that he had onely tranſcribed them, that they might ſeem to be his own; he on the contrary affirmed (and it was true) that they were of his penning, and that he did ſeldome uſe any mans help that way, being himſelf very ſufficient and able to diſcharge it.

Concerning his actions in the time of his uncles Regencie, wee have ſpoken of them above in his life (as the fitteſt place for them to be remembred in) and we need not repeat them here. After his death, finding no ſure footing for him in Scotland (amongſt theſe who were authours of it, and would ſeek to ſecure themſelves from all revenge thereof by making him away in like manner) being commanded by the King, and ſummoned in his name to come to Court, he retired into England. There hee was kindly received, and honourably entertained by the bountifull liberality of that worthie Queen *Elizabeth*; partly in memorie of his uncle, but no leſſe for his own ſake, being of ſuch great hope and expectation, conceived by the appearance of his preſent vertues, his wiſedome, diſcretion, & towardlineſſe, which made him acceptable to all; and begot love and favour both from her Majeſties ſelf, and her Councellours

He fleeth into England.

cellours and Courtiers that then guided the State; Such as Sir *Robert Dudley* (Earle of Liceſter) Sir *Francis Walſinghame* Secretary; and more eſpecially, he procured the liking of him who is ever to bee remembred with honour, Sir *Philip Sidney* I mean; like diſpoſition, in curteſie, of nature, equality of age and years, did ſo knit their hearts together, that Sir *Philip* failed not (as often as his affaires would permit him) to viſit him, in ſo much that he did ſcarce ſuffer any one day to ſlip, whereof hee did not ſpend the moſt part in his company. He was then in travell, or had brought forth rather (though not poliſhed and refined it as now it is) that his ſo beautifull and univerſally accepted birth, his *Arcadia*. Hee delighted much to impart it to Angus, and Angus took as much pleaſure to be partaker thereof.

There were with him at this time in England, of the name of *Douglas*, *James* Lord Torthorrell, and Sir *George* his brother; two ſonnes of Mortons, *James* of Spot, and *Archbald* of Pittendrigh: Alſo *James* of Maines, and Sir *George* of Langnidderie. There were beſides theſe (of note) onely *John Carmichael* and his ſonnes, together with *Hugh Carmichael*: the reſt were but his ordinary ſervants and dependers.

He reſided openly at Court, being no Rebell, and not convicted or guiltie of any crime committed againſt his Prince or Countrey. No ſuch thing was laid to his charge by his enemies; otherwayes the receiving and entertaining of him had been a breach of the peace betwixt the Kingdomes. All that could be alledged was, that he had withdrawn himſelf from the furie of his enemies. And yet, as if he had been a Rebell and forfeited, they intrometted with his rents and eſtate for their own uſe. He ſpent his time there, in learning to ride great horſes, and handling of his Armes and Weapons, together with uſing ſuch courtly and manlie exerciſes as became his age and place. But above all, he was carefull to obſerve the Government of the Countrey, and Policie of that State and Kingdome; making his own uſe thereof for his bettering, both in Chriſtianity and civill prudencie. He looked with an heedfull eye upon mens wiſedome, and through that, upon Gods working by their wiſedome; he noted the actions of thoſe who were the guiders of that State, Court and Courtrey, ſaw their aimes and deſignes; and comparing them with his own affaires, and things fallen out at home, he called to minde what had befallen his Uncle Morton; who (like them) had no leſſe flouriſhed, but was ſoon cut down and withered: who had been ſo powerfull and honoured but a little before, yet in a moment (as it were) was overthrown and trod under foot. His thoughts alſo reflecting upon himſelf, and his own condition, how hee was forced to forſake his own Countrey, and depend upon the eſtimation of ſtrangers; that though for the preſent he were ſomewhat reſpected, yet it was uncertain how long hee ſhould be ſo, no longer than they ſhould think it profitable for their own eſtate, and conduceable to their ends. From hence raiſing his minde to the contemplation of all humane affairs, and of all mortals, men of all degrees, even of Princes themſelves, he learned that (which few will, and care to

learne

learne of any ranke, and fewer doe practiſe that are in high places, whoſe places crave action, and action over-treads contemplation) hee learned (I ſay) truly to contemne all worldly things, ſuch as riches, honour, dignities, and the like; and truly to long and ſeeke after heavenly treaſure, which periſheth not, and bringeth with it no anxietie, or ſolicitude of minde, having the ſoule fully ſet and fixed on God alone. Many ſpeake of it, and that very well, and not without ſome ſenſe and feeling thereof, but it laſts not, ſave for a fit, and ſudden flaſh. We are all of us too earthly, and ſavour too much of earth, from whence we were taken, and of which we were made, and thither alſo we bend, and tend ever down-ward, what through our naturall propenſion that way, what by example of the multitude, which like a violent ſtream of an overbearing floud, carries us along, if we be not firmly built upon the rock of heavenly reſolution, and unleſſe we keep faſt our hold by perpetuall and never-intermitted meditation. For him I dare avouch it, that howſoever he refrained from outward ſhowes, for feare of falling into oſtentation, or whatever other wayes he was employed about in regard of his place and calling, yet his minde was ever (even in the midſt of buſineſſe) wholly bent to God-ward, and would have beene glad to have beene freed from all thoughts and affaires which had any mixture of earthly things. And this diſpoſition wrought in him by his being exiled, he eſteemed no ſmall benefit and advantage of his ſufferings; ſo that in private where he expreſſed himſelfe freely, without all maske of ceremonie or niceneſſe, he hath many times been heard to thanke God very heartily and ſeriouſly, with grave words, and ſettled countenance, ſaying, That *hee would not have exchanged the croſſe of his firſt baniſhment for all the Crownes and Princes eſtates in the world:* farre leſſe for an Earledome, or Lordſhip, ſuch as Angus, or Douglas. So did God work with him by adverſitie.

While he was thus working upon himſelf in England, and framing his heart after a new mould and faſhion (which few knew or dreamed of) God was preparing the way for his return to his place and honor in Scotland. The love which his Countrey-men bore to him was great, and likewiſe generall, and almoſt univerſall (as it did commonly follow that popular name of *Douglas*, to which it was in a manner hereditarie) even in regard of his owne courteous, milde, and towardly diſpoſition, and of the great hopes and expectation of excellent fruit from ſo noble and worthy a plant. This being accompanied with his ſuffering, and innocencie, together with his harmleſſe youth, age did move pitie, and ſtirre the affections of moſt men toward him.

As for particular friends, hee wanted them not (as few Noblemen in this Countrey doe, all the Nobilitie being linked and bound one to another by Kindred or alliance) his houſe having beene ſo eminent of a long time, and there being few of the Nobles, but were either deſcended of it, or tied to it by ſome conſanguinity, affinity, or other relation. And therefore one would thinke it ſtrange that he ſhould have beene ſo long baniſhed: yet when we looke upon his uncle Mortons caſe (who had the ſame friends or more) it is farre more ſtrange that hee

ſhould have come to ſuch an end. But as in this, when the appointed time came, nothing could hinder his fall and overthrow: ſo in Angus his caſe, untill the time appointed by God did come, nothing could worke his reſtitution. What the eſtate of buſineſſe was at his departure, we have told already in Mortons life, ere that yeare came fully to an end (or not long after he had beene a yeare in England) there fell out a change at Court, which was thus:

Change in Court.

Eſme Lord Obignie (now Duke of Lennox) and *James Stuart* Earle of Arran, had (with their great riches and honours) acquired much hatred from all ſorts of men. The Miniſterie were offended at them for making maſter *Robert Montgomerie* Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, (an Office then odious and unlawfull, as being againſt the Lawes of the Countrey, and ordinance of the Church) and were jealous of the one as a ſuſpected Papiſt, and perſwaded that the other (to wit, Arran) was a downe-right Atheiſt. The Nobilitie ſtormed and grudged at their extraordinary and ſudden preferment. For *James* was made Lord Hammiltoun, Abercorne, Bothwel-haugh, and Earle of Arran, with a power almoſt abſolute (given or uſurped, under the name of Captaine of the Guard, and the pretext of purſuing the *Douglaſſes*) to apprehend, impriſon, and put on the racke whomſoever he pleaſed. Obignie was made Lord of Dalkeith, Tantallon, Darlin, Torbouton, and Duke of Lennox, Keeper of the Caſtle of Dumbartan, and great Chamberlaine of Scotland.

Thus did they overtop and overſhadow the reſt of the Peeres, as tall Cedars doe ſmall Shrubs, to their great diſcontentment and diſdaine. The Gentlemen were ſo uſed by them, that they eſteemed themſelves brought into a thraldome and ſlaverie, none of them being ſure of their eſtates, which were wrung from them by colour of law (the cloake of their oppreſſion) and all fearing the rage and unlimited violence, eſpecially of *James Stuart*, who was compoſed of nothing elſe, and whoſe actions were ſutable to his diſpoſition.

The Burrowes were alienated by being cut ſhort in their priviledges, liberties, and immunities, which were quarrelled, retrenched, cancelled, and taken away, according to their humours of avarice, and deſire of gaine, and according to the pleaſure and ſuggeſtions of their informers and paraſites.

With this their exorbitant increaſe of power and inſolencie, as the hatred of others did increaſe toward them, ſo did variance ariſe betwixt themſelves. The firſt occaſion hereof was the carrying of the Crown at Parliament: this was proper, and is the hereditarie right and priviledge of the houſe of Angus, and he being now baniſhed, and the Duke of Lennox having his eſtate, either for that regard, or becauſe of his more honourable deſcent, or by the advantage of the Kings favour (which he had in greater meaſure then Arran) we cannot affirme; but ſo it was, that he was preferred to bear it. Arran ſtormed at this, & proteſted that his bearing of it at this time ſhould not be prejudicial to his claim, who being deſcended of the houſe of D. *Mordack* (which was neareſt to the King) ought in reaſon to have carried it; yet he renounced all title to the kingdom, notwithſtanding

of

of this extraction of his pedegree, and challenging of this honour. This renunciation was derided by ſome, and diſdained by others, as a great malapartneſſe, and high preſumption in him, who being but lately raiſed from ſo meane a fortune and eſtate, durſt utter ſuch ſpeeches as bewrayed ſuch vaſt and high thoughts, as to aime at no leſſe then the Kingdome, if ever (the Kings owne race failing) the right thereto ſhould come in queſtion, and happen to be controverted. And indeed his deſignes are thought to have flowne to no lower pitch, which (perhaps) had beene no very hard or impoſſible taske for him, if he could as well have kept out the *Hammiltouns* (who could onely pretend right to it) and the *Douglaſſes* (whoſe power and authority was the greateſt in the Countrey) as hee found meanes to caſt them out of Court and Countrey. For then he had had no Competitor but the Duke of Lennox, and him, being a ſtranger, and ſubſiſting meerely by the preſent Kings favour, he nothing doubted to ſupplant by his craft and violence, joyned with ſuch a colourable claim. Another occaſion of diſcord fell out by Sir *John Seaton*, ſon to the Lord *Seaton*, and Maſter of the Kings horſes. As the King was about to goe to his horſe to ride a hunting, Arran having ſomething to ſpeake to him in private, all men were commanded to remove, which all did ſaving Sir *John*, who being by his place to wait upon the King, and ſet him on his horſe, ſtayed ſtill, and did not remove with the reſt. Arran ſeeing him to ſtay behind the reſt, either threatned to throw his batton at him, or did throw it indeed; for hee carried a ſtaffe or batton as Captaine of the Guard. Sir *John* would have requited this affront, but was hindred by the Guard, who carried him downe ſtaires, and ſo parted them for that time. The next day Sir *John*, his brother Sir *William*, and the Lord *Seaton* himſelfe, were all commanded to keepe their lodgings; which the Duke (who favoured them) tooke ſo ill, that he refuſed to come abroad that day. At laſt they were ſo divided, that the Duke carried the King with him to Dalkeith, and Arran abode in the Palace of Halyrood-hooſe. There were with the Duke, the Lord *Seaton*, *Maxwell*, (then Earle of Morton) with ſome others. Argyle, *Ruthven*, (then Theſaurer, and lately made Earle of Gowrie) the Secretarie, the Controller, and other Officers of State, ſtayed with Arran, and tooke upon them to make the body of the Kings Councell, and to ſit as ſuch. But all their Decrees and Concluſions were daſhed by the King in perſon, which they wanted.

Theſe broiles laſted from the end of October till mid-Februarie, about which time the King returning to Halyroodhouſe (from whence Arran had removed before) and from thence going backe againe to Dalkeith, he ſent for him, and reconciled him to the Duke, after which they became greater friends then ever they had beene before: ſo that Arran would doe nothing for any man but what hee knew ſtood with the Dukes good liking But this union betwixt themſelves divided them the more from others, and others from both of them; for now hee that had any buſineſſe with either, behoved to ſue to both, and hee that diſliked, or bore ill-will to either, was forced to fawne on him alſo, or to hate both, and ſeeke

1582. the overthrow of them both alike. At the Juſtice Aires in Perth 1582.
Juſtice Aires in Perth in July. in July, in ſome conteſt betwixt the Duke and the Earle of Gowrie, the Duke ſpake ſome reproachfull words to him in French, which Gowrie not underſtanding then; afterward, when he had learned what the meaning of it was, he upbraided the Duke for ungratefulneſſe, telling him, that was all the thanke he got for having twice ſaved him from being killed. Thus was he alienated, or thus did he bewray his alienation of minde, which lay hidden till now it burſt forth. Another time the Chamberlaine Aires being indicted to be kept (the 28. of Auguſt) by the Duke (then Chamberlaine) which was a Court very odious to the Burrowes, as being rather a legall robbery, then a Court of Juſtice, and upon which it is thought he was ſet of purpoſe that he might incurre more hatred, which commonly falls out, when a former generall diſlike doth meet with private grudges. This Court (I ſay) being indicted, while the Duke was buſied in preparing for it, and he with Arran having left the King, were at Edinburgh and Dalkeith about ſuch things as was neceſſary thereto: the foure and twentieth of Auguſt the King
The roade of Ruthven 1582 Auguſt 24. came from his hunting in Athole to Ruthven, where Gowrie, aſſiſted by ſome of the Nobilitie, removed the Guard, that were under the command of Arrane, with no great adoe, and laid hold alſo of the Earle himſelfe as he entred into the houſe of Ruthven, and conveighed him into a cloſe roome, where he was kept, and not ſuffered to come neare the King.

He had, upon the firſt ſurmiſing of an alteration, come from Edinburgh with a company of ſome foureſcore horſe, but hearing that the Earle of Marre was at Kinroſſe in his way, hee ſent his company with his brothers (*Robert* and *Henrie*) and he himſelfe with one or two taking a byway, came to have ſlipt into the Kings preſence before they had beene aware of him. But Gowrie being advertiſed hereof, met him at the gate, and had ſtraightwayes killed him, if *George Authenlecke* (ſometime ſervitour to Morton) had not held his hand as he was about to have pulled out his dagger to have ſtabbed him. His two brothers, with their company, were defeated by the Earle of Marre, of which *Robert* was wounded alſo, and taken priſoner.

There joyned with Marre and Ruthven openly, *Thomas Lion* (Maſter of Glames) *Lawrence* Lord Oliphant, together with Sir *Lewis Ballandine* of Achnowle (Juſtice-Clerke) and others. Before Marre came, the Guard made ſome difficultie to admit them, and grant them entrance into the Kings chamber: for they ſerving for pay, and being put in, and commanded by Arran, when they heard what had happened to their Captaine, made an offer to reſiſt, and not to ſuffer any man to come neare the King, unleſſe hee ſhould ſignifie his pleaſure to be ſuch.

Sir *Lewis Ballandine* conceiving great indignation hereat, asked at maſter *David Hume* (who by chance was come thither, and ſtood next to him) if he had a piſtoll about him, which he gave him, but withall ſaid to him, "Be not too haſtie to ſhoot, let them alone, you ſhall find "that their fury will ſoone fall (lacking their Captaine, and a head)

"and

" and that they will give way, when once they ſee the Nobility approach. And ſo they did indeed, for the Earle of Marre being come, and the reſt joyning with him, they ſhranke away and gave place. When they came to the King, they ſhewed him the neceſſity of doing what they had done, in regard of the violence of *Arrane*, and their feare and ſuſpition of the Duke of Lennox : " That there was no other way to remove " the generall diſcontent of his Subjects, and to prevent the dangers " which would follow thereupon to himſelfe, and his Crowne, then by " removing of theſe men from about him, whoſe unjuſt actions, and " violent oppreſſions, reflected upon his Majeſty, to the great prejudice of " his honour and eſtate, as alſo to the great diſadvantage of Religion, " and the good of his people. The King aſſented to what they ſaid, either becauſe he thought it to be the true, or rather, (as appeared afterward) that he might ſeeme to approve of that which hee could not reſiſt. So they goe to Perth, then to Stirling, where their Proclamations were ſet forth ; the one containing the Kings Declaration, concerning what was done at *Ruthven* ; that it was for his ſervice, and acceptable to him. In the other the Duke of Lennox was commanded to depart out of the Realme of Scotland before the 24. of September. There was a third alſo, by which the Chamberlain Aires were diſcharged to be kept.

Angus returneth home.

The Earle of Angus had (a little before theſe things) come down from the Court of England to Berwick, in expectation of this change ; and now having notice given him by theſe Noblemen of what had paſſed, he ſtayed a while in the towne, and thereafter came into Scotland : yet did he not goe directly to Court, but came to Cumledge in the Merſe, a houſe within eight miles of Berwick, which belonged to *Archbald Authenleck* (a follower of his Uncle Morton) and lay next adjacent to his Barony of Boncle. There he remained till Maſter *Bowes*, and Maſter *Cary* (Embaſſadours from the Queen of England) came into Scotland (the 11 of September) and did by their interceſſion obtain of the King, that hee might be aſſoyled from that crime of Rebellion, which his enemies had put upon him, becauſe he had not obeyed their charges given out in the Kings name, to come to Court, which was indeed to come into their power. Neither did he preſently after hee was relaxed come neare the King, untill he had aſſurance that the King was very well contented, and deſirous that he ſhould come to him ; but ſtayed ſome five weekes, expecting his full and free conſent therein, that his return might bee ſuch as could not be excepted againſt. The King delayed him a while, that hee might be beholding to him for this favour, and he was contented to ſtay ſo long, that the King might ſee he was willing to receive it at his hands as a favour, and that by ſo doing, he might fully remove all hard conſtruction that his Majeſty could make of his withdrawing into England. He had preſence of the King the 20. of October (about two moneths after he came home) in the Palace of Haly-rood-houſe, where hee was kindly and lovingly received, to the great contentment of all men, and with great commendation of his modeſty ; for that hee had patiently waited for his Princes pleaſure ſo long a time, and had not abruptly ruſht into his ſight, which many would, and he might have done eaſily had he pleaſed

ſed to have made that uſe of the times and opportunitie which was offered: but his diſpoſition was not that way ſet; he was truely of a milde diſpoſition, abhorring all turbulencie, every way towardly, inclining to peace, and to all ſubmiſſion toward his Prince.

Now being thus returned, gladly would hee have lived in quietneſſe, and injoyed the Kings favour ſtill, as he had it at this time, and willingly would he have ſerved him as a faithfull and loyall Subject according as he had been pleaſed to have imployed him, without further ſtirring or meddling with any thing, or any perſon. Neither (as I thinke) did the world ever know, or bring forth a more calme and quiet ſpirit, voyd of ambition and covetouſneſſe, as alſo of all envie and malice to any creature, which are the chiefe cauſes of reſtleſſe and tumultuous practices. He was alſo mindfull of Mortons counſell at his death, who adviſed him to doe ſo: and being alreadie in ſo honourable a place (firſt of the Nobilitie) he had little or nothing elſe to deſire or hope for, if hee could have been aſſured to poſſeſſe his owne in peace. But finding the Countrey divided, the dregs of the old faction that ſtood for the Queen, ſtill working underhand, and by it the Romiſh party labouring to undermine the true reformed Religion, and ſuch as had been inſtruments to eſtabliſh it, upon whoſe ruine theſe new men (by their new courſes) did indeavour to build their preferment, ſo that none could with ſurety live in any honourable place, as a good Patriot, but behoved to take part with them that ſtood for Religion, and undergoe the like hazard as they did. Beſides, theſe Noblemen had (in very deed) wrought out and made way for his returne from exile, by removing of thoſe who were (as common enemies to all honeſt men, ſo more particularly) his eſpeciall enemies, having been authours of his Uncles death, and who had ſeized upon his owne lands and poſſeſſions. They were alſo his near kinſemen, and deare friends, *Gowrie* and *Glames* were come of his houſe, *Oliphant* was of his alliance (having married *Margaret Douglas*, daughter to *William* of Loghleven) and *Marre* was his brother in law, and no leſſe his brother in love and affection, which continued without the leaſt breach or diminution, ſo long as he lived. Theſe private and publick inducements thus meeting and concurring, he could not eſteem that cauſe to be more theirs then his owne, and therefore could not chooſe but embrace it as his own, that is, to the utmoſt of his power.

He joins with the Lords againſt the Courtiers.

Therefore he joyned with them in it ſincerely for his owne part, but they continued not long undivided amongſt themſelves. For the Duke being divers times charged to voide the Realme, after divers ſhifts and delayes, at laſt he went through England into France in the moneth of December, and not long after he died there the 27. of July 1583. After he was gone, they being rid of that feare, there fell out diſſention betwixt the Earle of Gowrie, and Secretarie *Pitcarne* (made Lord of Dumfermeling) in April 1583. The King went to the Caſtle of Saint Andrewes in Auguſt, and there the Earle of Gowrie (having changed his minde with the change of affaires) tooke a remiſſion for his fact at Ruthven, as being Treaſon, and ſo by his owne confeſſion condemned himſelfe, and all his partners therein, and by ſeparating himſelfe from them, overthrew

1583. Lennox dies in France.

Gowrie takes a remiſſion for the fact at Ruthven.

overthrew the cauſe, and them with it. All this while after Angus his returne, there was nothing done worthy of memory, ſave that he (out of his love and reſpect to his Uncle Morton) cauſed his head to be taken downe from the City gate, and honourably buried with his body, the 10. of December 1582. The chiefe inſtrument in this change, was *William Stuart*, a brother of the houſe of Goſton, who had beene a Colonell in the Low-Countreyes, and was then Captain of the Kings Guard. *Gowrie* had brought him home, and preferred him to the Kings ſervice, of purpoſe to counterpoyſe the greatneſſe of Arran: but they were ſo wiſe, as not to croſſe one another; but on the contrary, they did aid and ſtrengthen each other all they could.

Arran returns to Court.

By this *Williams* means, the authours and actors of the fact at *Ruthven* were ſtrictly commanded to depart from the Court, and the Earle of Arrane recalled thither again. Angus had joyned with thoſe of *Ruthven*, yet becauſe he had not been an actor there, and had had no hand in it, he hoped that they would ſuffer him to live in quietneſſe at home. Secretary *Walſingham* (Embaſſadour from Queene *Elizabeth*) had gotten a promiſe of the King that he ſhould be fully reſtored to all his lands and poſſeſſions, and hee had relied thereon, and waited long for the performance thereof; but finding nothing but delayes, he perceived they had no good meaning toward him. And ſo indeed it proved, for Marre, and the maſter of Glames were confined in Argyle, the Caſtle of Stirling (of which Marre and his predeceſſours had been keepers time out of minde) was committed to the cuſtody of Arrane, and the Earle of Angus was confined beyond Forth.

Angus confined beyond Forth.

Before his going to the place of his confinement, hee wrote to ſome of his friends to accompany him thither for his ſafety in his journey. This being knowne at Court, it was interpreted to be done of intention to ſurpriſe the King, who was that day to goe abroad to his haulking. It was alledged alſo, that Marre and Glames were to meet him at Achnoweshill, and to joyne with him in his ſurpriſall. Hereupon the King having riſen by times that morning to goe to his ſport, and being ready to take horſe, was ſtayed that day, and curriours were ſent out to try how matters went, and whether that report were true. Some of theſe ſcouts came to the Key-ſtone, (for that way Angus tooke of purpoſe, being furtheſt off from the Court, that he might be out of their danger, and they freed from all feare of him) and found him riding in a peaceable manner, accompanied with a ſmall train of his domeſticks onely, and thoſe but halfe-armed (which was ordinary then, even in the moſt peaceable times) and no wayes prepared for warre. Hee deſired them to tell his Majeſty that he was going toward the place of his confinement, in obedience to him; and they did relate the truth very faithfully and honeſtly to the King. This rumour (of ſurpriſing the King) was ſaid to have proceeded from one of his owne name, who having been in Tantallon the day before, and perceiving that there were letters in writing, which they did not communicate to him (as Angus did never impart buſineſſe to any, but ſuch as were his intimate friends, and there having been ſome difference betwixt him, and this Gentleman, he never uſed him after that

ſo

ſo familiarly) made this conjecture of their ſecrecie, and whiſpered, it to the Courtiers, who were apt to beleeve it: whether he did indeed ſuſpect ſome ſuch thing, or if it were raiſed onely by envious, and malicious perſons, we cannot affirme, but fame laid the blame of it on him; for that he, having been ſo late over night at Tantallon, had made great haſte to be in Edinburgh that night, and came to Court before day light: and that upon his coming, the Kings haulking was ſtayed; yet it is uncertain, for he was commanded alſo to depart out of the Countrey.

The Earle of Angus croſſed Forth at the Queens Ferry, and went to his owne houſe at Aberdowre; but becauſe there hee was too neare the Court, and ſo obnoxious to ſuſpition, hee removed from thence to Kinroſſe: and to ſecure them yet more, leaving his houſhold there behinde him, he went almoſt alone to Leſely, a houſe belonging to his brother in Law, the Maſter of Rothuſſe. Being there, he moved him, and the Earle his father to deal with the Courtiers to grant him ſo much favour as to ſuffer him to live a private and retired life, at one of his owne houſes in the Countrey farre from Court, and State buſineſſe: but they were ſo farre from yeelding to any ſuch thing, that whereas he had been charged onely to remaine beyond Forth before; now hee is ſent to remain beyond Spaye.

He is ſent beyond Spaye.

Wherefore hee takes his journey thither, and came to Dundie; and from thence toward Elgin in Murray. Maſter *Scrimger* of Diddup (Conſtable of Dundie) would needs bring him on his way; and as if he had intended no more, cauſed carry his haulkes with him, but by no means would leave him till he came to his journeyes end. By the way he being well knowne, tooke upon him to be the chiefe man, and gave out that Angus was his ſonne in law, the Laird of Inſhmartin. This hee did, leaſt the Courtiers ſhould have laid ſome ambuſhment for him by the way, hee being to paſſe through a Countrey, where their partie was ſtrong, and where they had many favourers, having none of his owne followers with him, ſave *Robert Douglas* of Cavers, Gentleman of his horſes. So he paſſed the Carne-Mont with great celerity and haſte, the reſt of his houſhold following after by eaſie journeyes. Great was the care his worthy friend the Conſtable had of him; and many wayes did hee labour to keepe him from melancholy, and to divert his thoughts from too much dwelling upon his preſent hard condition: there was no kinde of ſport or game, which he did not afford him with all the varietie he could deviſe to entertain him, and to cheare him up: till the court, envying even this ſmall contentment to him, commanded the Conſtable alſo to goe off the Countrey; yet was hee never deſtitute of friends; ſuch was the ſweetneſſe of his diſpoſition, and of ſuch power and force was it, that it wonne the hearts of all the Gentlemen in thoſe quarters to him: ſuch as the *Inneſſes*, *Dumbarres*, *Hayes*, and others, who did all ſtrive who ſhould ſhew moſt affection toward him, by inviting him to their houſes, and feaſting him by turnes, and uſing of him with all courteſie, and reſpect; ſo that hee could not have beene more honoured and regarded amongſt his deareſt friends, and neareſt kinsfolkes. Nay, ſuch was their love to him, that hearing ſome ſur-

He goeth to Elgin in Murray.

miſes

miſes of no great good will borne to him by Huntley, they of their own accord came to him, and forbade him to bee afraid of him, for they would ſpend their lives in his defence, and for his ſafetie, if the Earle of Huntley ſhould attempt any thing againſt him. Wherefore it was thought that they being thus affected, he durſt not adventure to execute any Court plot againſt him, which he wanted no good will to do, and otherwayes would have done. Yet was this the place of the Kingdome, where all Huntleyes power and friendſhip lay very neare at hand, and where Angus had leaſt acquaintance and feweſt friends, all of them being meere ſtrangers to him, without any other bond of obligation or tie of relation, but what his vertue and worth had gained in that ſhort time of his being amongſt them and converſing with them.

Diſcord betwixt the Miniſters and Courtiers.

The Courtiers at this time were at no ſmall conteſt and variance with the Miniſters; chiefly with Maſter *James Lowſon*, Maſter *Walter Balcanquell*, *John Durie* (Miniſters at Edinburgh) and Maſter *Andrew Melvin*, Principall of the new Colledge of Saint Andrewes, and Profeſſour of Divinity there. The occaſion was this; they had at a Generall Aſſembly approved the fact of Ruthven by the Kings eſpeciall commandement, and now being deſired by the Courtiers to condemne it, they refuſed to doe it. Both ſides alledged the Kings authority; the Courtiers pleading, that ſuch was his will now: and the Miniſters, that it was not ſuch then. The Courtiers ſaid that he was a captive then; and the Miniſters replyed, that (perhaps) he was ſo now: that they ſaw not any thralling of him then; and that it might as well be alledged hereafter that he was a captive now, as it was alledged now that hee was a captive then. As for the particular quarrels of either ſide, they ſaid they knew them not; but one thing they knew, that they were as good men, as Noble, as worthie, as well affected to his Majeſtie who were with him then, as thoſe were who were about him now; that they were as free from all ſuſpition of unſoundneſſe in Religion, nay, much freer, the others being at leaſt ſuſpected.

In which regard they could not retract what they had done, and could not but allow of their fact who had removed from the King, men that were not altogether free of ſuſpition. What private ends or aimes they had, was unknown to them, as alſo they were ignorant what the reſpects were which they now had; both pretended the Kings will; but they were ſure of this point, that the removing of ſuſpected men was a good office, and made for his well being, and that the inſtruments thereof were inſtruments of a good work, whatſoever were their intentions. Thus moſt of them ſpake: Others expreſſed themſelves more harſhly, ſaying, that wicked men were removed, and ſuch as were enemies to the Church, to the Countrey and to the Nobility, who ſought their own preferment with the overthrow of all, that they might be built upon the ruines of all theſe. Theſe ſpeeches

were very unfavourie to the Earle of Arran, to the Colonell *Stuart*, and the Prior of Pitten-weeme. It rubbed upon them, and (by consequent) as they would have it appeare) reflected upon the King. Wherefore they called it sedition, and stirring up of dissention betwixt the King and his Subjects. So they informe the King, and by their Information, animate him against them. Wherefore *John Dury* behooved to be removed from Edinburgh to Monrosse: Master *James Lowson*, and Master *Walter Balcanquell* were rebuked onely. Master *Walters* Text was treason (against the Courtiers) and spake too much though hee had said nothing. It was that passage of Ecclesiastes [*I saw Princes walking on foot, and servants riding on horse-back*] that is, Great and worthie men displaced, and base men set up in their room; to which doctrine hee added an admonition, that they should look to themselves when the cup of their iniquitie should bee full. Master *Andrew Melvin* was dilated to the King and Councell by one *William Stuart*, that he had said in a Sermon of his, *That the King was unlawfully called to the Kingdome*; but he craved, that seeing he was accused of wrong doctrine, that hee might bee tried by a Generall or Synodall Assembly, who are the proper judges of doctrine delivered from the Pulpit. It was answered, that he should have no other than the King and Councell, who ordained him to enter himself prisoner in Black-Nesse. Whereupon hee fearing, and informed that Colonell *Stuart* and Arran had no good meaning toward him, fled secretly to Berwick. Before his departure, hee drew up his Apologie, of which it will not be amisse to set down the summe, as a testimony of his innocencie and equity of his cause, as also of the violence, and iniquity of those times, that so it may appear more evidently what just grounds and reasons the Noblemen had to labour to have things redressed, and such enormous insolencies represssed. "First, He protested solemnly before God and his Angels, that he never uttered either in that Sermon or in any other, any one word which might import any disgrace or slander of his Soveraigne the Kings Majestie: but had ever exhorted all men to yeeld him all reverence and obedience: that hee had ever, and still did acknowledge him his lawfull Prince and supreame Governour in civill matters; that he had ever, and even then prayed for his preservation and prosperity: Secondly, that his desire to bee tried by a Synod of the Church, did not proceed from any intention to call his Majesties authority in question, but onely because they were appointed to bee the ordinary judges of any thing delivered in preaching, *In primâ instantiâ*. He alledged for this a plaine Act of Parliament, and a conference betwixt certain Lords of the Councell, and some Ministers deputed by the King, who had agreed upon this conclusion. Thirdly, hee said that Councels and Doctors of the Church did think that the triall of such things is most conveniently and fitly to bee taken in the place where the slander is raised, and scandall given; which was Saint Andrewes, for there that Sermon was preached: Fourthly, hee pleaded, that the Priviledges

Melvin flees to Berwick.

His Apology

" priviledges of the Universitie, granted and given to it by former Kings,
" and confirmed and ratified by his Majesties self, made the Rector and
" his Assessors, Judges to all Ministers, Masters and Students that were
" Members of the same, and were accused of any offence committed
" within the liberties thereof. Fifthly, that he spake nothing but what he
" had good warrant for from scripture. Sixthly, that he had for him; first,
" the testimony of the Universitie, signed by the Rector, and sealed with
" their seal; secondly, the testimony of the Church-Session in S. An-
" drews, subscribed by the Ministers, Elders and Deacons; thirdly, the
" testimony of the Provest and Bailiffs, and town Councell, signed by
" the town Clerk by their commandement, and sealed with their seal;
" fourthly, and last of all, the testimony of the Presbyterie, subscribed by
" the Clerk thereof: which testimonies were of more value to absolve
" him, than any one mans accusation was to condemne him. Seventhly,
" he desired that he might have the common priviledge of all the Sub-
" jects, which was to know his accuser, and the prerogative of a Minister
" of Gods word, that an accusation should not be received (or put in pro-
" cesse) against him, but under two or three witnesses. Eighthly, that his
" accuser might be liable, and incurre the punishment due to him by the
" Acts of Parliament, if his accusation were found to be false. Ninthly,
" that the Defender might have place, and be permitted to object against
" his Accuser: And that if *William Stuart* were the man, he would prove
" that the said *William* had professed hatred against him, and had threat-
" ned him to do him bodily harm; in which respect, his information was
" to be suspected if he were the Delatour, or if he were a witnesse his te-
" stimony was not sufficient. Notwithstanding of all this, yet he said, he
" would simply declare the truth in the presence of God and his Angels,
" so far forth as his memory would serve him. He said, his text was, *Dani-*
" *els* expounding of the hand-writing on the wal to *Baltazar*. Here he ob-
" served how *Daniel* in reproving *Baltazar* for not giving glory to God
" for his benefits toward him and his father, and for abusing the vessels
" of the house of God, did apply the Text (of the hand-writing) to *Bal-*
" *tazar*. From hence (and other places of Scripture) he inferred, that
" application ought to be made of examples (whether of mercies or
" judgements) by the Ministers of the Word (as *Daniel* was) to Kings,
" as was *Baltazar*: And that the nearer the example touched the party
" to whom it were applied (as that of *Nabuchodonosor*, who was father to
" *Baltazar*) the more forcible it would be. This (said he) is the right
" way of application, but who doth it now-a-dayes? Or if any do it,
" who cares for it, or is moved with it? If a man should now apply
" the example of our Predecessours to these times, as of King *James*
" the third, how his Courtiers and flatterers abused him, would they
" not say that he raved, and wandered from his Text? Nay, perhaps,
" accuse him of Treason. Secondly, he said, concerning these words
" which his accuser did alledge to have been spoken by him (that our
" *Nabuchodonosor*, to wit, the Kings mother, had bin banished twice seven
" years, & would be restored again) as it never came into his mind, so did
" he not remember the words, or any expression tending to that purpose,

" or importing any ſuch thing : Thirdly, As for that ſpeech (That the " King was unlawfully called to the Crown) or any thing ſounding that " way ; he proteſted before God, he never ſpake it, nor did he ever doubt " of the lawfulneſſe of his Majeſties authority, which the Church had e- " ver maintained, & he himſelf conſtantly avouched, as all that knew him " could bear witneſſe. That it was true, that in ſpeaking of *Nabuchodo-* " *noſor*, he had ſaid ; That firſt, howbeit he had ſucceeded to his fathers " Kingdome, and that when he was of ripe years : ſecondly, though he " were endowed with wiſedome, learning, liberality, and other vertues : " thirdly, though he had conquered and purchaſed divers Territories and " Countries, as a valiant Captain (having been Lieutenant to his father) " in his fathers time : fourthly, And although he were made King (after " his father) by all the Nobility : yet *Daniel* maketh mention of none of " all theſe, but ſaith, That God gave him the Kingdome. From whence " he gathered as a firm concluſion, That, by whatſoever way Kingdomes " do come (whether by election, ſucceſſion, or conqueſt, whether by ordi- " nary or extraordinary means) it is God that gives them, & he that makes " Kings. But (alas !) men do forget this that are in high places, as experi- " ence doth ſhew: And not only Atheiſts and Idolaters, but even godly " Kings are ſubject to this forgetfulneſſe. *David* extraordinarily called, " *Salomon* alſo extraordinarily, and *Joas* extraordinarily preſerved and " crowned in his tender years, did all forget the ordainer, all forget God " their advancer ; and he therefore did chaſtiſe them. That inſtead of ap- " plying this to the King, he did (as his cuſtome ever was, when he ſpake " of his Majeſtie) turne and convert it into a Prayer : That ſince ſuch was " the weakneſſe of Godly Kings, it would pleaſe God of his mercie never " to ſuffer our King to forget Gods goodneſſe and mercie toward him, " who had called him extraordinarily to be King of the Countrey : firſt, " being but a childe in his Cradle : ſecondly, his mother yet alive : third- " ly, a great part of the Nobility his enemies : and fourthly, ſome of them " ſtill purſuing of him, ever ſince the heavie burden of government was " laid on his ſhoulders. He concluded that theſe were his formall words, " upon which, what ground any man could have to build ſuch accuſation " againſt him, he referred it to the wiſedome of his Majeſtie and his coun- " cell, who, he hoped, would not give eare to ſuch who through malice " did ſtretch or wreſt his words, or through ignorance did miſtake them ; " not being able to diſtinguiſh betwixt extraordinary calling, and unlaw- " full calling. This Declaration he ſet forth, not ſo much to beg favour or releaſement, but to render the reaſon of his choſen and voluntary exile. Divers moe than he, who ſuffered as he did, and for the ſame cauſe, ſet forth likewiſe their apologies to juſtifie themſelves, by clearing of their innocencie, and ſhewing the cauſes of their leaving the Countrey & their callings. The Courtiers did intereſt the King in all theſe quarrels, and laboured to embarke him therein the deepeſt they could : and by all meanes ſtrove to make him beleeve that all was againſt him, and that their aime was at him, whom they wounded through their ſides: and fain they would have perſwaded all others to the ſame. But all were not ſo blinde : there were many that could, & did diſtinguiſh and ſeparate the Kings cauſe

from

from the Courtiers; and did ſhew that as they hated them, ſo they loved him. Eſpecially the Miniſtery, who at a Generall Aſſembly (held at Edinburgh in November) appointed a generall Faſt to be kept throughout the whole Kingdome, and gave out the reaſons thereof to be: firſt, The abounding of wickedneſſe: ſecondly, The danger of the Church: thirdly, The danger of the King: fourthly, The danger of the Common-wealth (which all were meant, & did directly point at the rulers of court chiefly) through their wickedneſſe, Atheiſme, want of Religion, Godleſſeneſſe, Popiſhneſſe, or Libertiniſme, avarice, aſpiring; Who being ſole (ſaid they) or chief about the King, under the ſhadow of his authority: firſt, do trouble the Miniſtery: ſecondly, ſeek to pervert his Majeſtie, and draw him (if it were poſſible for them) to the ſame contempt of Religion; that ſo in time he might become a perſecuter and enemie to the Church, and overthrow it altogether: thirdly, do tread under foot the Common-wealth of this Countrey, by baniſhing the beſt of the Nobility, who do love God and the Church beſt, and are beſt affected toward the Kings welfare, that they in the meane time may poſſeſſe and brook their Lands and Inheritance: And fourthly, who ſuffered murther, oppreſſion, witch-craft, whooredome, and many other ſinnes to paſſe unpuniſhed and uncurbed. This Faſt continued the ſpace of a Week, including both the Sundayes.

The Courtiers (notwithſtanding of this) contemning and ſlighting all admonitions, kept on their own wayes and courſe of committing, baniſhing, diſcrediting, and weakening of all ſuch as they thought did favour the Nobility, and were not forward enough to further them, and advance their faction. They ingroſſed all places of power and authority to themſelves; diſ-armed, diſ-abled, and diminiſhed all others, and even derided them. Of which dealing I will recompt one example amongſt many: I have made mention above, how ſome diſcord and variance fell out betwixt *Pitcairne*, Abbot of Dumfermling, and the Earl of Gowrie. Hereupon Gowrie (to match *Pitcairne*) had reconciled himſelf to the Courtiers, and was thought to ſide with them; and eſpecially to be very intimate with Colonell *Stuart*. *Pitcairne* laboured to out-ſhoot the Earle in his own Bow, and for that end ſues to the Colonel for his friendſhip, which becauſe he knew that it was vendible, he ſent him the price thereof (according to his eſtimate) in gold. The Colonell liked the mettall, but not the condition, and therefore he kept both his friendſhip and the gold to himſelf; and having ſhewed it to the King and Gowrie, deriding him, ſaid, that the Abbot had ſent him that to draw the King to favour him; and thus was he flouted, and wiped clean of his Moneyes. *William Douglas* of Logh-leven was confined in the Merſe, for no other fault, but becauſe he was a *Douglas*, and an upright honeſt man as any was in the Kingdome. Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, becauſe he was in Kinne, and a friend of the Earle of Angus, was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of Downe beyond Forth: Sir *James Hume* of Coldinknows was committed to the Caſtle of Edinburgh; Maſter *Cunninghame* of Drummewhaſſe was likewiſe impriſoned; and Maſter *John Colvill* brother to *Cleiſh* had been ſerved in the ſame kinde, if he, fearing their rage, had not prevented it by fleeing. Many others were uſed after the like ſort, it being a ſufficient crime to favour

any

any of the diſcourted Noblemen. Laſt of all, a Proclamation was made, wherein the Fact at Ruthven was condemned as foule, abominable, and treaſonable, and all the actors therein (or favourers of them) were commanded to depart from Edinburgh, and not to come near the place where the King was, or ſhould happen to be, under the pain of death. The Earle of Gowrie had taken a remiſsion for it, but it ſerved not his turne, nor did him any good at all: for he was particularly charged to go off the Countrey, and not to remain in Scotland, England, or Ireland, with a *non obſtante*, notwithſtanding any remiſsion obtained before. And to ſecure themſelves yet further, they prohibited all men to carry Piſtols, except the Kings Domeſticks, and his Guard. They brought home alſo into Scotland, *Lodowick* Duke of Lennox (ſon to Obignie) being then but a child, to ſtrengthen their party, and to tie the Kings affection ſo much the more to them. He was reſtored to his fathers eſtate, & (as a part thereof) to the Lordſhip of Dalkeith. This being Angus his inheritance, they thought it would engage the Duke in a perpetual enmitie with him, as it is ordinary for a man to hate him whom he wrongs. On theſe & the like grounds they eſtabliſhed to themſelves (in their own conceit) a perpetuall & ſafe eſtate; which they had ſo faſtned and linked with the Kings, that neither could be brangled without the ſhaking and over turning of the other. But theſe courſes produced a quite contrary effect, & even then wrought ſuch diſpoſition in men, as did at laſt over-throw all their plots, and themſelves withall. So frail, and ſo unſure a foundation is iniquity. For Angus as he was altogether innocent of any thing that could be alledged againſt him, even in their own judgements, ſo was he univerſally beloved of all, by an hereditary popularity from his Aunceſtours, and more for his own known vertues; and therefore being thus wronged in his perſon, and in his inheritance, he was pitied of all. Marre in like manner, being deſcended of an honourable, ancient, faithfull and loyall race of Progenitours, as alſo for his own good parts and conditions, was beloved in like ſort, and pitied, notwithſtanding that he had been an actour at Ruthven. The Earle of Gowrie (by the contrary) was greatly hated by the Courtiers, and little ſet by, or regarded by the other partie. He had aſſiſted (with his father) at the ſlaughtering of *Rizio*, and was the chief man and principall authour and actour in the fact of Ruthven. Yet had he changed his minde and ſide at S. Andrews, repented him of what he had done at Ruthven, condemned it, and taken a remiſsion for it. Now being caſten off by the Court, and commanded to depart off the Countrey, he repents him of his repentance, and condemnes his condemning; and would (if he could) ſalve all again by his recanting and retracting of this laſt act. But as the committing of the fact had made him to be hated by the Courtiers, ſo his condemning of it had brought him to be ſuſpected of the Noblemen. He had condemned himſelf, and did deſerve to be condemned, either for that he had done at Ruthven, or for his condemning of what he did then, and taking a remiſsion for it. He had given a colour to the adverſe party to condemne it by his confeſsion and example, and had furniſhed them with that argument whereby to preſſe the condemning of it upon the Miniſterie or others. For that was their maine argument,

Gowrie commanded to go beyond ſea.

Lodowick Duke of Lennox brought home.

gument, and the ſtring they moſt harped on, Gowries confeſſion of a fault, and remiſſion for it. All this notwithſtanding, he deſires to joyne with the Lords, and offers to tie himſelf to their partie with the ſticteſt bonds that could be deviſed. Their caſe was the ſame with his; all to be utterly undone, unleſſe ſome remedie were found; their enemies were the ſame with his, the guiders of Court; neither ſhould they onely bee overthrown, but with them and through them the eſtate of Religion, and of the whole Countrey. This as it was ſpetious, ſo was it moſt true and certain, and which could not be denied. But what ſociety could be ſure with the Earle of Gowrie ſo often changing? If his changing proceeded from fraud and deceit, who could joyne with him? Or if it were from feare, what ſure hold could they have of one ſo fearfull? Even Angus himſelf (whoſe nature was farre from diſtruſting) could not but diſtruſt and ſuſpect him. Onely, his preſent caſe ſeemed to plead for his ſincerity at this time; which was ſuch, that he knew not where to ſhelter or ſecure himſelf, but by joyning with them. For he was charged to depart out of the Kingdome, which was a token of no good will, nay of true enmity with Court: or certainly, a deeper diſſimulation than any man could conceive. And as neceſſitie did force him to take part with them, ſo were they alſo no leſſe urged by neceſſitie to admit and receive him, in reſpect of his great power & friendſhip in thoſe quarters. The Earl of Athol and the Lord Oglebee (two Noblemen of great power and command) were his ſonnes-in-law: *Inſhe-chaiffrey* and *Drummond* his dear friends; and he himſelf was Sheriffe of Perth, and Proveſt of the Town. Wherefore Angus his confinement being enlarged to the North-water, and he reſiding in the Caſtle of Brechin (his brother the Earle of Marres houſe) he ſent one Maſter *David Hume*, whom he truſted, to conferre with him, that hee might trie and ſound his minde as narrowly as he could, and report to him what hee found. The Gentleman found him in words, in countenance, and in geſture greatly perplexed, ſolicitous for his eſtate, beſides the affairs of the Countrey, and greatly afraid of the violence of the Courtiers. So that looking very pitifully upon his Gallerie where we were walking at that time (which hee had but newly built and decored with Pictures) he brake out into theſe words, having firſt fetched a deep ſigh; *Couſin* (ſayes he) *Is there no remedie? Et impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit? Barbarus has ſegetes?* Whereupon he was perſwaded of his upright meaning, and at his returne perſwaded the Earle of Angus thereof alſo. So partly upon this aſſurance, partly enforced by neceſſity (there being no poſſibility to be ſtrong in thoſe parts without his concurrence) hee reſolved to aſſume him into their fellowſhip and ſocietie. Then did thoſe ſcruples and doubts ariſe in Angus his minde, which are incident to honeſt natures and loyall diſpoſitions. Hee conſidered that banding againſt Courtiers would be called, and ſeem to be combining againſt Authority and the King; for hee would take their part for the preſent: ſo was he to force his will, whom his heart carried him to honour. But what ſhould hee doe? There was no other way (that he could deviſe) to ſecure their eſtates, their houſes, themſelves, their Countrey, and all honeſt men from oppreſſion

and

and ruine, to preſerve Religion (which ought to be dear to all men, and was dear to him) nay, even to ſave the King himſelf (whoſe ſafetie did conſiſt in the preſervation of the Church and Kingdome) and to deliver him, and pluck him out of the claws of theſe Harpies, whoſe oppreſſion and wickedneſſe did reflect upon him, and redound to his diſhonour: For whatſoever they did, was done in his name, and ſaid to be the Kings will and pleaſure. Their baniſhing of Noblemen, and oppreſsing of all ſorts and ranks of men, without difference or reſpect, ſo that there was no honeſt man but ſtood in continuall fear of loſing his life and eſtate: all this was laid upon the King. Their avarice was inſatiable, their malice cruell, and their ſuſpition unſatisfiable. They ſtood not upon reaſon, law or right; any pretence (which they never wanted) ſerved them for a warrant to ſeize mens perſons or eſtates. Their ordinary courſe was to ſummond a man *ſuper inquirendis*, and if he did compeir, to commit him to a free or cloſe priſon; if hee were afraid, and did not compeir, hee was found guiltie of rebellion, denounced, and his goods ſeized. They would be ſure not to want witneſſes to prove any thing againſt any man, by torturing his ſervants, or himſelf, to wring ſomething out of him, which might bee matter againſt him, through impatiencie, and the violence of the Rack: At leaſt hee ſhould bee ſure to bee vexed by re-examinations, and with-drawn from his neceſſary affairs, that ſo hee might bee conſtrained to buy his libertie and leave to ſtay at home, with ſome portion of his land, or a piece of money.

Theſe doings of theirs, though many knew that the King did not allow of them, yet being coloured with his authoritie, were apt to alienate (and might in time produce that effect) the mindes of the Subjects from their Prince, as alſo the heart of the Prince from his Subjects, by their filling his ears with jealouſies, and by making vertue a cauſe of ſuſpition, and him that was vertuous in any eminent meaſure, ſuſpected and hated; and on the contrary, vice and the vicious to have vogue and credit, and to over-rule all.

How could this bee obviated, unleſſe theſe men were removed? And how could they be removed without controlling of the King? And to contrary him (though it were for his good and ſafetie) how ill would it be taken by him? *Invitum qui ſervat, idem facit occidenti:* To ſave a man againſt his will, is commonly rewarded with ſlender thanks. *Patriam & parentes cogere etiamſi poſsis, & utile ſit, tamen importunum eſt*: To ſave a Prince againſt his will, and to force him for his good, how dangerous a point is it? For they account it as their life to reigne, and no reigning without abſoluteneſſe, unleſſe they reigne at libertie, without any controllment, were it never ſo little. But there was no remedie; whoſo undertakes any great enterpriſe, muſt reſolve to paſſe through ſome danger.

And it is good for Kings ſometimes that their hands bee held.

Had

had *Alexanders* hands been held when he killed *Clitus*, hee had not offered to kill himſelfe, nor ſhould *Caliſtines* have needed to take ſuch pains with him, to make him digeſt his griefe for it. If ſpeeches could have prevailed with the Courtiers, the Miniſters had tried that way, but with bad ſucceſſe: for they were accounted ſeditious and traiterous for their liberty and freedome therein. Wherefore there was nothing remaining but to remove them at what ever rate: and if his Majeſtie ſhould take it ill for the preſent, future obſequiouſneſſe would make it appeare, that what they did, was in love and humilitie, and no wayes out of any treaſonable or malicious intention, or out of arrogancy, pride, or preſumption. The French Proverbe taketh place; *Il faut paſſer par la*: there was no other way beſides; no audience, no acceſſe could bee had to him by any other means.

So they conclude to joyne their pains, and to partake of the perill. The way reſolved upon, was, to aſſemble themſelves at Stirling with their Forces; there to ſupplicate the King, and to make their declaration to the Countrey: to intimate their grievances and deſires, with all reſpect to his Majeſtie, and with all evidence and plainneſſe, againſt the Courtiers.

For this end, the Earle of Marre and Maſter of Glams ſhould bee ſent for, and firſt finde meanes to take in the Caſtle of Stirling (an eaſie taske for the Earle of Marre to performe, having his friends lying near to it, and the Towne devoted to his ſervice) then the Earle of Gowrie ſhould goe thither (who lay neareſt to it) together with the Earle of Athole, the Lord *Oglebie*, the *Drummonds*, and the *Murrayes*: Next to him the Earle of Angus from Brechin, to whom his friends would repaire out of the South parts, the Merſe, Liddeſdale and other parts: The Earle *Bothwell*, my Lord *Lindſay*, and diverſe others of the Nobilitie were alſo on the party, and had promiſed to joyne with them.

Being once Conveened, and having the affection of the Miniſterie and Burrowes, they hoped to bee ſtrong enough againſt theſe new mens owne power, aſſiſted onely by their particular friends. If the Kings name were uſed againſt them, there behoved to bee a Convention of the Nobilitie, and Barons; who would heare the Cauſe, judge impartially, and informe the King truely, without flattery or feare of the courtiers, whom they hated; neither could they doubt of his equitie, and tractableneſſe, when hee ſhould underſtand how things were. So the buſineſſe ſhould end without bloud, and have a good and happy iſſue. And if the worſt ſhould come, yet were it better to die noblely in the field, then to bee hailed to the ſcaffold and ſuffer by the hand of the Executioner.

Thus did they propoſe, but God did diſpoſe of things otherwayes. Men know not the Councell and ſecrets of the Almightie, whoſe determination doth onely ſtand and come to paſſe. He had not ordained, that they ſhould execute their deſigns, nor that they ſhould die in the quarrel;

it was to be done by another way, and at another time: the cup of their iniquitie, was not yet full againſt whom they tooke armes. Wherefore they were diſappointed at this time, which fell out thus. The Earle of Gowry was charged the ſecond of March to depart the Countrey within fifteen dayes. Hee ſhifted and delayed; this affrighted the Courtiers, or gave them occaſion to ſeeme affraid, and to put the King into a feare and ſuſpition, that there was ſome enterpriſe in hand againſt him: whereupon the Citizens of Edinburgh were made to keepe a watch about the Pallace. Gowrie made ſhew as if hee had intended to obey the charge (contrary to the advice of his aſſociates) and that they might beleeve that his intention was reall, hee goeth to Dundie, cauſeth provide a ſhip, and make all things ready; ſo that the Courtiers were not more affraid that hee would ſtay, then his Partners were that hee would hoiſe ſaile, and bee gone; Eſpecially, the Earle of Angus diſtruſted him, and was jealous of his diſſimulation, being uncertaine whether it were with the Court, or with them that hee did thus diſſemble.

Gowry taken at Dundie.

At laſt having trifled out the time, till mid Aprill, Colonell *William Stuart* came to Dundie, and having a ſmall company with him, ſetteth upon him at unawares, and made him ſave himſelfe in his lodging. Then having brought ſome pieces of Ordnance out of the ſhips, which lay in the Haven, being aided by the Towneſmen (to whom hee had brought a Commiſſion, and warrant from the King) hee began to batter the houſe; whereupon it was rendered, and the Earle taken priſoner. By chance as this was in doing, a ſervant of the Earle of Angus, coming from Dalkeith by Dundie, and having ſeene all that had happened, made haſte, and came to Brechen about twelve a clock of the night, where hee gave his Lord notice of what hee had ſeen. Hee aroſe preſently, being much moved therewith, and ſending for the Gentleman, whom hee had imployed to trie his minde before, made a heavie moane, bewailing the overthrow of their cauſe, and of themſelves. Then hee asked his opinion what hee thought of it, and firſt told his owne, that hee thought it could bee nothing elſe but deceit, and colluſion, which hee had ever feared, and was now evident, that his going to Dundie (contrary to his adviſe) had no other end but this: and that his lingering proceeded from the ſame ground. For (ſaid hee) how could the Colonell undertake to apprehend him with ſo ſmall a number of men, if hee had not himſelfe beene willing to bee taken? If hee doubted, or diſtruſted the towne of Dundie, why did hee commit himſelfe to them, or come in their power? Why did hee not ſtay at Perth, where hee was out of all danger, till the time appointed were come? Doubtleſſe, hee hath betrayed us all, and hath colluded to ſuffer himſelfe to bee taken; ſo to colour his unfaithfull dealing with us.

It was anſwered, that hee could not approve his coming to Dundie, which hee ever diſliked, and had laboured to diſſwade him from it, but could not prevaile: yet it ſeemed a hard conſtruction to thinke that hee came thither of purpoſe to act a fained apprehending;

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that his ſlowneſſe and lingering was well knowne to bee his naturall diſpoſition, (being another *Fabius* Cunctator in that point) which hee had often found by former experience, and often conteſted with him for it. But to thinke him falſe in ſuch a degree, or to imagine him to bee ſo fooliſh as to come in the hands of thoſe Courtiers, with a crime lying on him, (though but counterfeited) it was ſuch a point, that for his owne part, his opinion was, that he durſt not do it, leſt they ſhould make uſe of it for his ruine, and convert a colluded crime into a true dittie, and ſo worke his death. But this could not ſatisfie the Earle of Angus, but ſtill hee kept his opinion, that there was no realitie in that act of Gowries apprehending. And hee was the more confirmed therein, when he heard that the Colonell carried Gowry to the houſes of his owne eſpeciall friends, ſuch as *Weemes* of Weſter-Weemes, whoſe ſonne offered to ſet him at liberty, and to take him out of the Colonels hands, and to goe with him himſelfe, which hee refuſed to doe. Angus paſſed the reſt of that night in great ſolicitude and feare, leſt hee himſelfe ſhould bee aſſailed, and taken after the ſame manner, which had beene no hard matter to performe, hee having but a ſmall family, and the Caſtle not being furniſhed with Armes, the Earle of Crawford lying hard at hand with his dependers, and that whole Countrey being evill affected to him.

But whether the Colonell had no Commiſſion to take him, or that hee did not thinke of it, and thought hee had ſped well enough already by taking Gowry, is uncertain: but however it were, hee went away with the prey hee had gotten without attempting any thing againſt Angus. And yet for all that, Angus was not altogether ſecure, knowing well his danger, and the ſmall power hee had to defend himſelfe: for in the day time hee went abroad a hunting, that they might not know where to finde him: and in the night, hee cauſed his ſervants to keepe watch, that hee might not bee ſurprized unawares.

Within three dayes after, the Earle of Marre ſent to him, to let him know, that the Maſter of Glames and hee had performed their part of the worke, had taken the Caſtle of Stirling, and were ready to wait upon his coming, which they entreated him to haſten. There was no choice, they were his true friends, and hee was no leſſe theirs: and they were reſolved to runne the ſame hazard in that courſe, from which there was no retiring for any of them. Angus deſired the Lord *Oglebee*, and Maſter *Oglebee* of Powrie, with others of that name, to goe with him. They were allied to the Earle of Gowry, and were well affected to the buſineſſe, as alſo they were his owne vaſſals; but being terrified with Gowries taking, and thinking that their joyning with the Lords would incenſe the Courtiers to take ſome hard courſe with him, and not knowing what his minde was herein, they refuſed to goe. Hee notwithſtanding, goeth with his owne family, from Brechin to Stirlin, and avoyding Perth, he croſſed the river of Tay, at that place where it meets with Almont by boat, and comes to Inſhechaffray, where he lodged with the Lord thereof, but could not perſwade

Angus comes to Stirling to the Lords, him to take part with them for the ſame reaſon, when he came to Stirling he was kindly welcomed by Marre, and the reſt that were there; and preſently diſpatched away letters, and meſſengers to *Douglas*, and other places, for his friends and dependers to come thither to him, with as great ſpeed and diligence as they could. He wrote alſo to *Robert Douglas* (eldeſt ſonne to *William Douglas*) of Logh-leven to the ſame purpoſe; but the letter falling into the hands of his mother (her name was *Leſlie*) ſhe tooke upon her to anſwer it after this manner. " It is not " enough (ſaith ſhe) for you to undertake ſo fooliſh a worke, whereby " you cannot but ruine your ſelves, but you would alſo draw my ſonne " and houſe to the ſame deſtruction: I have hindered him, and laid my " curſe and malediction upon him, if hee take part with you, like as I " doe upon you, if you make him diſobey me.

This letter moved him very much, and he cauſed an anſwer to be returned to her according as it merited, which was thus. " I can very " well beleeve that it is your doing to keep backe your ſonne from ſo ho- " nourable an enterpriſe, knowing his owne diſpoſition to bee alwayes " honourable and noble, and ſuch as of himſelfe hee would not neglect, " his duety either to his friends, or countrey. The Noblemen that are " conveened here, have entered upon ſuch a courſe as becomes them, for " diſcharging their duetie both to God and man: what the event will " prove, is knowne onely to God, and in his hands alone; if wee periſh " herein, wee cannot periſh more honourably. Yet wee hope that God, " in whom we confide, and whoſe cauſe wee have taken in hand, will " worke out our ſafety, and accompliſh that which wee intend for the " good of his owne Church; when you and your houſe (for which you " are ſo ſolicitous, with the neglect of the houſe of God, and of all friend- " ly duety) ſhall finde the ſmart of ſuch careleſſe indifferency, and pe- " riſh (as we feare, and are ſory for it) through ſuch carnall and world- " ly wiſedome and warineſſe. And ſo indeed the event proved more anſwerable to this prediction then he wiſhed: for the Lords eſcaped into England (for that time) and were ſafe in their perſons, and within a yeere and a halfe, they brought their deſignes to paſſe, (which were now fruſtrate) by Gods bleſſing upon them: but her ſonne *Robert*, and her ſon in law *Laurence*, Maſter of *Olyphant*, being commanded to depart the Countrey, as they were ſailing for France, periſhed at ſea, and neither they nor the ſhip, nor any that belonged thereto, were ever ſeene againe, yet how it came to paſſe is uncertain.

The moſt common report is, that being ſet upon by the Hollanders, and having defended themſelves valiantly, they ſlew a principall man of the enemies; in revenge whereof they ſanke the ſhip, and all that were in her: Others ſay, that after they had yeelded themſelves, they were hanged upon the maſt. A pitifull caſe, but a notable example. The youthes were noble, active, and of great hope and expectation, and ſo great pitty of their loſſe. But it may ſhew us how little ſuretie there is in too great affecting of it; as on the contrary, how perills are avoyded by hazarding and undergoing of perill. And their caſe is ſo much the more to bee pittied, and lamented; as that they themſelves

ſelves were very unwilling to have followed ſuch perverſe wiſedome, had they not beene forced to it by their mothers importunitie.

The Lords proceeded as they could with their intended courſe. They caused ſet forth a Declaration, ſhewing their minde and purpoſe, together with the cauſes thereof, the abuſes in Church and Common-wealth. The Lords Declaration,

"They remonſtrated what tyranny was exerciſed by *James Stuart*, under "colour and pretext of the Kings will and pleaſure; how the Nobilitie, "and men of all rankes, were vexed by him; what miſ-reports were "made of them to their Prince; what violence uſed againſt them; what "evils were preſently felt, and what more were to be feared and looked "for hereafter to enſue hereupon: The diſtraction of the hearts of the "people from their Prince, and of the Prince from his people; the blaſting of the greateſt hopes of vertue that ever was in a young Prince, "and of his pietie, in the ſolid uſe of true Religion; by working feare of "the contrarie; tyrannizing in government, and ſuperficiall profeſſion "of Religion, yea of reducing Poperie, or (which is worſe) of irreligion and Atheiſme. They told how deare their Religion, their Countrey, their Prince was to them; what their owne eſtate and condition "forced them to; what the care of all theſe required of them, out of "dutie, in regard of their place, being Nobles, and Peeres of the Land, "and Privie Counſellours by birth; how every man, according to his "place, was bound to lend a helping hand, but chiefly thoſe of the Nobilitie, yet not excluding either Barons, Burgeſſes, or men of whatever "degree, ranke, or qualitie, when the common Ship of the State was "in hazard, and in danger of being overwhelmed and periſhing, and "when there was ſuch a fire kindled as would devoure all, if it were not "quenched in time. How they, for their owne part, after long patience, "ſeeing all things grow worſe, had now at laſt (being driven thereto by "neceſſity) called to minde what duty, conſcience, God, and the ſtation "wherein God had placed them, did crave of them: which was, to endeavour, that wicked Counſellours (namely *James Stuart*, called Earle "of Arran, chiefe Authour of all the miſchiefe) might be removed from "about his Majeſtie, after ſuch a manner as they could beſt doe it. And "ſince no acceſſe was free, and no man durſt or would undertake to preſent their ſupplications to the King, which contained a true information "of his owne eſtate, of the State of the Church and Countrey, together with theirs; therefore they had conveened in Arms, not intending "any hurt to their Prince (whom they ever had honoured, and ſtill did "honour, and whoſe welfare was their chiefe end and aime) or to wrong "any good ſubject, but for defence of their owne perſons, untill they "ſhould inform his Majeſtie of that which concerned him, and belonged "to them to remonſtrate unto him, either in his owne preſence, or by a "publick Proclamation, that ſo it might come to his eares, which otherwiſe theſe wicked Counſellours did and would hinder him from hearing: and that ſo it might come to the knowledge of all men, and move "the hearts of ſuch as had true, honeſt, and courageous hearts, to concurre with them in that ſo honourable and neceſſary a worke. Where-

fore

" fore they exhorted all men that they would not, through fearfulneſſe,
" or a vaine opinion of obedience to the pretended command of a Prince
" (who then was beſt obeyed, when God was obeyed, and wickedneſſe
" puniſhed; who did then truly reigne, when wicked Councell was re-
" moved)withdraw themſelvs by lurking,&abandon the common good,
" in hope to provide for their own particular ſafety, which was not poſſi-
" ble for them to doe at any time or in any caſe; much leſſe under ſuch a
" man could there be any ſecurity for any good and honeſt man,he being
" ſo violent,proud,tyrannicall,unjuſt,and ſuch a profane mocker of Reli-
" gion, who would not be tied to, or guided by any law or reaſon, but
" was carried away by his owne appetite and ambition, and who was
" more fit to be the executioner of a bloudy *Nero*, then a Counſellour to
" ſuch a juſt and Chriſtian Prince: farre leſſe to be ſole Ruler and Com-
" mander of the Kingdome under the ſhadow of his Majeſties authority,
" having ſo abuſed and polluted his name, who was ſo honoured in his
" cradle, and admired through the world for his hopefulneſſe, and great
" expectation of all princely vertues. Whoſo truly loued him, ought to
" concurre and lend their aid to plucke him out of the jawes of theſe
" worſe then wilde beaſts, that ſo his eſtate,kingdome,honour, and per-
" ſon (both in ſoule and body) might be preſerved.

This was the ſumme and ſtraine of their Declarations and Letters ſent abroad to move men to joyne with them in this buſineſſe, but all was in vaine: for deſpaire of doing any good at this time had ſo poſſeſſed the hearts of all men, that even the beſt affected did chooſe to ſit ſtill,and lie quiet. The Earle of Gowries apprehending had ſo aſtoniſhed them, and the incertaintie how to conſtrue it did ſo amaze them, that all his friends (who ſhould have made up a great part of their forces) as Athole and o-thers, abſenting themſelves, others fainted and held off. Even Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, a man both zealouſly affected to the cauſe, and entirely loving the Actors (Marre and Angus) as being tied to them by bloud,alliance, and particular intimateneſſe of friendſhip,though he were acquainted with their proceedings from time to time, and being priſoner in the Caſtle of Downe in Monteeth, might eaſily have eſcaped from thence, and come to them to Stirlin,yet did he avoid all medling therein, and would neither receive nor ſend meſſage concerning that matter: yea, they themſelves were contented that he ſhould doe ſo in that generall de-ſertion, having gained nothing by their Declaration and Remonſtrance, ſave the publiſhing of their Apologie, which was not neceſſary to friends (whoſe approbation they had already)and wrought nothing upon others. For though the King had a copie thereof delivered into his own hand (which they greatly deſired, that thereby he might know the naked truth of things, and be truly informed of the Courtiers carriage and be-haviour) yet did it produce no effect to purpoſe: neither did they make any uſe thereof,that was known,either to informe and perſwade the King of the things contained therein, or to reforme themſelves. Wherefore now their whole thoughts ranne onely upon this, how to come off, their lives ſafe, and reſerve themſelves to a better and more convenient time: ſo incertaine is the event of all humane enterpriſes. The Courtiers failed

not

not to make contrary Proclamations in the Kings name; the bare ſhew whereof (though there were but very few that favoured them or their proceedings in their heart) was of ſuch force, that men conveened thereupon out of all quarters. It was made in the ſtricteſt forme, commanding all that were able to beare Armes, from ſixteene yeares of age to ſixtie, to aſſemble themſelves, and to bring with them proviſion of victuall for thirty dayes, to march whither the King ſhould be pleaſed to direct them. Hereupon *Francis Stuart* Earle of Bothwell came with his forces to Edinburgh, where the King was: but he being brother-in-law to the Earle of Angus (having married his ſiſter) the Courtiers did not like of his company, and ſo he was commanded to returne home againe to his houſe. He was indeed of the Lords faction, and ſo were many others who obeyed the Kings proclamation, who, if they had had hearts and heads, were enow of themſelves to have taken order with the Courtiers. But being daſht with feare of they knew not what (if they had conſidered aright) they looked upon one another, and ſo were forced to guard thoſe men whom they could have wiſhed to be hanged.

The Town of Edinburgh were commanded to reach out 500. Muſketiers, which they did, and this was the Courtiers greateſt ſtrength, yet conſiſting of the vulgar, and ſuch as had no obligation to binde their fidelitie to them, and (if they had ſeen the Nobilitie & Gentry go about to take them in hand) would not have made great oppoſition, nor have hazarded themſelves for the Courtiers ſafety, in all likelihood. However, Colonell *William Stuart* is ſent with 500. men to Fawlkirke, whereupon the Lords at Stirling went to a conſultation to ſee what were beſt for them to doe. They had not with them above 300. men, which were their owne proper followers; yet being reſolute, willing, forward, and active Gentlemen, it was thought fitteſt by ſome to aſſaile him, and to puniſh his boldneſſe and audacitie for taking ſuch charge upon him, being but a meane Gentleman, to invade and come againſt the Nobility. Diſdaine, anger, and courage ſeemed to approve of this reſolution, that ſo his malapertneſſe might be chaſtiſed and daſhed. Neither were it without good uſe; for if he were once defeated, the reſt would make a halt, and not be ſo forward: that the firſt ſucceſſe is of great moment, and might bring matters to a parley, or ſuch as craved audience of the King to get it: that it was no hard matter to doe, he being accompanied by ſuch as cared not for his perſonall ſafety, and had no tye to defend him with the hazard of their owne lives eſpecially, but would be glad to have a faire excuſe, and occaſion to abandon ſuch an one, in ſuch a quarrell: eſpecially if he were invaded in the night, the darkneſſe would excuſe, and take away their ſhame of flying. It was argued of the other ſide, that night conflicts were ſubject to hazard, errour, and miſtaking, as well on their owne ſide, as the enemies: and that it could not be performed without bloud, and that (perhaps) of the moſt innocent, whereas he himſelfe, whom they chiefly aimed at, might eſcape: neither would the defeat of theſe few bring ſucceſſe to the cauſe, the enemies forces remaining whole and entire in Edinburgh, which would guard and defend them: beſides,

by

by ſo doing they ſhould be involved in a crime, and made obnoxious to the lawes, which as yet they were free of: that it were better to ſuffer the guiltie to goe unpuniſhed for a while, then to ſpill the bloud of the guiltleſſe: and ſeeing they could not thereby accompliſh what they had intended, their beſt was to retire and withdraw themſelves, with as great innocencie and modeſtie as they could, having done hurt to no man. This advice prevailed with them, and ſo they concluded to march in the night ſeaſon toward Fawkirke, but ſo ſoone as they were gone out of the towne of Stirling, to take the way that leadeth to Lanericke; the which they did accordingly, leaving the Caſtle of Stirling in the cuſtodie of *David Hume* of Argatie.

The Lords flee from Stirling toward England.

Being in Lanerick, as they were refreſhing themſelves, and baiting their horſes, word was brought them that a Troup of horſemen did approach: whereupon fearing that it was Colonell *Stuart* purſuing them, they took horſe, and ſent *Archbald Douglas* (called the Conſtable, becauſe he had beene Conſtable of the Caſtle of Edinburgh in the Earle of Mortons time, as hath beene ſhewed before) to diſcover what they were. Hee finding that it was *Johnſtoun* (who had beene ſent for to Edinburgh to aſſiſt againſt the Lords, and was diſmiſt upon their retreat from Stirling) went familiarly to him, fearing no harme, ſo much the rather, becauſe *Johnſtoun* and Angus were brothers by their mother. But *Johnſtoun* either fearing that notice might be given to the Courtiers, and he challenged thereof, if he ſhould let him goe; or to get thankes, and ſhew his forwardneſſe to their ſervice, layes hold on him, and carries him immediately backe to Edinburgh, declaring what way he came into his hands, and what way the Lords had taken, delivering alſo *Archbald* their priſoner to be uſed at their pleaſure, not looking for ſuch cruelty from them as he found. For they, partly to ſeale the juſtice of their cauſe by bloud, partly to make the greater alienation betwixt the brothers (*Johnſtoun* and Angus) that being out of hope of reconciliation, he might be neceſſitated to cleave to their ſide: they thanke him in words for this his good office, and hang *Archbald*.

Archbald Douglas hanged.

The Earle of Angus, and the reſt that were with him, being reſolved to goe into England, tooke their way through Tweddale toward Branxton: from thence paſſing through eaſt Tiviotdale, they entred England on that hand. Calſo, where the Earle Bothwell remained, was not farre out of their way; wherefore as they paſſed by it, it being now night, hee came forth to them ſecretly, and had conference with them. Thereafter, as if hee had come to purſue them, there was a counterfeit chaſe made, and a counterfeited fleeing for the ſpace of a mile, till they were on Engliſh ground. The next day they came to Berwicke, where they were received, and remained a certaine ſpace.

After their departure, the King went to Stirling with his forces, where the Caſtle was rendred by the Keepers, who forced the Captain to yeeld it abſolutely, without condition of ſo much as their lives ſafe. So hee and three more were executed by the Courtiers ſuggeſtion. Here alſo the Earle of Gowrie was brought from Kenniel, and arraigned

Argatie executed.

arraigned of high Treaſon, whereof being condemned by a Jurie, hee was beheaded. Neither did the forbearance of his friends to joyne with the Lords at Stirlin (then in England) procure him any favour; whereas if they had joyned with them, and ſo ſtrengthened their party, they might have terrified the Enemy, and obtained better conditions for him. Hee was executed the eight and twentieth day of April 1584. The points whereof he was convicted, were the fact at Ruthven; and the late enterpriſe at Stirlin. His ſpeech was ſhort; hee anſwered "to the firſt, That he had a remiſſion for it: and to the ſecond, That "there was no intention there againſt the King: onely they had purpo- "ſed to remove thoſe wicked men who abuſed him, and whoſe thirſt of "bloud hee wiſhed that his death might quench. But they cared little for his ſpeeches, and as little for his alliance, his Counteſſe being a *Stuart* of the houſe of Methven, toward whom and her children they ſhewed no reſpect at all, but uſed them with all incompaſſionate rigour and crueltie. For ſhe coming to intreat for her ſelf and her children (in the time of the Parliament) and having fallen down upon her knees before the King, ſhee was troden under foot, and left lying in a ſound.

Gowrie beheaded at Stirlin. 1584. the 28. of April.

His Lady baſely and beaſtly uſed.

From Stirlin they returned to Edinburgh, and there kept a Parliament the two and twentieth day of May, in which the Earle of Angus and Marre, the late Earle of Gowrie, and the Maſter of Glames, with divers Barons, and others their aſſociats were forfeited; the fact of Ruthven condemned, the order of Church-government (by Presbyteries, Synodes, and Generall Aſſemblies, which had been received, and publickly allowed in Scotland, all men ſwearing and ſubſcribing thereto, and the oath tranſlated into divers languages with great approbation of forraine reformed Churches, and no ſmall commendation of the King and Countrey) forbidden and prohibited, and termed unlawfull conventions. And in place thereof the office of Biſhops (condemned by this Church as unlawfull, as an invention of mans braine, having no warrant of the word of God) was reared up again and erected. Alſo Maſter *Robert Montgomerie* (who had been excommunicated for accepting ſuch an office) was now releaſed and reſtored to his place. There was ſtrait inhibiting all men from ſpeaking againſt theſe Acts, againſt the Kings proceedings, Counſellours, or Courtiers under higheſt paines. What ſhall the Miniſters do here? Shall they oppoſe? That were to caſt themſelves into certain danger, and to expoſe themſelves to the crueltie of cruell men, armed now with a colour of law. Should they keep ſilence? hear with patience that order blaſpemed, which they had approven, received, ſworn to, and the contrary (which they had deteſted, abominated, condemned) ſet up and allowed, to their no ſmall diſgrace, and ſhame of the Countrey; yea, to his Majeſties diſcredit in forraine Nations? and ſuffer a doore to bee opened to thoſe corruptions, which had been kept out of the Church, both in doctrine & manners, by vertue of that order, which onely (in their conſcience) was agreeable with Scripture? This their zealous hearts could not endure: let all perill be ſilent, where conſcience and Religion ſpeak: let no enemy breathe out his threatnings, where the minde is ſet on God. So it came to paſſe here. For while the Acts were in proclaiming at the

Parliament at Edinburgh the 22. of May 1584. The Lords forfeited.

Market-Croſſe of Edinburgh, the Paſtours of that Towne, Maſter *James Lowſon*, Maſter *Walter Balcanquell*, Maſter *Robert Punt*, taking their lives in their hands, went boldly and made publick Proteſtation againſt that Act of the erection of Biſhops, as unlawfull, in many reſpects, whereof they took inſtruments. Hereupon they being menaced, to avoide their furie, Maſter *Walter Balcanquell* flees to Berwick, together with Maſter *James Lowſon*: Thither came alſo after them Maſter *James Carmichael* (Miniſter at Hadinton) Maſter *John Daviſon*, and *William Aird*, Miniſters of the Suburbs of Edinburgh, or ſome Churches neare to it: alſo Maſter *Patrick Galloway*, and Maſter *James Melvin*, with divers others of the Miniſterie. Edinburgh being thus deſtitute of Paſtours, Maſter *Patrick Adamſon* (Archbiſhop of Saint Andrews) was brought to ſupply their places, and to maintaine the lawfulneſſe of the office the ſeven and twentieth day of May, being Wedneſday, which was an ordinary Sermon day, but on which the Courtiers were not ordinary auditours. But that day they would needs accompany their Biſhop, and grace him with the Kings perſonall preſence. Yet the people diſgraced him by their abſence; they diſdained to heare a Biſhop, other than a Paſtour, whoſe office is not ordained by GOD in the Scriptures, and was ejected out of the Church of Scotland; wherefore being grieved to ſee this Wolfe in their true Paſtours place, they go out of the Church and leave him to preach almoſt alone. Beſides the common people, the Kings owne Miniſters Maſter *John Craig*, and *John Brand*, alſo *John Herrieſe* (with others) preached againſt it, and were therefore ſummoned to appeare before the Councell the five and twentieth day of Auguſt; where they were reviled and rebuked with bitter words, as ſawcie and preſumptuous fellowes: and being demanded how they durſt ſpeak againſt the Kings Lawes, "they anſwered boldly, that they both durſt and would ſpeak againſt "ſuch Lawes as were repugnant to the word of GOD. Hereupon the Earle of Arran ſtarting up ſuddenly upon his feet in a great rage, fell a ſwearing many an oath, and with a frowning countenance ſaid unto them, "that they were too proud to ſpeak ſuch language "to the Councell; adding, that hee would ſhave their heads, paire "their nailes, and cut their toes, that they might bee an example to "others. Then hee warnes them to compeir before the King himſelf at Falkland the foure and twentieth day of September; where they were accuſed againe by the Earle of Arran (then Chancellour) for breaking of the Kings injunctions, in not acknowledging "nor obeying his Biſhops. To which they anſwered, that Biſhops "were no lawfull office of the Church, having never beene inſtituted by Chriſt; and that therefore they would not obey them; nor "no perſon elſe that would command without warrant of the word of "GOD; aſſuring him that GOD would humble all proud Tyrants "that did lift up themſelves againſt him: as for them, their lives were not "ſo deare to them, but that they would bee contented to ſpend them in "that cauſe. Arran ariſing from his ſeat, and ſitting down on his knees, "ſayes to them ſcoffingly; I know you are the Prophets of God, and your words

Proteſtation againſt the Acts of Parliament by the Miniſters.

Arran mocks the Miniſters.

" words muſt needs come to paſſe ; behold now you ſee me humbled " and brought low. Well, well, (ſaith Maſter *John Craig*) mock on as " you pleaſe , aſſure your ſelfe , GOD ſees , and will require it at " your hands , that you thus trouble his Church , unleſſe you repent. Then they were remitted to the ſixteenth day of November , and in the mean time Maſter *John Craig* was diſcharged to preach. About this time (in November) Maſter *James Lowſon* died at London, meekly and ſweetly as he had lived. Edinburgh had been all this while deſtitute of Paſtours , and did want preaching at ſometimes for the ſpace of three weeks. This was very odious amongſt the people, and now (Maſter *John Craig* being ſilenced) they were like to want oftner than they had done: to remedie this, the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrews was ordained to preach to them, and the Towne-Councell ordained to receive him as their ordinary Paſtour. The Councell obeyed , but the people would not heare him, and when they ſaw him come up to the Pulpit , they aroſe , and went forth at the Church doores.

The Miniſters every where perſiſted to oppoſe that office , and by common conſent appointed a Faſt to be kept the foure and twentieth day of October , whereof they publickly and advowedly gave out theſe to be the cauſes: " Firſt , to ſtay the creeping in of Wolves " (meaning Biſhops :) Secondly , that GOD might ſend true Pa- " ſtours: Thirdly, that he would repair the breaches and decayings of " the Church (which had been ſometime the Lanterne of the world:) " Fourthly, that he might remove the cauſes of this decay (tyranny, and " the flatterie of Courtiers.) This was plainer language than plea- " ſant , they behooved to be wiſely dealt with. There are two wayes " to deal and work upon men : by fear and by hope : by terrifying and " flattering ; they uſed both theſe toward them. Wee heard how the " ſixteenth day of November was appointed for their compearance: " many therefore were warned againſt that day from divers parts. " When they were conveened , they were preſſed to allow of the Act " concerning Biſhops ; and in token of their approbation thereof, to pro- " miſe and ſubcribe obedience to their Ordinary. To move them here- " to , they partly flattered , and partly threatned them ; ſaying , That " all was well meant, and no hurt intended to Religion : Who was " ſo well affected to it as the King ? Who ſo learned among Princes ? " Who ſo ſincere ? That he would reſpect and reward the worthy " and obedient : And by the contrary , no Stipend ſhould be payed to " him that refuſed ; but hee ſhould be deprived , impriſoned , baniſh- " ed. When all this could not prevaile, they deviſe how to temper and " qualifie their promiſe of obedience , which was conceived in theſe " words ; You ſhall acknowledge and obey Biſhops , according to the " word of God. This ſeeming a reſtriction and limitation (as if the meaning had been that they ſhould allow of , and obey Biſhops as far as the word of God allowed , and ordained them to be obeyed) many took it for good Coyne , and were ſo perſwaded of it, that ſome ſaid in plaine terms , Bring a Cart full of ſuch Papers , and we will ſubſcribe them all.

For to obey ſuch a Biſhop in ſuch a ſort (according to the word of GOD, that is, ſo far as the word of God commands to obey him) is not to obey him at all : for the word of GOD commands not any obedience at all to ſuch a Biſhop : neither doth it ordain, acknowledge, or once name ſuch a Biſhop. Thus either truly deceived, or deceiving themſelves, that they might redeeme their eaſe by yeelding, and cover their yeelding with an equivocation, they found that it was all in vaine; for they were not admitted nor permitted to expound it in that ſort (whatſoever their meaning was) but were forced to accept of the expoſition which the Court and the Biſhops did put upon it: who underſtood that phraſe (according to the word of God) not as a limitation but affirmatively, wherein it was acknowledged that the word of God did command obedience to them; and therefore they promiſed obedience according to that command. Notwithſtanding of all this, divers ſtood out, and would no wayes be moved, neither by threatnings nor by promiſes to give the leaſt ſhew of approbation directly or indirectly, by equivocation, or any other forme whatſoever; but ſpake plainly againſt them, and prayed publickly for the baniſhed brethren. Of theſe Maſter *Nicholas Dagleiſh* was one; who thereupon was accuſed as too bold to pray for the Kings Rebels. He anſwered, *that they were no Rebels, but true Subjects, who had fled from tyranny, and ſuch as ſought their lives by commanding them to doe againſt their conſcience.* Hee was empannelled, put to his triall by an aſſiſe, and was cleanſed, in deſpite and maugre the Court; ſo farre there remained conſcience in men. But the Courtiers will not let him eſcape thus dry-ſhod; they labour to finde a hole in his Coat another way : they ſearch and finde that a Letter had come from Maſter *Walter Balcanquell* to his wife, which becauſe ſhee could not well read the hand, ſhee had given him to read to her, and he had read it. Hereupon he is again put to an aſſiſe : and they, not daring to cleanſe him, yet would they not finde him guilty, but deſired him to come into the Kings will. Hee was contented to ſubmit himſelf to the Kings pleaſure (for ſo much as concerned the reading of the Letter) and ſo was ſent to the Tolbooth, where hee remained three weeks, and was from thence ſent to Saint Andrews.

And thus went Church-matters; In the civill government there was none now but the Earle of Arran, he lacked the name of King; but hee ruled as abſolutely, and commanded more imperiouſly than any King, under the ſhadow of the Kings authority, and the pretext that all that he did was for the Kings good and ſafety. Hee had gotten before the keeping of the Caſtle of Stirlin; he behooved alſo to have the Caſtle of Edinburgh in his power. *Alexander Ereskin* (Uncle to the Earle of Marre) was Captain of it, hee muſt needs favour his Nephew and his Faction : wherefore it was taken from him, and given to Arran, who was alſo made Proveſt of the Towne. Hee was Chancellour of Scotland, and having put out *Pitcairne*, Abbot of Dumfermling, hee made Maſter *John Metellane* Secretary. Hee did whatſoever hee pleaſed; if there were no Law for it, it was all one, hee cauſed make a Law to ſerve his ends.

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It was obſerved, that his Lady ſaid to one who alledged there was no law for doing of what ſhee deſired to have done; *It is no matter* (ſaid ſhee) *wee ſhall cauſe make an Act of Parliament for it.* If any man refuſed to do or grant any thing hee craved, they were ſure to bee toſſed and vexed for it; even the chief of the Nobility. Athole, Caſſils, and the Lord *Hume* were committed: Athole, becauſe hee would not divorce from his wife, and entaile his eſtate to him: the Earle, or Maſter of Caſſils, becauſe hee would not give him a great ſumme of Money, under the name of a Loane: the Lord *Hume*, becauſe he would not give him his portion of Dirleton. Alſo the Lord *Maxwell* (then Earle of Morton) was quarrelled, becauſe hee would not excambe his Baronie of Pooke, and *Maxwell* (his old inheritance) for a parcell of the Lord *Hamiltons* Lands, which were now his by forfeiture. Many Lands had hee taken from many, but was never ſatisfied, ever ſeeking to adde poſſeſſion to poſſeſſion, which was not impertinently remonſtrated to him by *John Barton* Goldſmith, a wittie and free-ſpoken man. Hee had directed this *Barton* to make him a Seale, and to carve on it his Coat of Armes duely quartered according to his Lands and Honours. This he did pretty well to his contentment, but he left one quarter thereof blank and void. Hereof when the Earle asked the reaſon, he anſwered, *That there may be room for the Lands your Lordſhip ſhall purchaſe hereafter.* Hee took for his Motto, *Sic fuit, eſt, & erit*: meaning that it was an ordinary thing in all ages for meane men to riſe to great fortunes; and that therefore it ought not either to bee wondred at, or to be envied. And it is true, if the meane had been vertue and not wickedneſſe, which ever was, is, and will be both envied and hated, as it deſerveth. His ambition was ſuch (amongſt other examples thereof) that Queen *Elizabeth* muſt needs bee God-mother to his daughter, whoſe Ambaſſadour was preſent at the Chriſtening. His crueltie (though conſpicuous many wayes) did appear ſingularly in the cauſing execute Maſter *Cunninghame* of Drummewhaſle, and Maſter *Douglas* of Maines, his ſonne-in-law. This *Cunninghame* was an ancient Gentleman, and of an old houſe, who (himſelf in perſon) had beene a follower of the Earle of Lennox (the Kings Grandfather) and had done him good ſervice when he took in the Caſtle of Dumbartan, and *Douglas* of Maines was eſteemed to bee one of the propereſt men in the Kingdome, and was a youth of good expectation: yet both of them were hanged at the Market Croſſe of Edinburgh. The pretext was a forged conſpiracie to have taken the King on a certain day at hunting, and to have carried him into England. Their accuſer was *Robert Hamilton* of Inſhemachon, who was (as hee ſaid) himſelf upon the plot, or at leaſt (as hee ſaid) had been deſired to bee of it by Maſter *Edmiſton* of Duntreath. *Edmiſton* being apprehended, related; *How they had plotted to bring in the exiled Lords on horſes* (forſooth) *which had their eares, their maynes, and their tails cut, themſelves being diſguiſed, &c.* A tale which was ſo unhandſome, toyiſh, and ridiculous, that no man did beleeve it, but eſteemed it a fooliſh fable; yet did they make

Maines and Drummewhaſle executed.

make uſe of it, to practiſe their crueltie upon ſuch as they feared, and to make themſelves a terrour to all men.

Angus at Newcaſtle.

To returne to the Earle of Angus, he and his aſſociats were removed from Berwick to New-caſtle, in May. So it ſeemed good to the State of England (ſeeing no appearance of their haſtie reſtoring to their own Countrey) to ſecure the Court of Scotland, by taking that thorn out of their foot, which was too near, and too pricking at Berwick. Beſides, theſe baniſhed Lords were not greatly liked of by the Lord Hunſden, then Governour of Berwick: for hee entertained correſpondencie with the contrary Faction; either out of his own inclination, or being directed ſo to do for reaſons of State, or for both; hee ſo inclining, and the State of England making uſe of that his inclination, that by him they might underſtand and make uſe of the myſteries of the Court of Scotland, and ſuch as guided it. But our Courtiers being rid of the fear of the Lords ſo near neighbourhood, did the freelier vent themſelves, and diſcover their wayes, and by diſcovering, bewray their wickedneſſe, and diſgrace themſelves.

As they went to New-caſtle, they viſited by the way, Lord *John Hamilton*, and *Claud* of Paſlay (his brother) at Widdrington, the place of their abode. There had been ſome variance betwixt them, but now being all involved in the ſame caſe of baniſhment, it was to no purpoſe to entertain and keep in the ſparkle of diſcord, and therefore they were reconciled.

Angus his kindneſſe and bountie.

Being come to New-caſtle, they ſtayed there a while, not ſo much to enterpriſe any thing from thence upon any ground they had laid already, as to wait for any occaſion that ſhould be offered. Here did the Earle of Angus his kindeneſſe and bountifull diſpoſition toward all men plainly ſhew it ſelf. For hearing that the Miniſters were come to Berwick, hee cauſed a Letter to bee written, and ſent to them, from them all in common; and hee himſelfe wrote particularly to them beſides, and cauſed the reſt of the Nobilitie to write alſo their private Letters, wherein many arguments were uſed to perſwade them to come to them. Eſpecially hee wrote very earneſtly to Maſter *James Lowſon*, and Maſter *James Carmichael*, not neglecting any of the reſt, fitting his argument according to his acquaintance and relation, and according to the perſons of the men; pretending ſome ſuch cauſe and neceſſitie of their coming, as hee thought would bee moſt effectuall to move them; but the true cauſe which moved him to ſend for them, was, becauſe hee thought they all ſtood in need of ſupply in neceſſaries. Beſides, hee cauſed one that was with him, whom hee knew to bee very intimate with Maſter *James Lowſon*, to write to him for the ſame effect; and to tell him, that hee longed to ſee him: and when Maſter *James* excuſed himſelfe, alledging that hee behooved to ſtay at Berwick, becauſe hee expected ſome things from Scotland, hee would not accept of his excuſe, nor of the interpretation thereof, (that hee meant of Books that were to bee ſent to him) but cauſed returne him anſwer, that hee took it ill that hee ſhould think to

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lack any thing where hee was. Wherefore hee entreated him to make haſte to come to him, by doing of which, hee ſhould do him a ſingular pleaſure. Hee dealt even ſo with others alſo, and ſought pretences to put curteſies upon them. *David Ereskin* Abbot of Drieburgh, being an exceeding honeſt, modeſt, and ſhamefaſt man, and who had ever been readier to give, than to take from any, and Angus fearing that hee would not (out of his baſhfulneſſe) take any curteſie directly from him, found out this way to faſten it upon him. Hee pretended that hee had ſome Tithes of Lands in Tweddale, which belonged to his Abbacie of Drieburgh, for which hee did owe him ſome arrearage duties and meales, which hee would needes pay him, and under that colour gave him what he liſted to take, without acquittance.

The Miniſters were for a long time wholly maintained by him, and he extended his liberalitie, not onely to ſupply their neceſſities, but even to furniſh them with what Bookes they deſired to buy. And indeed there was no man that wanted in that company, who did not taſte of his bountie. At laſt when all was gone (for it could not laſt alwayes) hee ſaid to one with whom hee was pleaſed to "bee familiar, with a chearfull countenance; Now it is gone, and "fare it well, I never looked that it ſhould have done ſo much "good. Meaning, that being acquired by more rigorous exacting than either hee himſelfe could allow of, or the common people took well, by the Earle of Morton in his Regencie (for this was his treaſure, at leaſt that part of it which came to his hands) hee doubted whether it ſhould have had ſuch a bleſſing as to have done ſo much good to ſo many honeſt men. Neither was this laviſhneſſe in him, or ſuperfluous waſte ſo to beſtow it, in regard that their Engliſh allowance was ſpare enough, and oftentimes very ſlowly furniſhed unto them: So that having occaſion to uſe moneyes, and not knowing from whom to borrow any, hee was forced to employ one of his followers to borrow from Maſter *Archbald Douglas* on his owne credit (for my Lord himſelfe would not be beholding to him, nor uſe him ſo familiarly) two hundred pounds Sterling, which hee lent very courteouſly upon the Gentlemans owne Bond, knowing well enough that it was for my Lords uſe. This was repayed to him when their allowance came in.

While they remained at New-caſtle, Maſter *John Colvill* was ſent to attend at Court about their affaires, partly becauſe of his acquaintance there with Secretary *Walſinghame* and others; partly by the advice of the Maſter of Glames, whoſe opinion and recommendation the reſt did much reſpect. He fed them with hopes; and upon occaſion of the preparing and rigging forth the Queenes Navie, hee did inſinuate by his Letters, as if there had been ſome intention to have ſent it into Scotland for their behoof, which ſome did beleeve. But they could not perſwade the Earle of Angus of it, he eſteemed it but a dream, as it was indeed no other. When that hope was vaniſhed, and there was no appearance

Maſter *John Colvill* ſent to the Court of England.

appearance of any thing to be done of a ſudden, one (whom he was pleaſed to uſe familiarly) ſeeing no great uſe of his remaining there, told him, that he had a deſire to go to London, being loath to ſpend that time idlely, that there he might the better advance his private ſtudies and exerciſes, as in a place more fit for bettering himſelfe therein. Hee moſt willingly and lovingly conſented to the motion, not onely to ſatisfie his deſire herein, but having a reſerved intention to imploy him in their common buſineſſe, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, or at leaſt in his own particular to his particular friends; which purpoſe he concealed then, but ſhewed it afterward. Hee had almoſt over diſliked Maſter *John Colvill*, and did "many times in private complaine, That hee could not finde that ſin-"ceritie in him which hee wiſhed, and which (he ſaid) was ſeldome "to bee found in any ſuch as hee was, who had left the Function of "the Miniſterie, to follow the Court and worldly buſineſſe. And for "him in particular, he ſaid, hee was a buſie man, thruſting himſelfe "into all affairs; and who ſought onely his particular ends in doing of "publick buſineſſe, without ſinceritie or uprightneſſe; which (ſayes "hee) when it is wanting, I know not what goodneſſe can bee in him; "and if it bee not to bee found in the world (as they ſay it is not) I "know not what can bee in the world but miſerie. For mine own part, "my heart cannot like of ſuch an one, nor of ſuch dealing. It is true, "hee hath traffiqued with the Stateſ-men of England, and others think "fit to uſe him, neither will I conteſt with them about it, but truly I "have no delight in ſuch men. But this was after at Norwich. For that time hee ſaid no more, but deſired him to write often to him, both concerning buſineſſe as hee could learn, and other things, as hee ſhould alſo write to him upon occaſion. This was performed on both ſides, after ſuch a private and ſecret way, as they agreed upon before their parting. For howſoever there was nothing paſſed betwixt them, but what might have endured the cenſure of any man, yet was it not fit that every man (into whoſe hands their Letters might have falne) ſhould know all that was written familiarly betwixt them, though the matter were never ſo good, ſincere, and unblameable; in regard that many are incapable of things, many not able to diſcerne or judge of them, many contemners and mockers, many of a different, and ſome of a contrary minde and judgement. If theſe Letters were extant, there were nothing more fit to ſhew the Lineaments of his minde and moſt inward thoughts, and to repreſent to the life his true diſpoſition, without all maſk of diſſimulation (from which he was ever free) or ſhadow of ceremonious reſervedneſſe, which even the beſt men (for ſome one reſpect or other) are forced to draw over their inclinations, and wrap up, and obſcure their meaning in it at ſome times, eſpecially in publick. Beſides, they would alſo conduce to cleare ſome hiſtoricall points more fully, which neither can ones memory ſerve to do, nor can any other (now alive) ſupply ſo certainly and unſuſpectedly. Now wee can but grieve for this loſſe.

To

To ſupply which defect (ſo farre as they can doe it) wee will ſet downe one or two of thoſe that were written to him , which being anſwers to his (and containing ſo much of them , as that the ſumme and ſubſtance of them may bee gathered from thence) will beare witneſſe of his Noble , and Honourable diſpoſition.

The firſt was written in October (one thouſand five hundreth eightie and foure) the firſt yeare of his baniſhment to Newcaſtle, where hee ſtill remained as then.

Pleaſe your Lordſhip,

" I Received your letter dated in September. Maſter *James* hath promiſed to ſeeke out thoſe bookes of which your Lordſhip wrote to him ; and is in good hope to come by ſome of them, though it bee harder to finde them out then it was not long agoe. Other things I hope your Lordſhip is advertiſed of at length , by Maſter *John Colvill.*

A letter from London to Angus from the Authour.

What bookes theſe were, and what Maſter *James* this was is quite forgotten, ſave that it would ſeeme to have beene Maſter *James Carmichael*, whom hee imployed in things of this kinde for moſt part. But this being onely for ſhow (that the paper might not ſeeme blanke, if it had fallen into ſuch hands as would have opened the letter) the maine buſineſſe was written in ſuch darke and unperceiveable manner, that none could reade it, but ſuch as were acquainted with the wayes thereof. And thus it was :

" I have read your Lordſhips letter, and am very glad that my opi- " nion did ſo jump with your Lordſhip concerning that point, where- " of you wrote that you have not beene forgetfull, and that you minde " to hold your ground as neare as can bee, from which you thinke " that other matter to bee ſo farre different, and ſo contrary to all rea- " ſon, that no man (as you beleeve) will propound it to you direct- " ly. That which made mee feare that it would bee propounded (be- " ſides the ſpeeches ſounding that way) was the end of your Lord- " ſhips letter (written before) wherein you make mention, that ſome " thought it neceſſary for your cauſe, that yee ſhould enter with them " into ſome ſtrait,and indiſſolvable bond. This I tooke to bee a mean " to trie your Lordſhips minde: Firſt , in that generall, that after- " ward they might come to the particular, which would bee, that " the beſt way to make it ſtrait and indiſſolvable , were to have it " of your Lordſhips hand-writing. For as concerning the lawfulnes there- " of,it did ſeem to ſome unlawfull(as I wrote to your Lordſhip at greater " length) and I had heard alſo generally that there was ſome ſcruple " made by your Lordſhip to enter into bond with them. And becauſe " (if I be well remembred) before your comming from Scotland, you

"were resolved to receive them into the societie of that common actiō-
"on, and to compose any particular of your owne which you had a-
"gainst them; I did the rather thinke that some new occasion had oc-
"curred, which had made you nice and difficult to it now. And if I
"have failed in my conjecture of the cause, it is no wonder that (not
"having knowledge of the particular circumstances whereof you now
"write) I lighted upon that which seemed to me would breed greatest
"difficultie in this. If it be not so, I am contented to be deceived, & could
"wish that every mans minde that shall have hand in that action, were
"as upright as your Lordships, then we might hope that it would prosper
"so much the better.

"However, I cannot omit to put your Lordship in minde of this ge-
"nerall caveat, to take heed, and have a care, that whatever bond be
"made, it may bee perspicuous, cleare, plaine, and as particular as
"may bee: for the more particular it be, it is the better for your Lord-
"ship, who meaneth uprightly, and for all others that have the same
"meaning, and who doe desire that their upright dealing may be evi-
"dent unto all men. It will also (being such) bee lesse obnoxious
"and subject to the calumnies and sinister interpretation of the adver-
"sary and enemies, who may seeke to traduce your Lordship, and make
"you odious thereby. It will likewise bee freest, and not lyable to the
"sinister glosse, and wrong interpretations of those, who shall bee
"bound by it, if they should (perhaps) hereafter seeke any evasion
"or subterfuge to frustrate it, and make it void through the generali-
"ty or ambiguitie thereof. And by the contrary, where a bond is
"couched in obscure, generall, and doubtfull words, it is both more ea-
"sie for them, who list to deale after that sort, to elude it by some
"wrested construction; as also for such as would calumniate your
"Lordships intention, to finde greater colour to doe it. Concerning
"which purpose, I remember a distinction which the Earle of Gowry
"made, upon occasion of the bond which your Lordship remembers
"was presented to him to have signed it: It is (said hee) very good,
"and well penned, but it is too prolixe to be a Bond, and too short to
"bee a Proclamation, or Declaration: for a Bond (said hee) ought
"to bee short, and generall; but a Proclamation or Declaration,
"would contain the particulars. I was then, and still am of a contra-
"ry minde: for I thinke a Bond should bee cleare, and speciall, and
"contain the causes of their binding; and that a Manifesto or De-
"claration should bee conformable to it, and the very same in sub-
"stance and effect, having the selfesame reasons and narration; onely
"it ought to bee amplified with admonitions and exhortations, which
"are not proper nor pertinent for a Bond. And I beleeve no man
"can shew mee what inconvenience can follow upon the prolixitie of
"a Bond, unlesse it bee the greater pains of the Writer; which is re-
"compensed with this great advantage, that being drawne up at
"large, it needeth no other Expositour, or Pleader for it, but
"doth expound and justifie it selfe. And your Lordship know-
"eth what great necessitie and neede there is of this circumspecti-
"on

" on in this caſe, that the very band it ſelfe be an expoſition and juſti-
" fication of it ſelfe, into whoſe hands ſoever it ſhall happen to come.
" For its owne interpretation of it ſelfe cannot be rejected, when no
" other will be admitted to expound it. For this purpoſe let them that
" pleaſe reade and conſider the Memorials of France, of the Low-
" Countreyes, and of Germany in the beginning of their Reforma-
" tion: they ſhall ſee that the tenour of all theſe bands, containes am-
" ple declarations of the cauſes wherefore, and the reaſons moving them
" to joyne themſelves together in that kinde of aſſociation, as alſo for
" what end they did it, ſo that no Declaration can bee more large.
" But I did declare my opinion to your Lordſhip in the like matter long
" agoe; and I doubt not, but, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip to weigh
" and conſider it, you ſhall eaſily finde how neceſſary it is (for many
" reſpects) that into whatſoever band you enter, it be cleare and parti-
" cular.

" Whereas it pleaſes your Lordſhip to write, that if you can finde a
" fit occaſion (whereof you alſo have ſome hope) you will cauſe em-
" ploy me here, and withall you adde (That none ſhould refuſe to fur-
" ther the buſineſſe all they can) I am not ſo ignorant, or forgetfull
" of my duty, as either directly or indirectly to refuſe that ſervice,
" or any other your Lordſhip ſhall be pleaſed to command mee. But
" I ſee there are divers others who ſeeme to be ſo diligent, that my
" paines will not be very needfull, as I doubt not but your Lordſhip
" knowes ſufficiently. When it pleaſes them at any time, in halfe words,
" and darke ſpeeches (like parables) obſcurely to ſignifie ought to me
" of the State of buſineſſe, they appeare and ſeeme to mee ſo deepe
" and profound myſteries, as I can no wayes underſtand or know
" what to make of them. Wherefore I am very well contented that
" I am free of them, and to be a beholder of all, leaving the mana-
" ging thereof to thoſe who know theſe obſcure grounds better,
" and like better of them, then (it may bee) I ſhould doe, in regard
" of their deepneſſe. I had rather employ my time upon other thoughts
" farre more pleaſing to mee (where dutie rightly conſidered calls
" mee not from them) then buſineſſe of that nature. They are not
" deſirous of any companion or copartner in their travels, nor am
" I deſirous to encroach upon their labours, or the labours of a-
" ny man, or to bereave him of the fruit of his paines and indu-
" ſtry, by intruding my ſelfe thereupon, and to bee a ſharer with
" him in the good ſucceſſe of his endeavours, if they ſhall hap-
" pen to bee ſucceſſefull. And as little am I willing (if there be
" no appearance of the proſpering of it) to take the worke out of
" their hands, which is (perhaps) marred already; or to enter in
" at the broad ſide, upon grounds already laid by them with this
" State, wherewith I have not beene (as yet) ſo throughly
" acquainted as were needfull for one to proſecute their worke
" dexterouſly, and to purpoſe. However, I doe not ſpeake
" this to prejudge your Lordſhip, or that I meane to ſhunne any
" burden you ſhall bee pleaſed to lay upon mee, and I am able

"to undergoe (whatever it be) but onely to tell my minde freely, that I "had rather (if it were in my choice) your Lordſhip would employ me "in any particular of your owne, which might give me occaſion to vi- "ſit maſter Secretary (for your Lordſhip knows how ill I can trouble any "man without an errand) and if upon that occaſion he ſhould happen to "ſpeake of the publicke buſineſſe, I ſhould manage the opportunity the "beſt I could. However, my dutifull ſervice ever remembred to your "Lordſhip in what I can, in this mind and diſpoſition (which your Lord- "ſhip knows) and leaving you and all to be rightly managed by that God, "who certainly can, and aſſuredly will manage all things rightly, in "whom I rejoyce alwayes to ſee your Lordſhip ſo depend, I reſt in "him, &c.

The other Letter (the onely extant of many) was written long after from London alſo, but to Norwich, whither he was then come from Newcaſtle. It is dated the 20. of March following, in the yeare 1584.

Another Letter from the Author to Angus.

Pleaſe your Lordſhip,

"SInce the writing of my other, the Earle of Lancaſter hath beene "(moſt part) from Court at his owne houſe. On Saturday hee re- "turned, and I attended all that day, and the next day (till 12. of the "clocke) but in vaine. At laſt, when he came to Weſtminſter, I got "ſpeech of him with great difficulty in the Councell chamber, by the "meanes of one maſter *Baptiſt* (one of his chiefe Gentlemen) who "profeſſeth to love your Lordſhip entirely. I delivered your Lordſhips "Letter to him, and declared the credit: it was courteouſly received, "with many loving words concerning your Lordſhip: That in that, "and all other things, he would doe for your Lordſhip what lay in his "power: that his affection to your Lordſhip was no whit changed, but "remained the ſame that it was of old, and that it ſhould appeare he was "no leſſe carefull of you then he had beene before. I went after that to "Sir *Philip Sidney*, who ſo ſoone as he ſaw me, (of his owne accord, be- "fore I ſpake to him) told me, That he had not beene unmindfull of "your Lordſhips buſineſſe; that he had ſpoken of it to Leiceſter, and the "Secretarie, and that he would not forget it, but doe in it all that could "be done. I wrote to your Lordſhip before, what cold hopes I had to "ſpeed herein, and the cauſe thereof. Now I am put in better hope by "divers: That your Lordſhip ſhall be licenſed to come up, and that the "Ambaſſadour will inſiſt againſt you, concerning which matter I ſhall "ſhew your Lordſhip farther (God willing) at meeting. He is gone "this day to Court upon occaſion of Letters which hee received on "Saturday at night: what they beare I have not yet learned. One- "ly I heare no word of any alteration or ſtirring in Scotland, as "it was reported, ſave that in the generall there is an univerſall "feare and envie at Court amongſt themſelves, and in the Coun- "trey every where, of every man againſt his neighbour. How- "ever it bee, if I bee not miſtaken, this motion (of your Lord- "ſhips comming up hither) is occaſioned by theſe laſt Letters:

"and

" and yet it is ſaid even by ſome of their favourers, that they thinke " verily that your Lordſhip hath great wrong done unto you : which " ſpeeches argue but ſmall hope to prove, yea, or to colour their pre- " tended accuſations, and that they diffide and diſtruſt, that they ſhall " be able to doe it. And moſt men thinke, that if there bee nothing " wrung out of *John Hume*, by ſome one means or other (as there is no " cauſe to doubt of the Gentlemans honeſty and conſtancy) they will " have no ſubterfuge for their falſe allegations, which muſt needs tend to " your Lordſhips good and honour, clearing your innocency, and con- " futing the calumnies of your enemies. I received a letter, by Maſter " *James Melvine*, and Maſter *Walter Balcanquel*, (who arrived here on " friday laſt) declaring the couragious and conſtant death of *Maines*, " who gave teſtimony of your Lordſhips innocency and loyall affection " to his Majeſtie, by his laſt words. There was no other new matter " of importance in it, being dated the 18. of February, not long after " your Lordſhips coming from Newcaſtle. But I ſhall have no more " intelligence that way; for the Authour is forced to flee hither, having " been ſearched for, and eſcaped narrowly. Hee was delated by the con- " feſſion of *William Fafray* (my brother *Wedderburnes* ſervant) who being " booted, confeſſed he had delivered him a letter from me. It is done by " *Manderſton*, to make it reflect upon my brother; and he (to recriminate) " hath accuſed his ſon *George*; and it is thought he will be able to prove it " by *George Hume* of Cramnicrook : *John Johnſton* is alſo fled, and great " ſummes of money offered for him : this other letter will ſhew what " comfort I may expect from Scotland; or he, who is now in the ſame " caſe. There is ſure word from France, that the Duke of Guiſe is in " the fields with an Army of 30000. or 40000. men : ſome ſay againſt " the King; manieſt, againſt Navarre, or Geneva. So ceaſing to trou- " ble your Lordſhip, I reſt, &c.

Out of theſe may be ſeen the honeſt and honourable dealing, together with the right and loyall diſpoſition of the Earle of Angus, whatever hath been ſet abroche or intended by any other : as it is clear there have been ſome other motions made to him, which his heart could not in- cline to, nor his minde diſpenſe with. For certainly, this feare could not ariſe without ſome great occaſion; and what it hath been, or whether it did tend, as alſo who are likelieſt to have been Authours of it, though it may be conjectured in ſome ſort probably, yet I will leave it to every mans conſideration of the circumſtances and perſons who were upon this courſe of joyning together. For my taske being at this time to draw, (though with a rude hand) as I can, the true draughts of this Noblemans minde, whom I have now in hand : I could not omit this piece, where- by (though there were no more to bee found of him) this generall may appeare, that duetie, juſtice, and vertue, were the men of his counſell, and the ſquare by which hee ruled all his actions, from which, no extre- mity or hard eſtate, could ever divert him or drive him away; but to touch upon any other man, or glance at any thing which might rubbe a blot upon any, is beſides my purpoſe, and no wayes incumbent to mee. But to returne, it fell out with them according to this laſt letter : for as they

they were removed from Berwick to Newcaſtle, to ſecure the Scottiſh Court; ſo Newcaſtle being not ſo farre from Edinburgh, but that within twentie foure houres (or little more) they could have been there upon a neceſſary occaſion, the Courtiers were put in feare by others, or faigned and imagined feares to themſelves, for taking away of this (ſuggeſted, or apprehended) feare, as they had been removed from Newcaſtle to Norwich; ſo now they are brought from thence to London, as was pretended, to anſwer to the Embaſſadours accuſation, but indeed, to adviſe with him of the way, how they might be reſtored to their Countrey, and the Countrey rid of Arran, who was now become odious both to Court and Countrey. It is a true ſaying, That there is no ſociety amongſt Pirats without Juſtice: for if the Arch-Pirate take all to himſelfe, or if hee divide not the prey equally, the reſt will kill or forſake him. The Earle of Arran knew not this rule, or regarded it not: for in parting of the ſpoile of theſe Noblemen, their lands, their goods, honours, government, and places of Command, hee dealt them unequally; drawing moſt to himſelfe, and in Councell and guiding of the State, he was the onely figure (or number) and the reſt were but ciphers and inſtruments to execute his decrees.

The Lords brought to London.

There were then at Court (of greateſt note) the Maſter of Gray, a near Kinſman to the late Earle of Gowry, and of the ancient Nobilitie, who did hate and diſdain Arran, for that he had beene Authour of the death of his deare friend, ſeized on his lands, and did preſumptuouſly take upon him to govern the whole Countrey alone, being but newly raiſed to bee noble. There was alſo Sir *Lewis Ballandine* (of kinne likewiſe to Gowry) an ancient depender on the houſe of Angus: and Maſter *John Metallane* (Secretary) who had beene indeed an enemy to the Earle of Morton, and was well contented that Arran ſhould be imployed to work his ruine; but he could not away with his peremptory, and abſolute domineiring. Theſe were the actours and great inſtruments of his fall: Gray, directly, and of purpoſe, the other two by conniving and being conſcious to the plot, yet ſo as they would have ſeemed not to know of it, and they did rather give way to it, then worke it. They all thought it reaſon, that they ſhould (at leaſt) have their ſhare of the ſpoil in a fit proportion; but they could not have it any wayes proportionable to their eſteem of themſelves. There was beſides theſe, *Francis* Earle Bothwell, who (amongſt other cauſes of diſcontentment) was grieved at the baniſhment of the Earle of Angus, his Ladies brother. *Alexander* Lord *Hume* had been diſcarded for being thought to be his friend: Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburn, and Sir *James* of Coldenknowes were knowne and profeſſed friends to the Earle of Angus: and *Wedderburne* was of kinne to the Maſter of Glames, and allied to the houſe of Marre. *Robert Carre* of Ceſford was alſo of the party, what out of love to Angus, what for emulation with the houſe of Farnhaſte, who were on the other faction. His Uncle the Proveſt of Linclowdan (*Douglas* to his name) was a ſpeciall ſtickler in the buſineſſe: hee was very familiar and intimate with the Secretary (*Metellane*) who without his advice did almoſt nothing. But above all, the Lord *Maxwell* (made Earle of Morton) entred into open hoſtility:

Plotting againſt Arran,

hoſtilitie: for being charged to compeare, he diſobeyed and refuſed; and by intelligence with the baniſhed Lords hee levied ſouldiers, ſlew one Captain *Lammie*, that was ſent againſt him, with his companies, whom *Johnſton* did aſſiſt. Hereupon a Proclamation was ſet forth in the Kings name, that all that were able to beare armes, ſhould come and follow the King, who was to purſue him in perſon the 24. of October. Theſe and many others (and indeed the whole Countrey) agreeing in this concluſion, that Arran was to bee removed from the helme of governement, which hee ſteerd ſo ill: the Maſter of Gray was ſent Ambaſſadour into England, and had broken the buſineſſe with the Lords concerning their returne, and his removeall. Now Sir *Lewis Ballandine* is ſent up Ambaſſador with Commiſſion to accuſe them of a conſpiracy, detected by *Duntrethes* depoſition: Hereupon they are ſent for from Norwich, to make anſwer to it. The Maſter of Glames being of greateſt age and learning, they made choice of him to plead their cauſe before a certain number of the Councellours of England, deputed by the Queene to heare and judge of it. Their owne innocencie, the abilitie of the pleader, and the favour of the Judges meeting together, made them to be eaſily abſolved, notwithſtanding, that the Ambaſſadour did his beſt in framing, and preſſing his accuſation to the full, to diſcharge his Commiſſion every way. It is a pretty ſport to conſider the proceedings of the world, and what maſques and vizards men doe put on ſometimes to cloake their deſignes. With what reſpect and reverence did they carry themſelves towards my Lord Ambaſſadour? and with what ſtrangeneſſe and averſation did he looke upon them? One day as the Earle of Angus was walking into the fields for his recreation, he encountered the Ambaſſadour coming from Tuttle-fields in a narrow lane, ere he came near, he eſpied him, and knowing it was he, hee called to his ſervants to give way to my Lord Ambaſſadour, and he himſelfe ſtanding aloofe with cap in hand, made a low reverence to his Lordſhip as he paſſed by. The Ambaſſadour again acted his part finely, remembring his place, the perſon hee repreſented, and the errand for which he was ſent (to be his accuſer) with a countenance which did beare anger and grief in it to ſee the Kings rebells, hee turned away his face, and would not ſo much as looke on that ſide of the ſtreet, notwithſtanding that hee both loved and honoured him in his heart, and was even then laying the ground-work of his reſtitution. Hee being gone home, the plot went forward in Scotland. England was no better affected toward Arran, then his owne Countrey was: they did altogether diſlike of him, and ſuſpected his wayes, they conceived that he did proſecute the Guiſian plots begunne by *Obignie*, and which had beene interrupted by his diſgrace, and diſcourting. And yet they acted their part alſo, bore faire countenance and correſpondence with him, and he with them, but all was but diſſimulation, and like a ſtage play. The Lord *Hunſdon* Governour of Berwick, and Warden of the Marches on that hand, paid him home in his owne coine, and entertained a ſhew of friendſhip with him, but no more. Divers meetings they had upon the borders, and many fair promiſes were made by Arran, to keep back England from favouring or aiding the Lords: That the King ſhould bee at the

Sir *Lewis Ballandine* Ambaſſadour in England.

the Queens devotion, that he ſhould follow her advice in all things, that hee ſhould not marry without her conſent, and that hee ſhould make a league with her, offenſive, and defenſive. The Maſter of Gray, Ambaſſadour, had promiſed ſo much, but when the Engliſh urged the performance of it, it was a jeaſt to ſee their fine ſhifting. The Maſter of Gray put it upon Arran, Arran upon the Maſter of Gray, and the King profeſſed that neither of them had warrant or direction from him to ſay any ſuch thing, and therefore he was not tied to make it good: they were too ſharp and quick ſighted not to ſee through greater clouds. In the mean time it fell out at a meeting of the Wardens of the middle-marches, that Sir *Francis Ruſſell* (ſonne to the Earle of Bedford) was killed, whether by chance or of ſet purpoſe, is uncertain. This did alienate them from the Courtiers, and joyned them to the Lords, whom they knew to be honeſt, true, and truſty, and therefore they wiſhed well to them, and helped forward their interpriſe endirectly all they could. While matters were thus in working, the Lords remained ſtill at London, and were lodged at a place appointed to them (called long-ditch, near Saint *James* Parke, whither the baniſhed Miniſters reſorted, and kept continuall exerciſe of preaching, praying and faſting (on occaſion) in a private manner, without oſtentation or notice thereof in publicke, being done within their lodging onely.

Sir *Francis Ruſſell* killed.

There was a motion made to the Counſell of England, that there might be a particular Church allowed, and allotted unto the Scots, as the French, Italians, and Dutch, have their Churches apart: but it was not granted, they being unwilling (apparantly) that being of one language, our diſcomformitie with their ceremonies ſhould appeare to the common people. This grieved us greatly, and eſpecially Maſter *James Lowſon*, who partly for that, partly becauſe of a letter written to him from the towne of Edinburgh, (in which they did unkindly reproach his flying into England as a deſertion, and did renounce him for their Paſtour, calling him a Wolfe, who had fled without juſt cauſe, and had joyned himſelfe with rebells, and ſuch other calumnies, as Biſhop *Adamſon* had endited, and cauſed the Proveſt and towne Counſell ſigne) he ſickned and died, being much lamented, both of Engliſh, Scots, and all that knew and were acquainted with him. Notwithſtanding that they could not obtain a peculiar Church, yet the Lievetenant of the Tower, being acquainted with ſome of our Miniſters, he deſired them to preach in his Church within the Tower (which is a priviledged place, and without the juriſdiction of the Biſhops) and many of the people came thither to heare them. Amongſt other exerciſes, Maſter *Andrew Melvine* read Lectures in Latine upon the old Teſtament, beginning at Geneſis, which were much frequented; and the Earle of Angus was a diligent Auditour, and a painfull repeater of them for his owne uſe and contentment.

The Scots ſue for a Scottiſh Church at London, but cannot obtain it.

But now the negotiation of their returne being farre advanced, and come even to the maturitie and full ripeneſſe, Angus, Marre, the Maſter of Glames (with a few onwaiters) take poſt from London, and came with all expedition to the Borders. They had compoſed their differences with the

The Lords came to the Borders.

the Lord *Maxwell*, and the Lord *Hamilton*, and ſo all were to joyne in the common buſineſſe, with one heart and hand, as one man. Before Angus came from London, he wrote to his friends in Scotland after this ſort: "You have now knowne by M. *John* (*Colvill* as I think) that wee "ſtay here only till wee receive new advertiſement from the Proveſt of "Lincluden, in name of the reſt of our friends that ſhould joyne with us "in that Countrey; after the receit whereof we mean not to ſtay, but im-"mediatly to come down; wherefore be ye not unready, ſeeing others "will be forward enough, as we beleeve. At our firſt coming we mean "to be quiet two or three dayes, in which ſpace I mean to ſpeak with "ſome principals, and by their advice to go more plainly to our purpoſe. "This State will not ſeeme openly to know our deſignes; but wee are "to receive ſome help of Moneyes, for ſo it is promiſed. Sir *William* "*Ruſſell* ſhall alſo joyne with us as a male-content, having been of "late ill uſed by that State (in killing Sir *Francis*) but not as having "any command ſo to do. If matters go on, we minde to enter on both "hands. Hamilton and Maxwell ſhall enter on the Weſt-borders, An-"gus and Marre at the Eaſt, with ſuch as will joyne with them "there.

Thus did it pleaſe him to ſpeak of himſelf in the third perſon, howbeit it was written all with his own hand. But Sir *William Ruſſell* did not joyn with them. Angus, Marre, and the Maſter of Glames came to Calſoe, and remained there with the Earle Bothwel two or three nights. Thither came the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, and others of their friends; and with common conſent from thence they went to Jedbrugh, where they made their coming known, and profeſſed their intentions. Upon the report hereof, Colonell *Stuart* was ſent againſt them with ſuch forces as he could get, and came to Peebles; but he found that he had not to doe with irreſolute and lingering folks, as the Earle of Gowrie, nor with ſuch deſerted and abandoned men as had fled from Stirlin, and therefore he retired in due time, to tell tidings of the certainty of their coming. They took their journey toward Hamilton, and there joyned the Lord Hamilton and the Lord Maxwell; and ſo altogether marched to Fawkirk. They cauſed publiſh Declarations every where, containing their intentions, and juſtifying their proceedings, which are ſet down word by word in the Hiſtory of Scotland, written by *Holinſhed* an Engliſh-man; who pleaſeth, may read it there. The ſumme is not unlike to that which was made before at Stirlin (when they fled to England) onely ſuch things were added thereto, as had fallen out ſince then, in the time of their abode there. "As namely; Firſt, The proceeding by cruelty under the ſhadow of the "Kings name, whoſe Predeceſſours did commonly labour to winne "the hearts of his Subjects by clemencie: Secondly, The execu-"ting, impriſoning, baniſhing (by wreſted Lawes) the worthieſt, "moſt ancient, and the moſt faithfull (to GOD and the King) "both Noblemen and Barons: Thirdly, Acts and Proclamations "publiſhed, inhibiting Presbyteries & other exerciſes, priviledges and im-"munities allowed by Parliament, or practiſed and permitted by laudable

They come to Fawkirk the 1. of November 1585.

Their Declaration.

" cuſtome of the Church, without which, purity of Doctrine, & the right " form of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline cannot continue: Fourthly, compelling " & forcing the moſt learned and moſt religious men, and ſuch as were of " moſt entire life & converſation, & of moſt ſincere conſcience, to forſake " their Countrey, or inhibiting them to preach, and defrauding them of " their Stipend, by violence: Fifthly, the entertaining of Jeſuites, and " executers of the Decrees of the cruell Councell of Trent: Sixthly, ob- " durate Papiſts having place in Seſſion, and honeſt men removed, an e- " vident proof and preſage of intention to root out the true Religion: Se- " venthly, the thruſting of Magiſtrates upon Burrows (contrary to their " priviledges) which were neither free of the Townes, nor fit to diſ- " charge the place in their perſons: Eighthly, the ſecret practices of " *James Stuart*, and the Colonell, to turne the love and amitie which " hath been now of a long time entertained with England (very happily) " into open hoſtility, having had intelligence with ſuch perſons as ſought " the Queen of Englands deſtruction: a point confeſſed by divers her " Rebels, executed in England, and which appeared by the ſlaughtering " of the Lord Ruſſell, a man noble in birth, honourable by vertue, zea- " lous in Religion, of great expectation, and a ſpeciall friend and lover of " Scottiſh men, notwithſtanding that they had made ſhew of the con- " trary for certaine moneths, and had pretended to enter into an offen- " ſive and defenſive League with her. The concluſion was, Wee com- " mand and charge in our Soveraigne Lords name (as his born Counſel- " lours, who are bound in dutie to be carefull of his welfare, honour and " reputation, for which we have our Lands and Inheritances) all and " ſundry his ſubjects, to further and aſſiſt this our godly enterpriſe, to " concurre with us, and ſo to give teſtimony of their affection to the " true Religion, his Majeſties welfare, and publick peace and quietneſſe " of this Realme. It contained alſo certification, That ſuch as ſhould " attempt any thing to their contrary, yea, that did not take plaine and " open part with them, ſhould bee reputed as partakers of all vice " and iniquitie, as aſſiſters of the ſaid treaſonable Conſpiratours, " (*James* and *William Stuarts*) and enemies to Religion, to his Ma- " jeſtie, and Authoritie, and to the publicke quietneſſe of the two " Realmes, and ſhould bee uſed as ſuch, in body and goods. Com- " manding all Juſtices and Magiſtrates, as well the Lords of the Seſſion " as others, Sheriffes, and whatſoever inferiour Judges, to adminiſter " juſtice, for the furtherance hereof, as they would anſwer upon their al- " legeance and higheſt perils: with the like certification to them alſo, if " they failed herein.

The Road of Stirlin.

They ſtaid at Fawlkirke that night, being the ſecond day of November, and kept ſtrong watch, being within five miles of the enemy. It was obſerved with great diſdain, that the Lord *Maxwel*, who had the charge of the hired ſouldiers that were put on the watch, and ſo the choyce of the watch-word, gave it, Saint *Andrew*; as ſmelling of his ſuperſtitious diſpoſition, and which was a blemiſh, and contradiction (in a manner) to their declaration, wherein they profeſſed to ſtand for the true Religion. But it was rather privately grudged at,

at, than publickly reproved. On the morrow there came a meſſage from the Caſtle of Stirlin, as from the King to the Earle Bothwell, whereby he was deſired to forſake that Company, and either come to the King, or returne to his own houſe, which he pleaſed. This was a trick to divide them, and which did ſo work upon him, that if the Earle of Angus had not partly by reaſon perſwaded him, and partly by his authoritie (being a man greatly reſpected) detained him, and fixed his wavering minde, he had forſaken them altogether, not without great danger to have weakned the hands and hearts of the reſt, by ſuch an untimely example. On ſuch moments (many times) do even the greateſt buſineſſe depend. But God had determined to bleſſe that Work at that time in their hands. That rub being removed, they march forward, and about the going down of the Sunne, they ſhewed themſelves at S. *Ninians* Kirk, which is ſcarce a full mile from Stirlin, and were ſeen from the Caſtle wall, of friends and foes. They lodged there-about as they could, till near the dawning of the day; and then upon a ſecret ſigne given to the Companies that had diſperſed themſelves into the neighbour Villages for better lodging and victuall, without ſound of Drumme or Trumpet, they came to their Camp and Colours. The way of aſſaulting the Town was laid down thus: Firſt, one of the Commanders, with a few Companies, was directed to go and make ſhew, as if hee meant to enter the Town through ſome Orchards that lay on the Weſt ſide thereof; and at the ſame inſtant another (with ſome other few Companies) was ſent to go through the Park as if they had intended to aſſault it on that hand, near to the Caſtle hill; while in the mean time the Noblemen themſelves, with the groſſe and body of the Army, marched on the South ſide, and paſſing the ditch a little above the Mill, going through ſome Gardens, entered at a certain narrow Lane, not farre from the Weſt gate, where the way was ſo ſtrait, that ſingle men with weapons could hardly paſſe it. The hired ſouldiers which carried ſhot were ſet formoſt, to remove any that ſhould offer to make head againſt them. They that were within the Town were equall in number to thoſe that were to aſſault it without; Noblemen, (the Earle Marſhall, and the Lord Seton) and Barons, who were come, out of obedience to the Kings Proclamation: Theſe had the keeping of the Weſt gate. But the onely enemies were *James*, and the Colonell (*Stuarts*) together with *Montroſe* and *Crawford*, in reſpect of ſome particular quarrels. For *Montroſe* had been Chancellour of the Aſſiſe, by which the Earle of Morton was condemned, and was eſteemed to have been a bad inſtrument therein: And *Crawford* had killed the Lord Glames, the Maſters brother, whereupon deadly feude, and divers murders had enſued on both ſides. The reſt, though they did not openly aſſiſt the invaders, yet did they wiſh them no hurt, nor make any reſiſtance againſt them. There were in the Caſtle, the Maſter of *Gray*, and Sir *Lewis Ballandine*, who were ſuſpected by *James Stuart*, and not without cauſe. He knew alſo that Maſter *John Metellane* bare him no great good will. Theſe hee intended to have rid himſelf of, and to have ſlaughtered, but they were too ſtrong to do it without great hazard; and beſides, it had been but little wiſedome to have gone about that, wherein if

hee had failed, it would have been his overthrow, and though hee had prevailed, it would not have freed him from his enemies without. All he did was, that the Colonell with ſome ſhot, was ſet in the Street near the Weſt-Gate of the town, which was the place likelieſt to be aſſaulted, *James Stuart* himſelf ſtayed about the Bridge, having the Keyes of that Gate in his pocket, making that back-doore ſure for his laſt refuge to eſcape by it. The Earle of Montroſe was placed at the foot of the Caſtle hill, to make good the entrie through the Park. The event was, that having entred the Town through a narrow Lane, they were welcomed and entertained by the Colonell with ſome ſhot in the ſtreet, but ſeeing that they were reſolute, and more in number than he was able to deal with, he retired to the Caſtle. In this entrie there was but one onely (of the Lords ſide) killed, and it is uncertaine whether it were done by the Enemie, or by one of his fellowes, who were ſo unskilfull in handling their Muskets, that their Captain ſaid, That who had known them as well as hee did, would not willingly have marched before them. The Earle Marſhall and the Lord Seton, ſeeing the Colonell ſo quickly quit the Field, ſtood ſtill at the Gate, invading no man, and no man invading them. The Earles of Montroſe and Crawford, hearing the tumult of the Towne taken, on the other hand, forſook their ſtation, and were received into the Caſtle. *James Stuart* fled by the poſterne on the Bridge, and having locked the Gate behinde him, he threw the Keyes into the River. The Colonell in his retreat was followed ſo near by Maſter *James Halden* (brother Germane to *John Halden* of Gleneagles) that he overtook him, and was laying hand on him, but in the mean time was ſhot by *Joſua Henderſon* (a ſervant of the Colonels) and ſo died preſently. He was a young Gentleman, much lamented of all that knew him, being lately come out of France, where (as alſo in Italy) he had lived divers years, with great approbation of all his Countrey-men, being greatly beloved for his ſweet courteous diſpoſition. If it were lawfull here to bewaile a particular loſſe, I have juſt cauſe to looſe the reins of my private affection, and pay that tribute of ſorrow and teares which I owe to the memorie of ſo faithfull, upright, and truſty a friend. For the preſent it ſhall ſuffiſe to ſay thus much (and let it remaine as a poore witneſſe of ſome ſmall gratefull remembrance, as long as this piece can remaine) that before him I found not any, and ſince have known but very few ſo hearty and ſincere friends, as he was to me from our childe-hood for many yeares.

M *James Halden* ſlain.

Having thus without any further loſſe or hurt made themſelves Maſters of the Town, all rejoyced at their ſucceſſe, and with chearfull minds and countenances welcomed them, and congratulated their returne. One thing was like to have bred ſome ſtirre and tumult, but that the parties interreſſed knowing the Lords own noble diſpoſition, and how theſe things could not be helped, bore patiently the loſſe they received, for the joy they had of the publick good. This it was; when the Nobles and Gentlemen alighted to enter the Town on foot, they gave their horſes to their footmen to be held without till they had made all cleare within. While they were buſied in aſſaulting and rambarring, Colonell *Stuart*; the Annandale men (and others alſo by their example) who came with the

Stirlin taken by the Lords.

Lord

Lord Maxwell, ſeized on their horſes, and went cleare away with them, having ſpared no man friend or foe, of their own, or the adverſe partie. It was no time to follow them, and though it had, yet could they not doe it, their horſes being gone. That day they lodged in the Towne, and kept watch and ward about the Caſtle, that none might go forth, or come in without their knowledge. *Robert Hamilton* of Inchmachan, who had falſly accuſed Maſter *Douglas* of Maines, and Maſter *Cunninghame* of Drummiewhaſle cauſed himſelf to be let downe over the Caſtle wall (at the back-ſide thereof) in a basket, thinking ſo to eſcape; but he was perceived, followed, and ſlaine (in the Park) by *Johnſton* of Weſterhall, receiving that juſt reward of his betraying innocent bloud. The Lord *Hamilton* himſelf when he heard of it, ſaid he had gotten but what hee had deſerved. The Caſtle not being provided of Victuals, and no man (almoſt) caring to defend it, it could not hold out: wherefore meſſengers being ſent to and fro betwixt the King and them, all things were agreed on; and ſo the fourth of November the Gates were ſet open, and the Companies entering, the Noblemen preſented themſelves before the King in all humble and ſubmiſſe manner, and did by their carriage and behaviour really confute the calumnies of their enemies, who had accuſed them of traiterous intentions and practices. When "they came, they uſed not many words; onely, They were his true "and loyall Subjects, ready to ſerve him with their bloud; and that "they were come to declare themſelves, and to cleare them from thoſe "calumnies which wicked and ſeditious men that ſought their own par-"ticulars, had filled his Majeſties eares and minde with, and ſo made him "to be ſuſpicious of them without cauſe. The King anſwered loving-"ly; That it was true, and that he now ſaw that hee had been too "long abuſed. That it was certainly the mighty hand of GOD "working with their good affection that had brought them ſo through "without ſhedding of bloud. And ſo embracing them heartily, he welcomed them with a chearfull countenance; deſiring that they would forgive and ſpare the Earles of Montroſe and Crawford, who were afraid to loſe their lives and eſtates, being conſcious of their own deſervings. This requeſt divers of the Earle of Angus his friends would have had him to have denied; but he, by a rare moderation, and to ſhew how far he regarded the deſires of his Prince, being willing alſo that the whole work ſhould be free, not onely of innocent blood, but even from particular (though juſt) revenge, neither could nor would refuſe it.

They come into the Kings preſence.

This was the Cataſtrophe of this Tragick-comedie, acceptable and joyfull to all (except theſe few particular men) and harmefull to none, which did juſtifie their (unjuſtly condemned) former meeting at the ſame Towne of Stirlin, which if it had had the ſame ſucceſſe, had produced the ſame effect, as it had the ſame aime and end. It juſtified alſo thoſe of the Miniſtery who had fled to England, and thoſe at home who approved and favoured them, that in ſo doing, they did not favour Traitors, or traiterous enterpriſes. This the Earle of Angus (above all) did obſerve, and did often remember this conſequent of the ſucceſſe, with no leſſe contentment than the ſucceſſe it ſelf, eſteeming it a greater mercie and favour

vour from GOD to have thus cleared their innocencie and loyaltie, than that he was reſtored to his own home and inheritance. And therefore he did often call to minde, and mention that ſpeech of the Kings, *That it was the very hand of GOD which had proſpered their enterpriſe, and given them that ſucceſſe without bloud.* For though it may ſeem no hard matter, in reſpect of the generall favour of the Countrey, yet if we conſider what a deſperate enemie, loath to quit ſuch places as they have enjoyed, is wont to doe, it will ſeem ſtrange that they ſhould without once ſtriking a ſtroke thus be gone without more ado. But as it hath been found in broyles (and I have particularly obſerved) that GOD hath preſerved their hands from bloud, whoſe hearts did abhorre from the ſhedding of it, even upon ſuch occaſions as men thought they could hardly avoid, either to be fruſtrate of their intentions, or to obtain them with much bloud; where by the contrary, many whoſe feet have been ſwifter, & their hearts leſſe carefull of it, have on very ſmall occaſions fallen into it. So in this publick buſineſſe, it pleaſed GOD to look on the hearts of the actours, and according to the innocencie thereof, to diſpoſe of the means of their reſtoring, that their hands were kept pure from the bloud of any. He obſerved alſo of the Town of Edinburgh, how it had pleaſed GOD to cut ſhort their aid and aſſiſtance, which they might have given the enemy by laying of it waſte and deſolate through the death of 20000. perſons of the plague (which had raged there) whereby the reſt were ſo terrified, that they were glad to forſake the City. For the Courtiers did moſt repoſe and rely upon them, who were readieſt upon the ſudden, and who (upon the leaſt advertiſement) were wont to come at their beck, without any diſputing, or queſtioning the lawfulneſſe of the quarrell or juſtice of the cauſe, but took every thing as from the King, whatſoever was commanded in his name, as they had given proof before, when they conveened at Stirlin; having been the firſt that were ſent againſt them, when they were forced to flee into England. This plague began immediatly after their flight, and the departure of their Miniſters, and increaſed daily with ſuch terrour and fearfulneſſe in the hearts of men, that every man did interpret it to be the immediate hand of GOD, ſtriking them for their obſequiouſeneſſe to the Court, and contempt of their Miniſters; and now they being returned it diminiſhed daily, ſo evidently, that after their entry into Stirlin, it ceaſed, not by degrees or piece-meale, but in an inſtant (as it were) ſo that never any after that hour was known to have been infected, nor any of ſuch as were infected before, to have died. The Lane alſo, in Stirlin, by which they entred, was wholly infected, yet no man was known to have been tainted with it, or to have received any hurt. Nay, the men of Annandale did rob and ranſack the peſt-lodges which were in the field about Stirlin, and carried away the clothes of the infected, but were never known to have been touched therewith themſelves, or any others that got, or wore the clothes. They alſo that were in the Lodges, returned to their houſes, and converſed with their Neighbours in the Town, who received them without fear, ſuſpicion, or reproof, and no harm did enſue upon it. As for Edinburgh, before the firſt of February (within three moneths) it was ſo well peopled and filled again with inhabitants,

bitants, as none could perceive by the number that any had died out of it. As if GOD from Heaven ſhould have ſaid, Lo, the cauſe of my wrath, lo, the cauſe of my mercie, with the going and coming of his ſervants: a rare and remarkable work never to be forgotten, as he did never forget it. And for my part, I think it merits to bee recorded here, and that it is worthy that the remembrance thereof ſhould remain to all poſterity, ſo far as my weakneſſe can preſerve it, that men may ſee and learn to fear and ſeek that GOD who worketh ſo great things, and none can hinder him. A notable wonder, and next unto that overthrow of the Spaniſh Armado in 88. both in my time, both immediatly by the hand of GOD: But this, ſo much the more evidently, as that there, ſome ordinary induſtrie and help of man did intervene; here, nothing can be alledged to have brought it to paſſe, but the very finger of GOD. Let mankinde advert and admire it. And whoſoever ſhall go about to bereave GOD of his glory by laying it over upon chance or fortune, may his chance be ſuch as his blindneſſe or perverſeneſſe deſerveth. Things being brought thus about, who would have been ſo modeſt, as not to have been ſo farre ambitious, as in diſtributing the offices of the Kingdome, to have taken to himſelf, or beſtowed on his friends ſome place of honour or profit? But Angus did neither take to himſelf, nor procure any for his particular friends & followers. Let ambition be ſilent, and let her plumes fall, when ſhe ſeeth her ſelf truly contemned by him. He contented himſelf with that onely which was his own; yea, he even diſpenſed and forbore that which was his own; modeſtly tolerating, that the Lands, Houſe and Lordſhip of Dalkeeth, ſhould ſtill be retained by the young Duke of Lennox, upon the Kings promiſe to be reſtored thereto, ſo ſoon as any occaſion ſhould fall out of providing ſome other Lands to the Duke; which was not done, till the Lord Methven dying without heires male, the Lands falling to the King, he gave them to Lennox, and reſtored Dalkeeth to Angus. Out of the like modeſty & will, to gratifie his Prince in whatſoever he could to the very uttermoſt of his power, at the Parliament (held in Edinburgh 1587.) about two years after, he diſpenſed with his priviledge of bearing the Crown at the Kings requeſt, and ſuffered the Duke to carry it, with proteſtation (and promiſe) that it ſhould not be prejudiciall to him nor his houſe in time coming, and ſo (with all meekneſſe) ſubmitted himſelf to take the ſecond place, and carry the Scepter. In this laſt point, it was thought wiſedome to yeeld, ſo to diſappoint thoſe, who were thought to have put the King upon it, of purpoſe to have made a breach betwixt the King and him by his refuſall. The former was not effected without the bribing of thoſe Courtiers who did then poſſeſſe the Kings eare. Secretary *Metellane* got his Lands of Die-Water to work it; which when he would have holden of the King by renunciation, Angus refuſed to renounce, and would onely give them, holding of himſelf, not without ſome indignation on both ſides. It was hardlier conſtructed, that he ſuffered a decreet given in favours of Farnihaſte to his prejudice, to be reſerved, and ſtand good in his reſtitution. And thus did he behave himſelf in his private affairs.

As for the publick affairs of the Kingdom, hee ſuffered them to bee managed by the Maſter of Glames, to whom the reſt of their ſociety were Glimes Treaſurer.

were moſt inclined, for the opinion they had of his wiſedome, greater experience and age; as alſo for that now he was a prime officer of State (Treaſurer) and allied with the Lord *Hamilton*; rather than hee would enter into any conteſt, which might breed any diviſion amongſt themſelves, being ſet altogether on peace and calmneſſe, howbeit he did not approve of all their proceedings, and differed much in judgement from them, concerning the adminiſtration and handling of matters. So in the policie of the Church, though out of a ſincere minde and true zeal, hee favoured and affected the right form as much as any, and was much grieved, that ſuch order was not taken in it, as ſhould have been, & was expected; yet he did tolerate that courſe which the reſt thought good to ſuffer to go on. For this they gave out, That the King inclined to the government of Biſhops, and therefore it was not convenient to croſſe his inclination abruptly and directly, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be conſtrained or thralled in his actions (a point which they avoided carefully) and not uſed with that reſpect and liberty, which is due to a Prince: yet they ſaid they ſhould labour to work him to it with time, taking their opportunity as it ſhould be offered unto them. And ſo indeed it was brought to paſſe; for Biſhops were firſt reſtrained of their uſing their pretended juriſdiction, and by fact (*de facto*) even then brought under obedience to Synodes and Presbyteries, and in the year 1592. the former diſcipline was re-eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, and all authority directly taken from Biſhops. But neither in the former Parliament (holden at Linlithgow in December 1585.) neither in the next (holden at Edinburgh the 29. of July 1587.) was there any mention made thereof. This gave occaſion of much diſcontentment to the beſt affected, and bitter contention betwixt the Court and the Miniſtery; they reprooving this toleration of that unlawfull office, and the King committing them for their freedome of reproof. So no man of any judgement and good diſpoſition was ſatisfied with their proceedings. Notwithſtanding, there was none of any degree, but had a good opinion, and thought well of the Earle of Angus, and excuſed his part of it, laying the blame thereof upon the reſt, who (they thought) were more carefull of their own particular, than mindefull or ſolicitous for the ſtate of GODS Church. And when I call to minde the diſpoſition of men in thoſe times, I cannot expreſſe it otherwayes than thus; That they accuſed all, but excuſed him; and yet they ſo excuſed him, that they did alſo accuſe him; not for his want of good-will, but for want of action. They were perſwaded of the ſincerity of his heart but they thought him defective in action according to their opinion, and would have had him to have taken more upon him than he did. Concerning which purpoſe I have thought it beſt not ſo much to deliver my own judgement, or uſe my own words in excuſing or accuſing what might be thought worthy to be excuſed or accuſed in him (for what is mine may be more obnoxious to mens cenſure) as to ſet down every point according to the judgement, and in the words of others, who were preſent eye-witneſſes and ſpecial actours in thoſe times: what they thought worthy to be reprehended, and what they required to have amended, which wil comprehend

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whatever negligence or omiſſion any man can lay to his charge: for as touching any fault of Commiſſion, and doing what he ought not to have done, there was no man complained of him. To which effect, diverſe letters might bee produced, which were written to himſelfe by diverſe perſons of all ſorts, Civill and Eccleſiaſticall, Scottiſh and Engliſh, of the Miniſtery, which had beene baniſhed with him, and of the brethren of the Church of England: but I have made choice of one for all, which containeth the ſumme of all, both Church and State buſineſſe, both private and publicke, and that in the Authours owne words moſt faithfully, neither adding nor impairing any thing. To which wee ſhall ſubjoyne his owne anſwer, in his owne words (ſo farre as our memory can ſerve) at leaſt his owne eſtimation, and judgement of every point; his ends, grounds and reaſons of his actions, which hee delivered in his moſt inward, and private conference, where it pleaſed him to open himſelfe, as hee was accuſtomed, freely, and even to the laying naked of his very heart and ſoule.

The letter was (after the wonted formalities) thus,

A letter written to the Authour, concerning the State of thoſe times.

"HAving occaſion of this bearer, I thought good to remember ſome "things, eſpecially that you would (as you know I intended to "have done) purchaſe in name of the Countrey, ſome to bee ſent to "keepe Juſtice Courts, in our Countrey and Teviotdale, otherwayes "all will breake. Alſo let the ſitting of the Seſſion bee haſted, that "ſuch things as flow from their reſtitution may bee decided, other-"wayes ſome men may bee greatly prejudiced and diſappointed. "As for Maſter *John*, it is hard for my Lord to helpe you both (I "am ſtill of that opinion) wherefore if no place fall about the King, "let it not diſpleaſe his Lordſhip that one of you ſeeke ſome other "courſe.

"After my departing from Linlithgow, I continued in great anger, "whereof I am not yet fully freed, becauſe of that ſentence (or de-"creet) reſerved to Farnihaſte againſt the Earle of Angus: and though "the doers bee partiall, yet I blame moſt his owne ſimplicitie (I muſt "needes ſo call it) ſeeing his authoritie ought to put order to "others, where now hee is onely a beholder of that which it pleaſeth "others to doe. But hee muſt either take matters otherwayes upon "himſelfe, or undoe himſelfe, and all the reſt with him. For if the "Maſter of Glames, forgetting the event of Ruthven buſineſſe, will "needs trace the ſteps of the Earle of Gowrie, it is not for the reſt of "the fellowſhip to be ſlothfull to their owne hinderance. They are in-"deed at Court, but are eſteemed no better (abroad) then beaſts in the "Countrey, never like to acquire the favour of any; but continually de-"clining out of the hearts of many of their well affected friends, who "all ſpeake, as though they ſaw already an evident ruine of them: "and that (doubtleſly) deſerved, for lying in their good cauſe, and "not vindicating Iſrael from Aram. Remember whence they are "fallen, and return, or we ſhall bee forced to lament for that which wee

" ſhall never bee able to amend. If they ſticke to their cauſe, all is ſure;
" otherwiſe nothing ſure: for either their ſuretie is by the Kings fa-
" vour (whereof I ſpeake nothing) or the favour of the people: this they
" muſt have by preſſing their cauſe; of Noblemen, for relieving them
" from bondage, and revenging their bloud; of Gentlemen and Com-
" mons, for purging Religion, reſtoring of Juſtice, and providing that
" Tyrannie thruſt not it ſelfe in againe. If this bee urged, it will con-
" firme ſuch as are already in the cauſe, and will make more to joyne in
" it: So ſhall the cauſe proſper; and if occaſion crave ſo, there is a par-
" tie ever ready to take Armes for it. But if, omitting this, a flattering,
" or a fearefull courſe bee taken, who ſhall ſpeake plaine, and aſſiſt ſuch
" fearefull diſſemblers? who ſhall credit them, when afterwards (as
" heretofore) they ſhall take on the name of the good cauſe? I wiſh
" the Kings Majeſtie may bee uſed with all Princely reverence, but not
" flatteringly foſtered in tyranny to his owne undoing, though I ſeeme
" to ſee even now that theſe flatterers ſhall be worthily wracked. I aske
" them whether they had a juſt cauſe in hand or not? (and yet of all
" theſe evils, under the burden whereof the Countrey groned, they
" have opened nothing at all to his Majeſtie) why is it not then juſti-
" fied in deed by condemning the other worthy to bee condemned? Is
" their cauſe already ended? And if not, why is it then left off? hath
" it not enemies? why ſhould it not then bee fortified againſt them?
" The Declaration of their cauſe, why was it publiſhed? To acquire fa-
" vour at the hands of the people? And why then is there nothing done
" to retaine this favour? yea rather, why are ſuch things done, as pro-
" cure their diſfavour, and hatred? I ſee nothing, but as men have
" diſſemblingly pretended a good cauſe with uncleanſed hearts, God
" (to diſcover their hypocriſie) hath given them their hearts deſire,
" but for their further ruine for their Hypocriſie. I cannot forbeare to
" write this, though I bee out of hope of any good, yet I ſuppoſe that
" ſuch as have meant uprightly, ſhall (in Gods favour) bee provi-
" ded for (though with trouble) when God ſhall require of thoſe
" diſſemblers the bloud of ſuch as have periſhed, and ſhall periſh through
" their default, giving them a proofe of their owne wits, and their un-
" faithfull hearts: They would not ſerve God, hee made men their
" maſters. Are means failed him? No: the laſt ſhall bee worſe then
" the firſt. It ſeemeth to mee that God hath even prepared a miſchief for
" them; and therefore given them over to their owne devices, where-
" with they are ſo drunke, and blinded, as men in a melancholicke ap-
" prehenſion, who are paſt all cure of Phyſicke. But this, above all,
" troubles mee moſt, that till ſuch time as good men bee all un-
" done, and the Land utterly ruined, and overborne with Tyrannie,
" it ſhall not bee reſiſted hereafter. For a new Generation muſt a-
" riſe (that hath forgotten theſe things) before that any who ſhall
" pretend a common cauſe get credit: good men are ſo often de-
" ceived under that colour and pretext, and drawne on to their
" wracke. And certainely, rather then I were hee, that (through
" miſ-governance and evill order) ſhould undoe ſo many as are like

to

"to bee undone at this time, I had farre rather give my owne life for it.
"But I ſpeake to deafe men, and therefore I ceaſe, committing to God
"the providing for thoſe, whoſe hearts hee ſees to bee upright, having
"from time to time kept nothing backe of that which I knew would
"make for the ſurety of theſe men, and the cauſe, without troubling them
"with any particulars. If Angus could ſteere in his owne roome, hee
"might redreſſe the Maſters errours: Speake to *Dunniepace* and *Largoe:*
"See what is done about the Barons, and give me notice of ſuch directi-
"on as goeth to their Shires. I ſay, for concluſion, their earneſt ſuite in
"particulars, and negligence in the common cauſe, convicts them be-
"fore all men, and the King may juſtly ſay, They had no good mean-
"ing. But if it were mine to doe, wee ſhould goe all together to the
"King, and ſay, this or the like ſpeech. Sir, in that yee have (as may
"be) redreſſed our particulars, wee thanke you heartily, though it was
"ever the leaſt part of our deſire; for Gods Church hath beene heavi-
"ly oppreſſed (then tell him the particulars apart) Your Realme and
"Subjects have beene tyrannized over: (then tell him alſo ſome
"proofes) Let therefore the Goſpell bee reſtored to the owne libertie,
"and ſome men choſen to ſet downe ſome ſure policy which may laſt
"and continue. Let ſome alſo bee deputed to heare the plaints and
"grievances of ſuch as have beene wronged, under the colour of your
"Majeſties name, and let their wrongs bee redreſſed as much as is poſ-
"ſible; and ſuch order taken, that the Subjects may bee out of feare
"heereafter of ſuffering, ſo they keepe the Lawes. Let the Lawes
"alſo bee reviſed by wiſe men, and ſuch of them taken away as
"bee hurtfull to the Subjects (for you ſhall finde the like Ordinance
"touching Acts of Parliament of olde.) This being done, wee
"doubt not, but God ſhall bleſſe you, and your Countrey; ſeeing,
"the neglecting hereof, hath beene the cauſe of the evills paſt. Sir,
"doe it your ſelfe, for the gaine is yours, though wee put you in
"minde of it. Now except this bee done, there can bee no conti-
"nuing quietneſſe.

Poſtſcript.

"THeir fooliſh proceedings make all men to ſtand aloofe. I heare
"the Lord *Boyd* is ſecretly in this Countrey of Scotland, but
"ſeeth not that in them which hee could wiſh. Let the Maſter behave
"himſelfe as hee pleaſeth, can the King but thinke that hee would ra-
"ther wiſh his owne ſiſter ſonne King? I finde great fault that the Ab-
"bots (Driebrough and Cambuskenneth) Lie abake, who are practi-
"tioners and partakers, as Marre at Ruthven: let them joyne together
"and bee knowne.

This letter being received, and a fit opportunitie eſpied; it was brought to my Lord, and without further ceremony; I have received heere a letter (ſaith hee) from whom, and from whence your Lordſhip may ſee. It is written to mee indeed, but not for my ſake, (for hee Preſented to Angus.

knowes my minde) but that I might ſo informe your Lordſhip concerning your eſtate, and the ſtate of the publicke cauſe which you have embraced; and you might know what the thoughts of honeſt men are concerning it, what they thinke, what they expect, what they wiſh and require. I thinke it beſt that it ſpeake for it ſelfe in its owne language, let it be your Lordſhips pleaſure to reade it. He tooke it and read it, and after a little pauſe; This (ſaith he) that is here in the beginning of this letter may be obtained, this Commiſſion for Juſtice Courts, and this for our ſecuritie we ſhall and muſt needs bee carefull of. There is next that which concerneth your ſelfe; wherein I am ſorry that occaſion hath not ſerved me to expreſſe in effect the good will I bore you, as I thinke I ought to doe. And while he was about to goe on in that purpoſe, the other interrupting him, made anſwer: Let it be your Lordſhips pleaſure to breake off that diſcourſe: I never doubted (nor never will doe) of your Lordſhips minde, which is enough to ſatisfie me; you know my ambition. I am content to doe any thing, I am content to doe nothing: hope did not bring me to this cauſe; fruſtrating, nor feare cannot divert me. If I can ſerve to any good uſe, I am glad of it: if I cannot, yet am I contented: it is enough to me that I have been willing, and gone as farre as God hath called me: hee knoweth how farre hee will imploy any, and your Lordſhip is my beſt witneſſe, that I never did thruſt my ſelfe into your Lordſhips publicke or private buſineſſe. So farre as you were pleaſed of your owne accord to communicate with me, ſo farre I knew and meddled. I know what men thinke, but this ſhall ever be my wiſedome, or my folly (let who liſt account it ſo) yet if I were even aſpiringly diſpoſed, how can your Lordſhip doe for your friends, at his Majeſties hands, who doth your owne affaires with him by the mediation of ſtrangers? But (ſeeing we are fallen upon this purpoſe) let it not diſpleaſe your Lordſhip that Maſter *John* retire himſelfe (as you ſee it is deſired here) I will (by Gods grace) runne ſuch hazard and fortune as may befall me, by being your Lordſhips onely; to which my minde, my liking, and the honour I have to be your Lordſhips Kinſeman, and will to honour and doe what good office I can to your Lordſhip, do carry me; and if ſo I can ſerve your Lordſhip to any good uſe in any thing you have to doe, it is all I crave: for the preſent let me bee bold to aske your Lordſhips minde and diſpoſition concerning this letter, what you thinke rightly admoniſhed, and what you intend about the proſecution or amending of every point in it?

Diſcourſe concerning Mr *Craigs* Sermon.

Before we come to this (ſaid my Lord) let mee demand a queſtion of you firſt, and heare your judgement in a point which hath greatly perplexed me: you remember the ſermon preached at Linlithgow, by Maſter *Craig*, what thinke you of it? I remember you told me you did not fully like it: but I would heare you againe more particularly to refreſh my memory, becauſe it is greatly incident to this purpoſe, and ſeems to cut ſhort all our actions. For if the caſe of all Subjects towards their Princes be ſuch, what can we doe but depend on their pleaſure? The other (ſmiling a little) indeed my Lord (as it is in our Proverbe) *It is time to aske the queſtion*! for if you muſt depend on their pleaſure, why did you not

expect

expect it? and ſtay in England till you were recalled? why came you unſent for? and that in ſuch a manner? what is become of your Proclamations? and of all the faire reaſons of it? you muſt goe backe again, and recant all, and cry peccavie for theſe things. Oh, (ſaith my Lord) that is another queſtion, for what we did in that, was done of neceſſitie for our lives and eſtates, and to remove that violent tyrannous man, who elſe would have undone King, Countrey, and all: But now that he is removed, and that neceſſitie taken away, it is another caſe; how to deale with our Prince, to whom we owe ſuch obedience, he being amongſt Kings, *Who are in the place of God, who are called Gods, and to whom is due the obedience to God.* But leaving the particular, let me heare you of the generall, What you thinke of that Sermon, and of his grounds? I know there are others alſo, that were not ſatisfied with it, but I would heare you. Having pauſed a little, he anſwered: Loath am I my Lord, to enter upon that taske of cenſuring any man, chiefly a Preacher: I like better to diſpute a point and diſcuſſe a truth, without touching upon any mans perſon, ſo farre as it can be avoyded. But ſeeing your Lordſhip drawes me to it: I confeſſe, wee all diſclaime implicite faith, and thinke wee are reaſonable creatures, apt to weigh and conſider mens reaſons, and yeeld aſſent to their opinions ſo farre as they enforce, neither ought wee otherwayes to conſent, nor can any reaſonable man enforce himſelfe to aſſent, which makes me, in matter of conſenting (chiefly in Religion) to diſlike of conſtraint: For I judge of others as I finde my ſelfe; the world cannot force mee, nay, I cannot force my ſelfe to thinke otherwayes, then my judgement alloweth of. But to your queſtion, *I am more favourable to Princes, then many beleeve, and to Monarches:* I account it a great and heavie charge, and burden, which hath need of great reliefe, and many comforts to recompenſe the pains thereof, and can permit much to a good Prince, yea, as much as he himſelfe pleaſeth; which will never bee more then is good and juſt, though it were all the eſtates of his Subjects, and the whole Countrey to be guided by himſelfe alone, with as abſolute power as any ever ſpake of, and yet not thinke that hee had an haires bredth of more power to doe hurt. But to the queſtion we are on; your Lordſhip remembers the ground that Maſter *Craig* did lay? yes (ſaith he) very well: It was that paſſage of the 82. Pſalme (*God ſits in the aſſembly of the Gods*) And what he built thereon? He built (ſaid he) obedience to Kings commandments and impunitie without controulement; your Lordſhip remembers right, and reports the beſt of his ſpeech in the faireſt termes [Obedience to Kings, Impunitie to Kings] whereas hee ſaid roundly, [Obedience to Tyrants, Impunitie to Tyrants] which two who confounds, doth great wrong to good Kings. But whether wee call them Tyrants, or Kings, which that Pſalme ſpeakes of, Who ſo inferres theſe concluſions from thence, doth it without warrant from the text, the drift of which is clean contrary; not to extoll or lift them up, but to abate their pride, and to humble them; not to ſecure them, but to terrifie them; not to exempt them from death (the lot of other men) but to let them know that they are ſubject to it as well as others, and to threaten them therewith. Wherefore let men build up Power and impunitie to Tyrants

Of Obedience to Tyrants, and Impunitie of Tyrants.

Tyrants upon what other place of Scripture they pleaſe, I dare affirme that this place is moſt unfit for it. For here there is never a word of [Obedience] never a word of [Impunitie] but by the contrary of [puniſhment.] Oh, ! but it ſaith [*I have ſaid ye are Gods* :] True, but it ſaith alſo [*Neverthelesſe, you ſhall die*] which two being put together, the one ſhewes them their duety, [*Do juſtice as God doth*] the other threatneth puniſhment [*Ye ſhall die if ye do it not.*] But they will ſay, that this threatning is from God, and therefore God (indeed) may and will puniſh, but man may not. I anſwer, the Text makes no mention whether God will puniſh them immediately, or by the hand of man: but however that be, the ſcope of the Pſalmiſt is to humble them, and hee who from thence doth gather any Prerogative or impunitie to them, gathers that which is contrary to the Text. Now to come to the particulars of the Sermon: To what uſe was it at that time to preach [Obedience] to Tyrants? was it not ſufficient to have preached [Obedience] to good Kings? And to have ſhowne his Majeſty to be a good King (if he thought that any man doubted of that point) which was more honourable for his Majeſtie, more beſeeming a Preacher, more eaſie to perſwade, then to roote out the inveterate opinion of the lawfulnes to reſiſt Tyrants? Concerning his Arguments: 1. Was the firſt ſolid? [*God ſitteth in the aſſembly of Gods*] therfore Tyrants ſit in the ſeat of God: though it were true, yet it followeth not: and it is even like to this, The King ſits in the Aſſembly of the Lords, therefore the Lords ſit in the Kings ſeat. As on the contrary, The King (being preſent) doth ſit in his owne ſeat, and the Lords do rather ſit in his ſeat when he is abſent, then when he ſits in the Aſſembly amongſt them. Alſo (as I have ſaid) the preſence of God is there mentioned · not to authorize, but to controll them. Neither doth the Text inferre, [Therefore obey them] there is no word of that there, but [*Therefore they ſhall die*] Becauſe God ſits and ſees them, eyes them, and perceives the wrong they doe, and how they abuſe their power, which is a contrary illation to his, and farre more conſonant to the Text. 2. His ſecond Argument was [*The people of God are commanded to obey* Nabuchodonozor, *who was a Tyrant*, therefore all Tyrants ſhould be obeyed.] How hard an inference! Of a particular extraordinary, to gather a generall ordinary rule! If wee allow of this kinde of arguing, it will bee replied: *God commanded* Jehu (*a private man*) *to ſlay* Achab (*a Tyrant*) therefore private men ought, or may ſlay Tyrants. 3. His third [David *did not ſlay* Saul, therefore no man ſhould lay hands on a Tyrant] how looſe is it? from example or authoritie, negative. 4. But the fourth [*God placed the Tyrant in that place, therefore no man may put him out of it, though his Tyranny bee never ſo great*] what doe you thinke of it? A mans goods are taken from him by a briggand, who doubts but God hath given them into the briggands hands? But doth it therefore follow, that no man (not the Magiſtrate) may take them from him againe, becauſe God hath put them into his hands? yea, who knowes but God hath caſt them into his hands for that end, that they may bee taken out of his hands, and hee puniſhed for it? Beſides, this inconvenient will alſo follow hereon: if an uſurper ſhall once get himſelfe place in a Kingdome, no man (by this reaſoning) may

ever

ever diſpoſſeſſe him again, to repoſſeſſe the lawfull King; becauſe (without all doubt) God hath placed him there. This were a maxime very prejudiciall to lawfull and rightfull Kings. 5 The fifth was a Simile] which all men know are ever lame, and doe halt ſome way; yea thoſe which he uſed, are brought by others to prove the contrary. 1. For even Children are ſometimes made free from their Parents by the civill law Romane. 2. And Servants from their Maſters, by Gods Law given to the Jewes; as, *If his eye bee beaten out, let him goe for his eye.* 3. Wives are divorced, and freed from their husbands, if the eſſentiall knot and tie of matrimonie bee violated, and broken: why then may not the tie we have to Tyrants be taken away? If the Eſſentiall cauſe of obedience (the image of God; juſtice) be violated, and caſt off by the Tyrant, why may not the obligation of obedience ceaſe? And this for his Arguments, which you ſee how frivolous and weak they are. As for his concluſion [*Men may not put hand in Tyrants*] it can never be deduced from his text: There is only one word, which ſeemes to make for him[*I ſaid ye are gods*]but the next words ſay plainly[*Nevertheleſſe ye ſhall die,*]whereby it is clear, that this appellation of(gods)is not given them to free them from puniſhment, but to put them in minde of their duty; which when they neglect, they loſe the name, and are lyable to the puniſhment. So that (according to his owne forme of reaſoning) if it follow from hence, that becauſe God hath placed them in that place to doe juſtice, therefore men ſhould not take them out of it, though they prove Tyrants; it will follow farre better; God appoints them to die, becauſe they doe not juſtice, therefore they muſt die, therefore men may make them die, when they become Tyrants in ſtead of being gods. Which kind of reaſoning if he think not to be good, then muſt he quit his own reaſon, and leave this paſſage, as neither making for him, nor againſt him; neither exempting them from puniſhment (in calling them gods, which ſhowes but what they ought to be of dutie) nor yet giving expreſſe command for men to ſlay them, in this other word (*ye ſhall die*) which ſhowes onely what God will doe in his juſtice. He alledged (as others alſo doe in this cauſe) that the thing which moved him to broach this concluſion, was, becauſe that if a liberty to kill, or diſobey Tyrants be granted unto men, then good Kings ſhall not be obeyed, nor ſure of their owne lives, becauſe ſeditious or ambitious men (of which there are enow) will call a good King a Tyrant. But your Lordſhip may conſider the futilitie of that pretext; for by the ſame reaſon all lawes are taken away, and all puniſhment of vice and wickedneſſe. For where the law ordaines theeves to be puniſhed, an unjuſt Judge may call an honeſt man a theefe; and if we allow blaſphemie to be puniſhed, a *Jezabel* will finde meanes to cauſe *Naboth* be accounted a blaſphemer; and if we ſuffer ſedition to be puniſhed, Tyrants will call a good Patriot, a ſeditious fellow; free admonitions, treaſon; and any word of liberty, rebellion. Shall therefore ſedition be unpuniſhed? ſhall theft? ſhall blaſphemie? And certainly there is more danger, and it comes oftner to paſſe, that a Tyrant ſhould call an honeſt man ſeditious, then it is found that ſubjects call a good King a Tyrant. The people ſuffer much (what by cuſtome, what through a naturall

naturall inclination and love toward their Princes) and beare with many great faults, and ſeldome come to riſe up againſt him, but when the injury is intolerable. And you ſhall finde (when you pleaſe to trie it) that they have comported more and oftner with wicked Princes, then ever they have made inſurrection againſt good ones; nay, then they have made againſt the wicked, unleſſe their wickedneſſe hath beene extreme enormous and pernicious. Yea, I doubt whether any can finde an example of inſurrection againſt any that was good, nay, againſt any tolerably wicked: whereas of the other ſide, many honeſt men have beene oppreſt, and put to death by Tyrants upon ſmall or no occaſion, upon a forged accuſation, lie, or calumnie. Wherefore it is a fooliſh and ridiculous pretext, to maintaine Obedience, and the Impunitie of Tyrants, that ſo good Kings may be obeyed, and ſecured: as if a man ſhould plead for impunitie to harlots, that ſo honeſt matrons may be ſecured. All is but folly, for there is but one way to ſecure honeſt women, which is to avoyd whoriſh faſhions; to ſecure honeſt and true men, to take heed they be not found breaking or digging through of houſes. And let a good King beware and carefully avoid all tyrannicall actions. So (and onely ſo) ſhall he be ſure (if word and worke juſtifie him) and free from all feare of puniſhment from God or man. And thus much concerning your Lordſhips queſtion, what my opinion is of that Sermon.

Bodinus his abſurdity.

But ſeeing we are fallen upon this ſubject, let me tell your Lordſhip how men, while they labour to put a good face upon this matter, wavering betwixt flatterie of Princes, and truth of reaſon received, and allowed by the common conſent of all men againſt Tyrants, involve and intangle themſelves into many difficulties and abſurdities. I will bring one inſtance for all, and that is *Bodinus* (a Frenchman) in his booke *De republica*: faine would he make even Tyrants to be ſacred and inviolable, and perſwade that all obedience is due, and ought to be given them. And he concludes, that they are not to be touched by their ſubjects, but obeyed; whereof he gives this for his chiefe reaſon, Becauſe their ſubjects have no juriſdiction over them: yet finding how hard it were to free them from all feare of puniſhment, he puts them into the hands of forraine Kings, and exhorts them to exterminate and root them out, commending it as a laudable action, by the imitation of *Hercules*, who travelled through the world (ſayes he) to deſtroy theſe Monſters, Tyrants. Now let any man judge what good reaſon can be given for denying that power to the Countrey it ſelfe (under the pretext, becauſe they have no juriſdiction) and to give it to a forrainer, who hath neither intereſt nor juriſdiction over another Prince. And whether is there more danger in the ſedition of his Countrey people, then in the ambition of a ſtranger Prince? And which of them is likelieſt to picke a quarrell againſt him, and to call him a Tyrant, and ſeeke occaſion to worke their owne particular ends? Beſides, what ſhall be the part of the people in this caſe? Shall they fight againſt this forrainer, who comes to cut off their Tyrant? Who then ſhall come to relieve thoſe from tyrannie, that will take armes for defence of the Tyrant? Shall they joyne with him? Certainly in all reaſon they ought to joyne with him, ſeeing it is for their

their ſakes that he under-takes the warre. But that is Rebellion (if wee beleeve *Bodinus*.) Shall they be neutrall, and ſpectators? Even that is diſobedience. And yet the ſame *Bodinus* ſayes, That Tyrants are monſters; now there is no ſocietie (farre leſſe bond of obedience and ſubjection) with monſters. Yea, hee ſayes, That there is no ſocietie with Pirats, becauſe they break the Lawes of humane ſocietie; and Tyrants break them much more. This ſame man in his *Dæmonomania* ſayes, A King may become a Wolfe; and that a great King in Chriſtendome was one when hee pleaſed. I ask him then, Whether ſuch a King ſhould bee obeyed, when hee is a Wolfe? And if hee ſhould ever continue to bee ſuch, without returning to bee a man, whether or not muſt hee bee ever obeyed in all things? Shall his ſacred Majeſtie bee reverenced? And (leſt hee ſhould ſtarve) ſhall hee bee fed with childrens fleſh (perhaps) becauſe hee will eat no other, or (at leaſt) becauſe hee likes that beſt? Certainly, his reaſon will inferre no leſſe than that hee ſhould. And if hee bee aſhamed to affirme this, and will confeſſe that it is lawfull to put ſuch an one from his Kingdome, who hath put off humane nature, and can now no more guide a Kingdome: what ſhall wee think of one, who (though retaining the ſhape of a man) hath a wolviſh nature and diſpoſition, being cruell, wicked, licentious, and over-throwes all right and equitie? And is not a Tyrant (for the like reaſon) as worthie to bee deprived of that Kingdome, which hee cannot, or will not guide rightly, but deſtroyes and makes havock of all? Certainly, the reaſon is all one: for it is not the ſhape (ſo much) of a Wolfe that men abhorre, as the wolviſh and ravenous nature and diſpoſition. For ſuppoſe a good Kingwere (contrary to his will) transformed by Magicall incantation onely, into the ſhape of a Wolfe, who did retaine his reaſon, his ſpeech, his wiſedome, juſtice, equitie, meekneſſe, and all good Government, omitting nothing that belonged to a good Prince, men would not ſo much abhorre, as pity him, and expect till ſome way were found how hee might recover his former ſhape, and would (doubtleſſe) preferre his humane nature, though in the ſhape of a Wolfe, to a wolviſh nature, though under the ſhape of a man; it being farre more tolerable, and farre more advantageous for the Common-wealth, whereof the good and ſafetie is ever to bee reſpected and preferred in all things. And thus much for *Bodinus*.

But will your Lordſhip bee pleaſed to hear what that great Doctour of the Lawes (a profeſſed Patron of Princes, in his book which hee wrote of purpoſe for their defence) I mean *Blackwood* ſayes concerning this queſtion? It is (ſayes hee) an abſurd thing to affirm, That a Princes commandement ſhould or may be diſ-obeyed. Yet if a Prince command any thing that is unjuſt, it muſt not be obeyed. But howſhall we do then? Even this, ſayes hee, when the commandement is unjuſt, we muſt ſuppoſe that the commandement is not the Kings commandement: but either that it is, firſt, ſome fained and forged thing under his name; ſecondly, or ſtoln from him at unawares; thirdly, or that being

Apol. cap. 34.

Of *Blackwoods* opinion.

"buſied ſome other way, he did not take heed to it: Fourthly, or that he "hath been ill informed: Fifthly, or miſ-taken it: Sixthly, or that hee is "miſ-led and miſ-carried with ſome paſſion or prejudice. So in the point of controlling Princes, he cannot endure that the Sacred Majeſtie, Gods Vice-gerent, ſhould be conſtrained or forced any way; that is abſurd and abominable: Yet if he miſ-governe the Countrey, ſo that the ſtate of the Common-weale bee in danger, the blame muſt bee laid on his evill Counſellours; thoſe they may lay hands on, and take order with them; nay, hang them, if they pleaſe, and place good men about him, whoſe better advice he may follow. But by no meanes muſt they touch or meddle with himſelf in perſon. This opinion is ſuch, that (I beleeve) hee againſt whom he writes, hath not written any thing that may ſeeme more hard. For if we may call his commandements (when they are unjuſt) ſtolne, and ſo diſ-obey them; wee are not bound to obey his unjuſt commandements. And if wee may take order with his counſellours, who will be his counſellour? Or who will execute his unjuſt will? Nay, how can ſubjects do either of theſe two without a manifeſt controlling and forcing of him, Since hee will oppoſe and interpret all as done againſt himſelfe, and call it Treaſon and Rebellion againſt him? So that in effect, all comes to one. Beſides, this way leaves that ground (which men ſo carefully pretend to avoyd) which is, to call all his commandements ſtolne (though they bee never ſo clearly his) and albeit they bee never ſo good; as alſo of calling his Counſellours evill, though they bee not ſo. Whereby hee makes them Judges both of his Commandements and Counſellours; ſo that they may call it in queſtion whether they bee good or not; which doth brangle, and (indeed) over-turne all that abſolute power which he gave them before.

Of Active and Paſſive Obedience.

I will not omit here to tell your Lordſhip of another diſtinction that ſome uſe againſt unlawfull commandements: They grant that we ſhould not give them Active Obedience, that is, that we ſhould not do the thing commanded, but that we muſt yeeld Paſſive obedience, that is, Suffer what puniſhment the Prince ſhall be pleaſed to lay upon us for our refuſing to do what he commands, whether it be a pecuniarie mulct, impriſonment, or death it ſelf. But if this be rightly weighed in the balance of reaſon, if the commandement be unlawfull, the puniſhment inflicted for refuſing to obey it, is alſo unlawfull, and the commanding of us to under-go that puniſhment, is likewiſe unlawfull. Therefore there is no neceſsitie of obedience to that command, according to *Blackwoods* rule; for it is not the Kings; it is ſtolne. Therefore if a Tyrant command a thing unlawfull, under the pain of paying a ſumme of money, a man is no more bound to pay the money, than hee is to obey the commandement; for both are unlawfull. Farre leſſe is he bound to ſubmit himſelf to a corporall puniſhment, or to lay down his life, or to enter into priſon, which takes away his libertie, as dear to him as his life, and doth oftentimes endanger both his life and goods by conſequence. If (I ſay) he can get theſe things avoided, he is not bound in conſcience to under-go them, but may lawfully with-draw himſelf from them, and ſhun them.

What

What hee is to do when he cannot eſchue theſe things, is not a caſe of duty, but of prudencie: for that ſame queſtion will come to bee conſidered, when a man hath to do with a Robber (to whom he owes no obligation of obedience) if hee bee not able to reſiſt him, how farre hee ſhall yeeld to him. Let us put the caſe then, That a Tyrant would (for our diſ-obeying of his unlawfull commands) invade us his ſubjects by Armes, wee are not ſo bound to him, but wee may avoide the blow; nay, the ſubject (in this caſe) may warde the blow, and put by his Princes Weapon, he may hold his hands (if it be neceſſary) and if hee cannot otherwayes ſave himſelf. And what will theſe that ſtand for Paſſive Obedience anſwer to thoſe that ſuppoſe this caſe: That the Prince and his ſubjects were in a ſhip, and the Prince ſhould command a leake to be made in the ſhip, by which the water might come in, and drown both them and himſelf? They will (perhaps) ſay, that they would not do it, although he ſhould command it. But would they give him a Paſſive Obedience? Would they ſuffer him to kill them for their refuſall? Would they give him leave and way to do it? Or would they ſet aſide ſuch ceremonie, and ſtay him from it calmely? Put the Augre or Wimble out of the way, or keep it from him? Hold his hands; or (if there were need) even binde him rather? ſo to ſave themſelves and him. Which if it be right and lawfull to do for preſerving a private ſhip, what ſhall be ſaid of the Bark of the Common-wealth (I pray you) if a Tyrant do ſuch things, which will caſt it into danger of drowning and ſhipwrack?

Now the ground of all this; "Firſt, (That tyrants muſt bee obeyed; "Secondly, that they muſt not be controlled, nor reſiſted, but get ever a "Paſſive Obedience; Thirdly, that they muſt no wayes bee deprived, "and farre leſſe touched in their perſons) is in this (forſooth) *That "they are Gods*; which name (as they alledge) inferres all theſe, Obe-"dience, not reſiſtance, not depriving, &c. And indeed (to bee God) carries more with it; it imports both Active and Paſſive Obedience to whatſoever he commands without exception, to kill his ſonne with *Abraham*; for each man to kill his brother, as the Levites did. But how farre theſe (called) Gods, come ſhort of that priviledge (notwithſtanding of the name) I have ſaid before: and therefore this appellation will not import any of the reſt by any neceſſary conſequence, no more than it doth abſolute Active Obedience. Neither are Princes there compared to GOD, becauſe of equall ſoveraignity or obedience due to them, but becauſe of the likeneſſe of the action, and to warne them to imitate him in juſtice. And to draw an argument from a Compariſon of things, to prove an equality in them, in that wherein they are not matched or compared, is againſt the law of Similies, or Compariſons. Secondly, thoſe who diſpute in this ſort, ſpeak onely of abſolute Monarchs (as they call them) but the name of [Gods] is not onely given to abſolute Monarchs. It is given to the Judges of Iſrael before they had Kings: & the Turks uſe (at this day) when they go to law, this phraſe, Let us go to God: by which they mean, not their abſolute Monarch, the Emperour, but any inferiour Judge, even the loweſt and meaneſt, as (no queſtion) even a

Sheriffes depute, or a Barons Bailiffe sit in the place of God, when they sit to do justice betwixt parties; yet no man for that doth attribute absolute power to them.

Behold the ground of your Lordships cause, and of this so worthy an action done by you, to your perpetuall honour, of rare memory and example in any age: lo what you have been; not contemplating and disputing in the Schooles, but practising in the Common-wealth. For if it be not lawfull to disobey the command of Princes (even of lawfull and borne Princes) in any case, then is this that you have done, very unlawfull. If it be a wrong to controll their wills, then must this your fact be condemned as wrong. If it bee not lawfull to remove from them wicked Counsellours and instruments of iniquitie, then is this your act altogether unjust, enormous, unlawfull and treacherous. But the world acknowledges, all men assent, and the Prince himselfe confesses, that you have happily atchieved a worthie worke, in freeing your King from the jawes of these wolves and lions, who devoured the Realme, and polluted his name and fame; that you have restored him to his honour, and that high expectation of him to his Countrey, and to the Church of God throughout the whole world.

There rests onely this exception and doubt in mens mindes, whether or not this hath been your aime (in very deed) and the true scope and end of your enterprise; or if this bee but incident and adventitious to your own particular designes. For it is sure, your particular was joyned with it; but that is no fault: yea, I account him happy, whose lot joynes his estate with an honest cause, so that they must stand or fall together; or whose minde and resolution casts him upon it. But it is of great weight, and makes a great difference, when the cause is our end, and (our particular but accessorie, or contrarily) when our particular is the maine motive, and the common cause but a by end, and embraced only to advance our particular. Your Proclamation (or Declaration) which ye published, speaks much of the publick cause and common-weale; but you may perceive what men think (how your actions and doings since do not answer thereto) by this Letter. For they are begun to think, that howsoever you pretended the publick, yet your intention was fixed onely on your own particular; because you have done nothing for the Church or Countrey, and hath settled your own particular. And it is observed, That of all the Parliaments that were ever held in this Countrey, this last (held since you came home) is it, in which alone there is no mention of the Church, either in the beginning thereof (as in all others there is) or elsewhere throughout. This neglect of the state of the Church and Countrey, as it is a blemish of your fact, obscuring the beauty and lustre of it; so is it accounted an errour in policie and civill prudencie, by so doing, to divide and separate your particular from the common cause of the Church and Countrey; which as it hath been the meane of your particular restitution, so is it the onely meane to maintain you in this estate, and to make it sure and firme.

Angus answereth. "Hee having thus spoken, the Earle of Angus answered, I know "that

"that queſtion ſtands yet undecided betwixt thoſe that ſtand for Ty-
"rants, and thoſe that are againſt them, and is diſputed by Law-
"yers on both ſides; as what is not diſputed and called in que-
"ſtion by them? I ſee alſo there hath been continuall practice of both
"wayes; and the practice hath been allowed or diſ-allowed accor-
"ding to the ſucceſſe; The Nobility calling it Tyranny and miſ-govern-
"ment, and the Prince calling the controlling of him, Sedition, Re-
"bellion, Treaſon. But if Doctor *Blackwood* ſay that which you
"ſay, hee touches the point very right, and the faſhion of our
"Countrey, whoſe ordinary cuſtome hath ever been ſuch, to take
"order with wicked Counſellours, carrying all reſpect to the Prince,
"and as much reverence as ever any Nation did. Yet that begin-
ning with the Counſellours drew many at laſt by neceſſity to betake
themſelves directly to their Prince himſelf, when hee would needs
eſpouſe their quarrell, and either to protect and maintaine them, or
to revenge them. So that if *Blackwood* ſay that it is lawfull to pu-
niſh wicked Counſellours, he muſt confeſſe alſo, that it is lawfull to
controll Kings. Neither is hee aware that in ſo ſaying, hee makes
the Nobility (or Eſtates) Judges to diſcern whether the Counſel-
lours bee wicked or not; and whether their proceedings bee for
the good of the Countrey, which he will alledge they are; and that
both themſelves are good ſervants, and their ſervice good and pro-
fitable to him and the Countrey; and theſe actions which they do, and
the counſell which they give, that they do them as his ſervants, and by
his direction, as Counſellours adviſing and propounding things, not
preſcribing or enjoyning; and therefore what is done againſt them,
is not done againſt them, but againſt him; and that they are not wick-
ed, but good and faithfull men. Now the caſe ſtanding thus, to whom-
ſoever he allowes the power to put order to them as wicked, hee al-
lowes them alſo power to cognoſce of them as wicked, to judge of
them as wicked; and that contrary to the judgement of their Prince
who will never judge them ſuch. And indeed, unleſſe it be ſo, when
wicked men ſhall winde themſelves in about a Prince, and abuſe his
name, or pervert his minde, How ſhall the Prince be preſerved? How
ſhall the Countrey, the State, Religion, Lawes, Order, and particular
mens eſtates be ſaved from ruine? As hath been profitably and neceſ-
ſarily practiſed (divers times before) in this Kingdome; and of late by
us upon a flat neceſſity for his own good, and the good of the Countrey.
"And for my own part (I will anſwer for one, and can anſwer but for
"one) his good did as much move me to that courſe, as any private
"intereſt of my own: and I ſtill ſhall as much regard it (by GODS
"grace) ſo long as this weak life is in my body. I know not how long
"that will be, and who lives longeſt, lives but a ſhort time; and I
"account not that hee lives, who lives onely to live this life, or to
"enjoy any thing that is in it. This Leſſon I have learned ſubſtanti-
"ally (ſo my GOD hath ſchooled me) and I ſpeak it to you ſeri-
"ouſly, knowing to whom I ſpeak. Neither ſhall ever any endeavour
"of mine have any particular for the laſt end of it. That all is not

ſo

" ſo well done and ſo clearly to the ſatisfaction of the Miniſtery, and " all honeſtly affected, it grieves me as much as any, and I am not igno- " rant that theſe inconvenients follow thereupon, That we undergo the " ſlander of reſpecting our particular, Of careleſneſſe of the Church " and Countrey; as though all our ſpeeches and Proclamations tending " that way, had been but pretexts, and that if ever any ſuch buſineſſe " ſhould fall out again, our credit will not be ſo great. Yet (not for " theſe cauſes, but for the well doing it ſelf) my deſire is, That every " thing be rightly done, becauſe it is right ſo to doe. But what can " I help it? I am but one of the ſociety, neither can I perſwade my " aſſociats to do otherwayes, nor am I able to compell them, nor " were it fit I ſhould, it not being the Law of a ſociety to doe ſo; but " to do all with commune conſent, and to obtaine what may bee ob- " tained by a fair way, but to go no further. Otherwayes it would " quickly diſſolve into divers factions amongſt our ſelves, and make " ſome of us joyne with others to the overthrow of us all: which " if ever it come to paſſe, it ſhall never be through any occaſion from " me. Men think (I know) that my place is a principall one, yet it is " but the place of one; neither is it ſo principall, but that there is as prin- " cipall as it, equall to it, or (perhaps) beyond it, in reſpect of proxini- " tie to the Kingdome; if it ſhould fall out ſo, which GOD for- " bid it ſhould. For no King (you know) can ever bee ſo neare " to mee, and therefore there is none whom I ſhould or will affect " ſo much. And this is it that carries it away from me, and gives " them no little advantage: The Lord Hamilton being next the " Crowne, is guided by the Maſter of Glames: and the Maſter de- " lights to bee deep in his counſels, and pleaſeth himſelf in this form " of managing affaires, which you ſee is now uſed. I have many " times told him (and others alſo) my opinion, but cannot bring " them to it. If I ſhould take a courſe to croſſe and force them, " How dangerous were it? Yea, what concurrence or aſſiſtance " ſhould I have? Or, of whoſe friendſhip could I aſſure my ſelf? " Maxwell, you know what his reſpects are: and what Religion he is " of. I can never forget the Watch-word he gave at Fawkirk, whereby " he did plainly profeſſe his diſpoſition to ſuperſtition, *Saint Andrew* " was it. And who knowes what intention he hath to retain the title " of the Earle of Morton. As for your Chief (the Lord *Hume*) dare " we think better of him? My brother-in-law (the Earle Bothwell) " how uncertain is hee? What ado had I to retaine him at Fawkirk? " And what trouble have I ſtill to keep him in good order? There is " onely one, of whoſe ſtedfaſtneſſe and friendſhip I dare aſſure my " ſelf, as much as of my ſelf, who is loving, faithfull and conſtant, and " that is the Earle of Marre: yet hee hath been ſo toſſed with troubles " already, that he is loath to intangle himſelf a new, if it can be avoided " any way. And why ſhould not I be as loath to put him to any ha- " zard, or to occaſion any trouble to him, contrary to his diſpoſition? " GOD forbid, but that I ſhould, bee as carefull of him as hee is of " himſelf.

" And

"And concerning their proceedings; as I do not approve them alto-
"gether, ſo dare I not condemne them altogether. Wee have to doe
"with our Prince; what ſhould we not doe to gain him by all faire and
"Gentle meanes? Wee ought not to croſſe or thrall his will, but to
"draw it eaſily to a better temper; and not ſo much oppoſe him, as
"by complying with his inclination a little, to winde him from that
"ill way and courſe hee hath beene ſet upon. He deſires to bee at
"liberty, and to bee knowne to bee ſo, and it approves and juſti-
"fies our proceedings to have it ſo, and teſtifies to him and to the
"world, our love and obedience, and what our mindes have been
"from the beginning toward him. Hee promiſeth not to with-
"draw himſelf from us, to joyne with others; our truſting of his
"promiſe will deſerve that hee ſhould continue with us, and will
"gaine his affection, which is a ſurer bond than a guard placed a-
"bout him; which would entertaine mutuall ſuſpition, and move him
"to ſeek meanes of freeing himſelf from us: and hardly could any
"guard bee ſo kept, but that one ſet to eſcape, might finde a way
"for it; not to ſpeak of the charges that were required to entertaine
"it. Neither need wee to feare much, though hee had a minde to
"forſake us; for wee know who would or could bee our partie,
"and what forces they have. That there are ſome ſuffered to re-
"maine about him, who are no good friends to us, nay, who have
"been evill inſtruments againſt us, proceeds from the ſame ground:
"for it is done, that himſelf and others may ſee his liberty, and
"what confidence wee have in him. That the ſtate of the Mini-
"ſtery is not brought to that point which we wiſh: wee cannot
"get it done ſuddenly, except wee will plainly and directly enforce
"his will: and how many would agree or concurre to that? But
"wee hope to work it with his owne conſent in time: for the
"Miniſtery inſiſt in their right, and he commits them; and wee inter-
"cede and mitigate his anger ſo farre, that it proceeds onely to a ſhort
"and eaſie confinement or impriſoning. In the mean time, they have
"leaſure to informe him, and hee of himſelf will be wearied with ſuch
"continuall oppoſition; and will give way to ſettle ſuch a courſe as they
"deſire; and ſo it will be better and more durable, than if it ſhould
"now bee extorted from him by any ſhow of compulſion. Theſe
"bee the grounds, upon which ſuch as think themſelves very wiſe
"amongſt us, build their work; which though it be not ſo framed, as
"to give every man preſent ſatisfaction (who knowes not what their
"way is? or if they knew, allowes not of it?) yet when they ſhall finde
"the effects thereof, they will think better of them. Neither are they
"afraid to want the aſſiſtance of ſuch as are honeſtly affected, in caſe
"wee ſhould bee aſſaulted by any; for they cannot betake them-
"ſelves to any other, having none elſe from whom they can look
"for any good in the leaſt meaſure: nay, who is there beſides, that
"hath not a very bad meaning? And wee, though wee doe not all
"the good they would; yet are wee doing ſomewhat, and keep
"off much evill; and therefore they will rather take part with us,

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"than ſuffer all to go to wrack. You may happly think that you "have much to ſay againſt this: but (as I ſaid before) though I "approve not all, yet I do not condemne all; ſo I ſay now, though "I report all, yet I doe not approve of all; and doe confeſſe that wee "ſhould doe much more, and it were better if wee could agree to "it, and bee all of one minde. Yet this is the wiſedome of our "deepeſt and profoundeſt Politicians, whom I am reſolved not to "croſſe nor preſſe any more, but to take my hazard amongſt the "reſt; and I doe hope, GOD will provide for me as well as for "them, and that my part ſhall bee as well known every way to honeſt "men. And therefore we will have no more objections nor reaſoning at "this time.

Well, my Lord (ſaid the other) it ſhall bee ſo then; wee ſhall reaſon no more of this Subject. Indeed your Lordſhips part is beſt interpreted, ſave that they think that your authority ſhould be of greater moment (as you may ſee by this Letter) and that you ſhould rather go before all, than follow any. This one thing give me leave to remember concerning the King; Hee is the moſt apparent inſtrument that is in Europe (and ſo in the world) of whom wee can expect greateſt good and comfort to the Church of GOD; as being the onely King that hath been bred in the purity and ſincerity of Religion; and therefore of great expectation; and becauſe of this expectation, greatly favoured and beloved of all true Profeſſours of Religion every where: He is of a great ſpirit, ingine, wit, judgement, and learning. Great pity therefore it were, that ſuch an one ſhould be loſt, either through corruption creeping into his own minde, or by the poyſonable ſuggeſtions of others. You doe therefore exceeding well to cheriſh him calmly, and to entreat him gently, and deale with him in an humble and ſubmiſſe manner; which is the way to tame and gaine even wilde-beaſts that are without reaſon; farre more is it like to prevaile with reaſonable men; and moſt of all with Princes, who in reſpect of the height of their place, are not to be violently thralled or enforced, which were the way to ſpoyle them: as they write of *Alexanders* horſe *Bucephalus*, whom *Philips* riders could not manage or over-maſter by force of bit or bridle, but *Alexander* by ſtroking and making much of him, made him manageable. And if ever you intend any worthy or great enterpriſe in this Countrey or in Europe, behold the mean, uſe it wiſely, and the LORD of Heaven give ſucceſſe. But this (I hope) may be ſuggeſted to your conſideration, that you would weigh with your ſelves, and ſee whether or not this obſequiouſneſſe (ſo to term it) be the onely mean to be uſed toward him, ſmoothing all, and allowing all; never mentioning the abuſes that have been, and yet are in this Countrey; or if it be not fit alſo to remonſtrate freely (though reverently) what hath been, or (perhaps) yet is amiſſe in Religion and the common-wealth, in ſome ſuch forme as is ſet down here in the end of this Letter. And whether it bee fit or tolerable for the gaining of him to a right courſe that ſuch men as have no good meaning, have his eare, and bee his moſt intimate and inward Councellours. Now I feare mee greatly that the meane

by

by which they have perverted all, and which may be ſtill uſed to pervert all, and whereby they have gained moſt upon his tender age, is the eye he hath to our neighbour Kingdome of England, upon which his minde is greatly ſet, and to which (no queſtion) he hath the right of ſucceſſion; yet hath he need of aſſiſtance to obtaine the poſſeſſion thereof. And they perſwade him (as hee may alſo thinke of himſelfe) that this cannot be done without helpe from the Papiſts in England, France, Spaine, Italie, and from Rome it ſelfe; and that the way to make them to be for him, is to put them in hope of him, by (perhaps) a preſent toleration, countenancing, cheriſhing, and advancing of their Religion. And this (he may thinke) cannot ſtand with the puritie of Diſcipline, and Government of our Church, which may make him the more averſe, and hardly affected toward it, and thinke it fit to curbe it, and ſo the more to encline to Epiſcopacie; by which as he ſhall more pleaſe the Stateſmen of England, ſo ſhall he be able the more to reſtraine our Preachers, and their freedome of ſpeech, and the more freely deale and trafficke with Papiſts, and ſo make uſe of all ſorts of people, becauſe he may thinke all ſorts neceſſary for his ends, whereas (indeed) none of theſe are of great conſequence. For Papiſts that are without the Countrey (as France or Spaine) will never in their hearts wiſh him to be King of England. France for his nearneſſe to them will not deſire that he be ſo great, in reſpect of his claime to their owne Countrey, and becauſe ſo the league with Scotland will fall, and they ſhall want the aſſiſtance of the Scots againſt that title. Spaine pretends a title themſelves, which the Papiſts in England will rather ſet forward then hinder. Such Papiſts as are within the Iſland are of ſmall force, and almoſt of none yet in Scotland, and not ſo many in England as to counterpoiſe the Proteſtants. Biſhops there ſtand by the State, not the State by them; men of meane birth, no great riches, leſſe following, attendance, or friendſhip; eaſie to be framed to what courſe he pleaſeth, their life-time being reſerved, or without condition. Thoſe that ſeek Reformation are the ſtrength of that Countrey, and certainly the wiſeſt in it, of greateſt power by the peoples favour, and credit in Parliament, and every where. Your Lordſhip hath ſeene the lettter directed to you all from ſome of them, containing their judgement, not to be contemned: gaine theſe, gaine that Countrey. This (as it is the truth) would be imprinted in his minde by ſuch perſons and meanes as are fit, and others removed, who perſwade him otherwiſe, and his Majeſtie made to know, that by blending and mingling of Religions, or by profeſſing, or ſeeming to favour and incline to a contrary Religion, hee cannot attaine to that Kingdome. That hee is happy in this, that the profeſſing and advancing of the true Religion is moſt profitable for his honour, and proſperous eſtate in the world, and the beſt meane to preſerve his owne, and to attaine another Kingdome. Neither doth hee ſtand in need of any baſtard, or ſpurious policie, or farre ſought, profane, or wicked courſe; a plaine and ſincere uprightneſſe, in maintaining juſtice, pietie and religion in this his preſent Kingdome, will ſerve his turne; and the more ſeriouſly, fully, and exactly

that he obſerve and follow this way, it will increaſe his credit and reputation ſo much the more there, and facilitate his deſignes. And this is that which will moſt throughly joyne him to your Lordſhip, as the opinion of the contrarie is the moſt effectuall meane that ever they can uſe to diſ-joyne him from you. From the ſame ground it ariſes to be conſidered, whether it be fit to ſuffer his Majeſtie and the Miniſterie to bee at ſuch variance, they finding fault with him, and he committing and confining them; and if it be not to be feared that it beget in him a loathing of them, and in them and the Countrey a wearineſſe of him: And whether (therefore) it were not better to interpoſe your credit to informe him freely and truly, then thus to looke through your fingers (as wee ſpeake) and behold things, and onely now and then procure ſome little reliefe to them: which forme of dealing rather foſters the rancour, then remedies it, ſeeing the King gets not the thanks of it himſelfe.

Certainely if I were a Politician, an ill affected Stateſman, and had a deſire to make way for another intrant, I would take this courſe to incenſe him, and irritate him againſt the Miniſterie, that hee might commit them; or at leaſt feed and foſter his diſpoſition herein, that ſo hee might bee brought to loathe them, and to bee loathed of them, and ſo take away that great expectation men had of his Religion, and their love to him for it: I would ſeparate and divide him from ſuch, and ſuch from him; then bring him to a neutralitie in Religion; then to countenance men of contrary Religion; then ſtirre ſuſpicions on each ſide; then alienation would follow; and what not? But as I am, out of my poore affection toward his Majeſtie, I doe wiſh that theſe occaſions were taken away. I wiſh (I ſay) that your Lordſhip ſee to it, as you would have things right, and out of that minde you ſpake of, which was, that you have the honour to bee nearer in kinne to him, then to any King that can come after him; howbeit your Lordſhip is in the ſame degree of kindred with the next apparent, my Lord *Hammiltouns* children. But you deſire no change, I know, and that it may continue in the preſent race, as I am perſwaded that *Hammiltoun* himſelfe hath no other minde: yet the matter is worthy your Lordſhips conſideration, ſo much the more, as ye have had experience how farre evill company about him hath had power alreadie to make things goe on. I leave it, and reſt, as having no part or particular ſave onely to wiſh well, and to follow, as your Lordſhip goes before. In the meane time I have alſo here a note (of a ſheet of paper or two) concerning the abuſes in the Church and Common-wealth, ſent to me by maſter *James Melvin*, to be (I know) imparted to your Lordſhip: you may lay it by you, and reade it when you have leaſure, for your remembrance.

This hee tooke; and having read a little of it, with a deepe ſigh, (which expreſſed the inward paſſion of his heart) God knowes my part (ſayes hee) I ſhall neglect nothing that is poſſible for mee to doe; and would to God the King knew my heart,

heart, how I am affected to his welfare, and would give eare to mee. But, &c.

Many times was hee moſt earneſtly dealt with to take more upon him, to frequent the Court more, and to make his reſidence at it; eſpecially by Sir *Lewis Ballandine*. His pretext was the common cauſe, and the good of it; but it proceeded from a particular betwixt him and maſter *John Metellane*, then Secretarie, who had croſſed him in ſome ſuite hee had concerning Orkney, and drawne the halfe of it to his owne uſe. For which cauſe hee endeavoured to employ the ſame Gentleman to have perſwaded my Lord to that purpoſe: but he knowing both my Lords inabilitie of body, and averſeneſſe of minde, told him ſincerely and plainly which way my Lord was inclined; and that his diſpoſition was not to be drawn by any man farther then he thought fit, out of his owne diſcourſe of reaſon. And for his owne part, hee was to follow his Lordſhip, and not to goe before him, or preſcribe him what he ſhould doe. Sir *Lewis* grieved very much hereat, having beene familiar with him of old, and complained to his friends, that the Earle of Angus was too ſlow, and that he had one with him that was as ſlow as himſelfe.

Not long after, the infirmitie of his body increaſing, and his ſtrength and health decreaſing, he was ſeldome able to come to Court, and could not ſtay long at it when he did come. I finde (in a note of thoſe times) that at the Parliament holden in Edinburgh 1587. (in June) there was ſome diſpute betwixt the Earle of Angus, and Maſter of Glames. But I remember no ſuch thing, neither doe I know how there could bee any publicke diſſention (either in this, or any other thing) howbeit they differed in judgement concerning the guiding of State affaires, yet I ſee not how that could come to any publicke contention.

The Chancellours place offered to Angus.

His aſſociates propounded to him to accept the Office of Chancellour, which had beene vacant ever ſince the removing of *James Stuart*. This hee did familiarly impart to the former Gentleman, and asked his opinion therein. Hee anſwered plainly, That it was indeed the moſt fit place for him, as being the moſt honourable Office in the Kingdome, by which he might doe moſt good offices to his Countrey, in Councell, Seſſion, and elſewhere; and that by that occaſion it brought great dependance, and many followers: That it had beene before in the hands of his Predeceſſours, as of Earle *Archbald* the firſt (called *Bell the Cat*) and of late in the Earle of Mortons, before he was Regent. Hee anſwered, that it required skill in the lawes, and more learning then hee had. It was replied, that (in very deed) much learning was not abſolutely neceſſary; that it was not knowne what learning *Archbald* the firſt had, and it is not likely that hee had much. But it was well knowne that the Earle of Morton had very little, or none at all to ſpeake of, not ſo much in the Latine tongue as he himſelfe had; and yet hee had diſcharged the Office with credit. A naturall judgement to conceive and reſume the queſtion, and the reaſons of each ſide, is more needfull in a Chancellour then learning, his part being properly to doe that,

whereas the deciſion ſeldome hangs upon his vote. Or if it come to that, learning does not alwayes the turne, knowledge of the cuſtomes of the Countrey is more requiſite, and is onely required in Councell. As for the Seſſion buſineſſe, the Preſident does commonly ſupply the Chancellours roome. Beſides, ſeeing that ordinarily the queſtion is not ended at the firſt hearing, what is difficult may be adviſed, and toſſed by whom your Lordſhip pleaſeth, before the next hearing. And although you finde not that full ſufficiencie for the preſent, which you could wiſh, yet time and cuſtome will bring experience, and experience beget knowledge. And this is ſaid to have beene obſerved of the Earle of Morton, that having beene rude enough at firſt, he became afterward very skilfull, and as able and ſufficient as any man in the Kingdome: and therefore your Lordſhip needs not to diſtruſt or diffide your ſelfe in the like caſe. Well (ſaies my Lord) I know not what dexteritie either of them hath had: and as for the Earle of Morton, though he wanted letters, yet hee was of a ſingular judgement, and rare wiſedome, ſcarce to be matched by any in this age. But for my owne part (as I yet thinke) neither am I able for the preſent to diſcharge it, neither doe I thinke it fit to enter into an Office before I have learned what belongs to it; neither can I digeſt to doe it by others, ſeeing I ought to doe it my ſelfe: yet I ſhall adviſe.

He rejects it. *Metellane* made Chancellour.

The concluſion was, he rejected it, and thereupon it was given to Secretarie *Metellane*, to his aſſociates great griefe, he having ever been a man of a contrary faction and diſpoſition in all buſineſſe of the Common-weale.

Angus Lieutenant on the Borders.

Hee accepted of the Office of Lieutenant on the Borders willingly, being more ſutable to his diſpoſition, and his proper element, as we ſpeake; and he profeſſed that he delighted as much to hunt out a theefe, as others did to hunt a hare; and that it was as naturall to him, as any other paſtime or exerciſe is to another man. But he lived not long after this, nor had he time to doe any memorable thing in it. He made onely one roade againſt the outlawed theeves of the name of *Armeſtrang* (moſt of them) after the King was gone home, who had beene preſent at the caſting downe of their houſes.

The road at the Tarraſſe Moſſe.

Hee purſued them into the Tarraſſe Moſſe, which was one of their greateſt ſtrengths, and whither no hoaſt or companies had ever beene known to have followed them before; and in which they did confide much, becauſe of the ſtraightneſſe of the ground. He uſed great diligence, and ſufficient induſtry; but the ſucceſſe was not anſwerable either to his deſire, or other mens expectation. Neither did hee forget to keepe his intention cloſe, and ſecret, acquainting none of the people of that Countrey therewithall, untill he was ready to march. Then directing one *Jordan* of Aplegirth to goe to the other ſide, whither hee knew they behooved to flee, hee ſent with him one of his eſpeciall followers, whom hee knew to bee well affected to the ſervice, to ſee that hee did his dutie. Hee himſelfe with the Armie came openly and directly to the place of their aboade, that they fleeing from him, might fall into the hands of Aplegirth, and his companie, who were come in ſufficient good time, before the Army could bee ſeene to that paſſage which

which they were ſent to keep. But the birds were all flowne, and there was nothing left but the empty neſt, having (no queſtion) had ſome inkling and intelligence hereof; but it could not be tried by whom the notice had been given them. In the retreat, they ſhew themſelves, and rode about to intercept and catch ſuch as might happen incircumſpectly to ſtraggle from the Army, and they failed very narrowly to have attrapped *William Douglas* of Ively, a young Gentleman of my Lords family; for which incircumſpection, he was ſoundly chid by him, as having thereby hazarded his owne perſon, and his Lords honour.

After this he came to Langhop, where his infirmity having continued long, and being now increaſed through travell, it grew at laſt to a formed diſeaſe. Wherefore hee was carried from thence to Smeeton, (neare to Dalkeith) a houſe belonging to *James Richiſon*, of whom wee have ſpoken before. His care of the good of the Church (which was ever in his mouth during his ſickneſſe) ſhewed that it lay neareſt to his heart of all other things. There hee departed out of this tranſitory life, with great comfort to himſelfe, and great griefe of all honeſt men, and with a generall regreting of all men; there being none ſuch an enemy to him, or who did ſo envie or hate him, as not to profeſſe and expreſſe his ſorrow for his death: King, Courtiers, Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, Commons; men of all degrees, ranke, qualitie and condition, did lament him: ſuch was the forceable power of vertue in him. Of which wee will ſay no more, onely we will ſet downe this following Elogium to be conſidered by the Reader, then which nothing can bee ſaid more true: Here therefore let it remaine as a witneſſe of his vertue, and the Writers deſerved affection.

Morte jacet ſævâ Anguſius, ſpes illa bonorum,
Terror malorum maximus:
Cui, laude & luctu meritis, pia turba parentat;
Patrem, Parentem ingeminans.
Par ſtudium impietas ſimulat: quem carpere livor
Vivum ſolebat, mortuum
Aut veris ſequitur lacrymis, aut gaudia fictis
Celat pudenda; & laudibus
Saltem non fictis os penè invita reſolvit,
Seque arguit mendacii.
O laus! O veri vis! O victoria! honoſque
Cunctis triumphis clarior!

Looke for the tranſlation of theſe verſes in the following page.

Yet were not the aſperſions of his enemies (if hee had any ſuch) of any moment or conſequence: I ſay, if he had any, for he had no private enemies who hated him, or bore him any ill will for his owne cauſe; onely ſuch as were enemies to the Countrey, and the true Religion, hated him as a main pillar, and ſupporter of theſe. The greateſt objection they had againſt him (I mean that carried any ſhow of truth) was his modeſtie, (which they termed ſlowneſſe) but after his death, all mouthes were cloſed. The love which was generally borne to him was exceeding great,

both

both for his houſe and families ſake (which was ever the moſt popular in this Kingdome of all other names) as alſo, and that no leſſe for his owne vertue, and perſonall humanitie and courteſie. He was of a blackiſh and ſwart complexion, tall of ſtature, and of a ſlender body, but well proportioned and ſtraight limmed; of a weake and tender conſtitution, and not very able to endure travell, but having courage enough, and willingneſſe to undergoe. His death was aſcribed to witchcraft: and one *Barbary Nepair* in Edinburgh (wife to *Archbald Douglas*, of the houſe of Caſſhogle) was apprehended on ſuſpition, but I know not whether ſhee was convicted of it or not: onely it was reported that ſhe was found guiltie, and that the execution was deferred, becauſe ſhe was with childe, but afterward, no body inſiſting in the purſuit of her, ſhee was ſet at libertie. *Anna Simſon*, a famous witch, is reported to have confeſſed at her death, that a picture of waxe was brought to her, having *A. D.* written on it, which (as they ſaid to her) did ſignifie *Archbald Davidſon*, and (ſhee not thinking of the Earle of Angus, whoſe name was *Archbald Douglas*, and might have beene called *Davidſon*, becauſe his fathers name was *David*) did conſecrate or execrate it, after her forme, which (ſhe ſaid) if ſhe had knowne to have repreſented him, ſhe would not have done it for all the world. He died the day of 1588. yeares: his body was buried in Abernathie, and his heart in Douglas, by his owne direction. He is the laſt Earle of the race of *George*, entitled Maſter of Angus, who was ſlain at Flowdon, &c.

Of Archbald *the ninth Earle of Angus.*

The tranſlation of the verſes in the page foregoing.

Angus by cruell death lies here,
The good mans hope, the wickeds feare;
The praiſe and ſorrow of the moſt
Religious, who as having loſt
A father, mourn; worſt men are knowne
To faine a woe if they have none:
Envie, accuſtomed to wrong
His guiltleſſe life, imployes her tongue,
Now a loud Trumpet of his fame,
And weeps, if not for grief, for ſhame,
Enforc't to give her ſelfe the lie:
O! Power of Truth, O! victory,
By which more honour is obtain'd,
Then is in greateſt triumphs gain'd.

Archibaldus Duglaſsius

Anguſius.

OLim ſæva truci dente calumnia
Clam vanas ad opes fraude viam ſtruens
Muſſabat, poſito aut palam pudore
Factabat caput in meum:

(O ſi non nimium credita!) Crimina,
Fœda atrociaque infandaque crimina,
Aut Diro Lepeão, aut fero Cethegi
Patrandum genio nefas.

Quos cæcis ſtimulis ambitio impotens,
Aut æſtu rabies fervida pectoris,
Auri aut ſacra mali fames in omne,
Egit præcipites ſcelus.

Moliri in patriam incendia, ſpicula
In patrem patriæ, ſanctaque numina
Regum alti ſolio Jovæ locata
Celſis pellere ſedibus:

Regni præſidium, ſpem, decus exſteræ
Genti ludibrium tradere, civium
Vota, & pontificis (nefas) tyranni,
Romæ degeneris metum.

O linguæ improbitas, callida nectere
Fraudes, inſidias, exitium bonis:
Regum aures animoſque ſuſpicaces,
Ficto ludere crimine.

Hæc cuncti cumulum flagitii manus
Patrare? hæc facinus mens coquere impium!
Hæc coctum potuit probare? pectus
Hoc conſcire nefas ſibi.

At

At me qui ſapiens intima ſenſuum
Scrutaris Deus (& quiſquis erat mihi
Arcani penito ſinu repoſti
Teſtis) crimine liberas.

Vitæ perpetuus compoſitæ tenor,
Mens legum patiens, imperii jugum
Juſti legitimum ſubire mitis;
Cunctis cedere lenitas:

Non claros atavos ſtemmate regio,
Regnataſque atavis penè provincias
Et belli decora, & feri triumphis
Partam Martis adoream:

Non longo titulos ordine turgidos,
Arces pennigeris turribus arduas,
Non turbam numerans gravem clientum, aut
Latis prædia ſinibus.

Nudi ſimplicitas candida pectoris
Et ſemper ſimilis cana fides ſui,
Fraudes impietas licet, doloſque
Laudans clam ſibi rideat.

Sinceræ rigidè juſtitiæ tenax
Dextra, a flagitio libera, ſanguinis
Expers innocui, doli rapinæ,
Solis noxia furibus.

Archbald

Archbald Douglas *Earle of Angus.*

BLack ſlander erſt her ends to gaine,
Employ'd her Art to wound my name
Low whiſpers were her ſecret traine,
Her open force lies void of ſhame.

O ! that they had leſſe credit found,
As from the thought my heart was free;
Lepidus nor *Cethegus* own'd
Such miſchiefs as were charg'd on me:

Whom love of vengeance ſet on fire,
Or blinde ambition overſwaid,
Or hope of riches or deſire
Of pleaſure, t' every vice betraid,

As if my ſoul ſuch plots had knowne
As would a publicke ruine bring
By juſtling from his ſacred Throne
My Countreyes father, and my King.

And ſo to forraigne ſcorne expoſe
The Kingdomes glory, ſhield and hope;
The peoples joy and dayly vowes,
The ſcourge and terrour of the Pope.

Thus wicked tongues with cunning Art
Weave nets, the innocent to catch,
And to the jealous eare impart
Fain'd treaſons, which their fanciesatch.

So baſe a villanie to act
Was it, for ſuch a hand as mine,
Or could my breaſt contrive the fact,
Or conſcious be of the black ſinne.

But I appeale my God to thee,
Who know'ſt my heart, and to thoſe friends
Who were moſt intimate with me,
How much I loath'd unworthy ends.

The conſtant tenour of my life,
Was calme obedience to the will
Of rightfull power: deteſting ſtrife
I ſhunn'd (more then reſiſted) ill.

Though my deſcent from Kings I drew,
And in my Grandſiers well might ſee
A Princely power, none ever knew
A bragging vanitie in me.

No emptie titles fill'd my minde
With hatefull pride; nor ſtately tops
Of Towr's, large fields, nor troups of kinde
And humble followers, ſwell'd my hopes.

An equall vertue led my way,
A ſpotleſſe truth adorn'd my heart,
Let wicked falſehood boaſt and ſay;
Loe what I compaſt by my Art.

By me ſincere ſtrict Juſtice dwelt,
From guiltleſſe bloud my hand was free,
No wrong my harmleſſe neighbour felt,
Onely theeves puniſht were by mee.

Ad *Archibaldum* tertium, cum poſt primum exilium reverſus, ultra Speiam Elginii in Moravia relegatus eſſet.

NUper fortunæ varias experte procellas
Anguſie, & velis æquora iniqua tuis:
Nuper in immenſo pelagi jactate profundo:
Obruteque inſanis pene voraginibus:
Nunc quoque neſcio quos iterum ſubiture labores,
Quicquid id eſt ſorti pectore perfer onus.
Diſcute triſtitiæ nebulas, frontemque ſerena:
Anxietas animo ſit procul atra tuo:
Pelle graves curas, properantem & parce ſeveri
Sponte ſuâ fati præcipitare diem:
Degeneres animos flatus levis aura ſiniſtri
Dejicit, æternis in tenebriſque premit:
At mala cum pungunt, tuleris ſi fortiter illa:
Materieſque tibi cauſaque laudis erunt.
Scilicet ille viros dignus numerarier inter:
Hunc ſequitur firmo gloria celſa pede:
Cui dejecit mutatum nubila vultum,
Blanda nec in faſtus ſuſtulit aura leves:
Qui ſolidum vitæ ſervans, certumque tenorem,
Robore fortunam vicit utramque pari.
Ut fremat hinc Boreas, illinc ruat Eurus & auſter,
Et quatiat timidam fluctibus unda ratem:
Illa tamen medios inter ſecura tumultus
Ætheris, & rapidi vimque minaſque freti,
Sæpe tenet curſum optatum, portuque potita
Deſpicit irati murmura rauca maris.
Hinc cape non obſcura tuæ exemplaria vitæ
Dura: nec rebus cedere diſce malis.
Magnis te quoque junge viris: quid paſſus Ulyſſes?
Exul in ignoto nudus inopſque ſolo.
Quid cui Roma ſuæ tulit incunabula gentis?
Queis ſua in Adriaco Troia renata mari?

At quid ego hæc antiqua? quid & peregrina recordor?
Ditior exemplis ſtat patria alta ſuis:
Stat genus ordine longo: atavos age, reſpice, avoſque,
Quot ſunt Duglaſiæ *nomina magne domus:*
Quot bello inſigneſque duces, & fortibus armis
Heroes; ſæcli gloria quiſque ſui.
Quem non nobilitat virtus afflicta? polo quem
Non æquat? numera: vix reor, unus erit.
Omnis turba ſalo fortunæ exercita, & omnes
Paſſa vices, verſæ ludibriumque rotæ:
Quas pax infida inſidias, diſcrimina bellum
Quæque habet exilii tædia, longa dies:
Nec niſi poſt exanlcatos, venere, labores,
Otia; nec niſi poſt dura pericla quies.
Te quoque defunctum, confide, laboribus olim
Lætior excipiet, candidiorque dies.
Securuſque inter dulces memorabis amicos,
Tu quoque fortunæ triſtitia falta tuæ.
Triſtia nunc: ſed quæ tunc & meminiſſe juvabit:
Agnoſſe & decoris prima elementa tui:
Hac itum: hac quicunque alta affectabit, eundum eſt:
Hâc te ſublimi, gloria celſa, via
Siſtet avos ſupra, atque atavos, accingere: O te
Quo ſors! quo virtus! quo Deus ipſe vocat!
Fallor? an heroas ſupra priſcoſque futuroſque
Tollere te tanta ſydera mole parant
Virtuti labor eſt comes: ire per ardua rerum
Gaudet & invicto fata ſuperba gradu.
Aude ingens, jam nunc ſuperi ad templa ardui Olympi
Carpere, qua pronum ſemita monſtrat iter:
Aude, inquam, nec tu ſurgentia nubila ventis
Aethera terram, undas tartarave ipſa time.
Tantum, quem venerare Deum pius, igneus inſta
Sollicitans; curſus diriget ille tuos.
Ille gubernaclo ſuccedet rector & ille
Inveniet facilem per vada ſalſa viam
Anfractuſque vagos per, & avia, & invia vitæ,
Et brevia, & ſyrtes ſaxaque cæca ratem
Securam in placida ſiſtet ſtatione: perenne
Ut teneas celſi flammea templa poli.

To

To Archbald *the third, when after his returne from his first baniſhment, he was confined to Elgine of Murray beyond Spey.*

THou who but lately didſt endure the ſmart
Of rougheſt ſtormes, and with a Pilots art
Haſt ſcap'd the many dangers of the ſeas,
O Angus! now in place of wiſhed eaſe
New troubles come: I know not by what fate:
Keep your great ſpirit firme in every ſtate.
Shake off ſad thoughts, and let your looks appear
Chearfull, without the darkning clouds of fear.
Deep cares expell, let not impatience haſte
Thoſe ills, which of themſelves approach too faſt.
Poor worthleſſe ſoules are preſt below the weight
Of light afflictions: to a noble height
In croſſe affaires doe thou thy courage raiſe:
By this thou maiſt obtaine deſerved praiſe.
He merits honour, and may juſtly be
Eſteem'd a man, whom no adverſitie
Dejects, nor proſperous ſucceſſe ſwels with pride;
But by a conſtant temper doth abide
Still like himſelfe, and with an equall minde
Both fortunes beares. Let every boiſtrous winde
And threatning wave oppoſe his labouring oare,
He ſteeres his courſe, and ſeekes the wiſhed ſhoare,
Slighting the angry waters chiding noiſe.
Let theſe (like hard) examples prompt your choice:
Learne to meet ills, till you with all compare
For fortitude admir'd: *Ulyſſes* bare
Worſe harmes then yours; a ſtranger, poore, alone,
Uncloath'd, an Exile, wandring and unknowne.
Æneas and *Antenor* ſuffered long
Ere Rome was built, or Venice: but I wrong
Our owne, to dwell on ſtrangers, ſince there be
More ſtore at home: marke the whole Progenie
Of *Douglaſſes* your fathers, how they are
Fam'd for their gallant acts in peace and warre:
Each worthy was the glory of his time:
None without vertue can to honour climbe.
Looke on all ages, you ſhall hardly ſee
One raiſ'd by fortune, but through miſerie.
Who live at eaſe, and leaſt diſturbance feele,
Soone beare the mock'ry of her rowling wheele.
How many traines hath peace? What diſcords warre?
What troubles exile? Yet no pleaſures are

Obtain'd

Obtain'd but after toile, nor have we reſt
Till dangers and difficulties are paſt.
So thou, when this is paſt, hereafter may
Injoy at home a calme and pleaſing day:
And to your dear friends chearfully relate
The ſad effects of Fortunes ſullen hate:
Sad now, but pleaſant to remember, when
Your prentiſage hath brought a noble gaine.
This is the way: would you a great name win?
Then tread the ſteps your Grandſires travell'd in.
Where Vertue, Fortune, where your God doth call,
Follow: my thoughts deceive me, or you ſhall
Excell thoſe Worthies who alreadie are,
Or will be famous: ſo the ſtarres prepare
Your youth. Faire vertue never dwells alone,
Hard labour is her neare companion:
Un-eaſie taskes ſhe loves, and joyes to beat
The rougheſt wayes, and triumph over fate.
Be bold and onward, take your mounting flight,
Till you have reacht a true Olympian height.
Be bold, I ſay, and let no furious winde, (minde.
(Though earth and hell ſhould mix) ſhake your brave
Onely with God, whom you muſt ſtill adore,
You may be inſtant, and his aid implore:
Let him direct your courſe, and he will be
Your Pilot through the waves of miſery,
Steering your barke by every Rocke and Shelfe:
Each ſtrait and wheeling Poole His ſacred Selfe
Will guide the Oare, firſt to a place of reſt
On earth, then after death thou ſhalt be bleſt.

Faults eſcaped in ſome copies.

IN the Preface, page 6. line 18. for Long Willie, reade Longe-ville. p. 11. l. 2. for *unum*, r. *unam*. l. 15. for *Duglaſius*, r. *Duglaſii*. In the Booke, p. 14. l. 21. for wanted, r. was. p. 25. l. 11. ſupply ſonne. p. 34. l. 36. ſupply leſſened. p. 43 l. 1. ſup. long. p. 52. l. 43. for in furious, r. injurious. p. 64. l. 1. for people. r. pope. p. 70. 72. 74. 76. 78. in the titles, for Galloway, r. Liddeſdale. p. 76. l. 17 for rather, brother, r. father-brother. p. 80. l. 13. for Douglas, r. Angus. p. 85. l. 8. ſup. Prince. p. 102. l. 37. for words, r. wounds p 107. l. 42. for making, r. marrying. p. 131. l. 38 ſup. not p. 145. l. 7. for thing, r. though. p. 148. l. 30. r. therefore ſow on. p. 154. l. 34. for extracted, r. execrated. p. 168. l. 31. for life, r. Fife. p. 171. l. 44. r. the priſoners goods were exchanged. p. 177. l. 18. for moved, r. compoſed. p. 179. l. 34. for new, r. ſhew. p. 233. l. 30. ſup. not. p. 244. l. 20. ſup. not. p. 277. l. 3. ſup. *bones*. p. 278. l. 10. for mother, r. brother. p. 335. l. 32. ſup. out of.

FINIS